

VOLUME 114 • NUMBER 4 • OCTOBER 2009

The American Historical Review

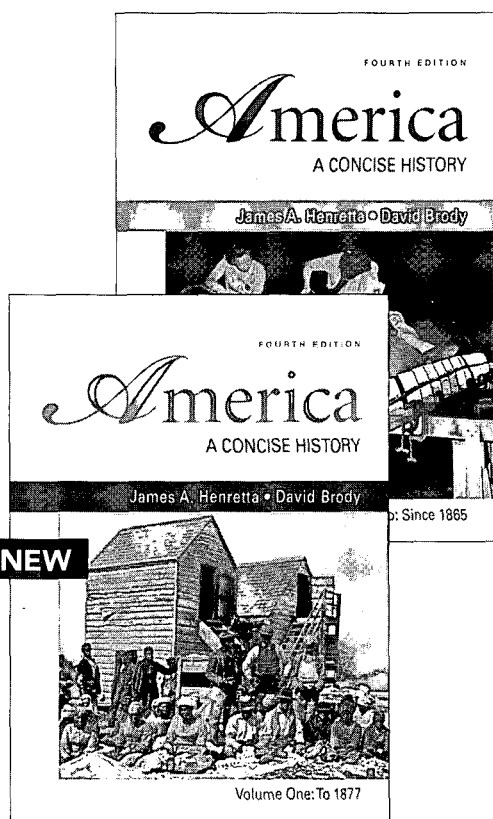


Published for the
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

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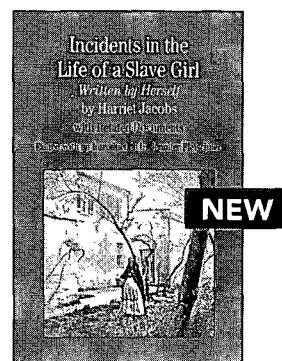
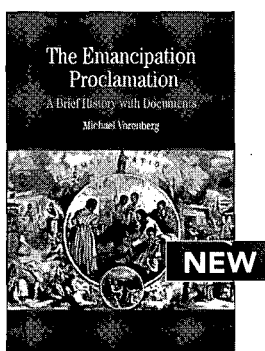
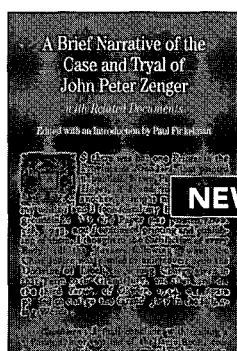
America A Concise History Fourth Edition

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Cover Illustration: During the Bosnian War (1992–1995), Bosnian Serb snipers and artillery targeted civilians in a half-dozen besieged towns designated as “safe areas” by the United Nations. In this photo, a woman looks at the pictures of 71 young people who were killed on May 27, 1995, by an artillery projectile fired into the town of Tuzla by Serbian forces. They were among an estimated 500 students who had gathered in the town’s tiny, pie-shaped Kapija Square to celebrate the end of the school year. In “Confronting the Yugoslav Controversies: The Scholars’ Initiative,” Charles Ingrao writes about a consortium of historians and social scientists from both the West and the successor states of the former Yugoslavia who worked together to craft a common narrative about the Yugoslav conflicts. His article is part of an *AHR* Forum on “Truth and Reconciliation in History,” describing joint efforts by historians from across national and ethnic divides to write shared narratives of past events as a way of contributing to present-day conflict resolution. Photograph by Charles Ingrao.

SUBSCRIPTION INFORMATION

The American Historical Review is the official publication of the American Historical Association and appears in February, April, June, October, and December of each year. The journal is published by The University of Chicago Press, 1427 E. 60th Street, Chicago, IL 60637 on behalf of the American Historical Association, 400 A St. SE, Washington, DC 20003 (phone 202-544-2422). Our editorial offices are located at Indiana University, where our mailing address is 914 E. Atwater Ave., Bloomington, IN 47401. Phone: 812-855-7609; fax: 812-855-5827; e-mail: ahr@indiana.edu.

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Postmaster: Please send notification (Form 3579) regarding undelivered journals to: American Historical Association, 400 A St. SE, Washington, DC 20003. Publication identification number: *American Historical Review* (ISSN 0002-8762).

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Periodicals postage paid at Chicago, IL, and at additional mailing offices.



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In This Issue

The October issue contains eight articles that are part of two *AHR* Forums. There are also four featured reviews, followed by our usual extensive book review section. In addition, readers will discover something new: Following "In This Issue," we introduce "In Back Issues," an attempt to draw attention to our extensive inventory of articles by taking a look at what was in the *AHR* one hundred, fifty, and twenty-five years ago.

***AHR* Forums**

The first *AHR* Forum, "Truth and Reconciliation in History," deals with a global experience that both calls history into question and calls upon the participation of historians. Especially since the creation of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa in 1995, after the ending of apartheid, a number of nations and groups have attempted to confront and possibly come to terms with their fractious and traumatic pasts. This forum offers several examples of how historians have contributed to these attempts. **Elazar Barkan** leads off with an introductory essay, "Historians and Historical Reconciliation," in which he surveys the role that historians have played "to promote reconciliation through collaborative work to produce a shared history." The three articles that follow offer case studies of this process at work. The Polish-Jewish experience during World War II is examined by **David Engel** in "On Reconciling the Histories of Two Chosen Peoples." In "Truth in Telling: Reconciling Realities in the Genocide of the Ottoman Armenians," **Ronald Grigor Suny** delves into initiatives by Turkish, Armenian, and other scholars to reach some common understanding of the ethnic conflicts in the early part of the twentieth century. In "Confronting the Yugoslav Controversies: The Scholars' Initiative," **Charles Ingrao** gives an account of the efforts of a range of scholars from the Balkan region and the West who worked together to fashion a single narrative of the crimes and misdeeds committed in the former Yugoslavia. In the concluding comment, "Settling Accounts? An Americanist Perspective on Historical Reconciliation," **James T. Campbell** not only reflects on these three cases but also offers a commentary on the reconciliation process from the perspective of someone who has experience with Americans' attempts to deal with their own problematic past. As Barkan notes in his introductory essay, the participation of historians in these kinds of projects is one

example of how scholarship—often assumed to be irrelevant to social problems, relegated to the ivory tower—can play a crucial role on the public stage.

The second *AHR* Forum in this issue looks at a notable achievement in the writing of recent U.S. history, Taylor Branch's trilogy *America in the King Years*, the final volume of which was published in 2007. Three historians examine Branch's contribution from different perspectives. In "Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Meanings of the 1960s," **Michael Kazin** takes an appreciative look at the volumes' interpretation of that turbulent decade, but also offers some criticism of Branch's narrative as analytically inadequate to explain the social and political trends that defined the period. In "The Biography Branch Might Have Written," **Clayborne Carson** assesses the work from a biographical perspective, questioning whether Branch provides an accurate understanding of the deep sources of King's actions throughout his life. Finally, **Peniel E. Joseph**, in "The Black Power Movement, Democracy, and America in the King Years," focuses on African American militants and radicals, charging that Branch fails to acknowledge adequately the important role played by these figures both in the wider context of American history and in the civil rights movement.

December's issue will include an *AHR* Forum on "Transnational Perspectives on Sexuality and Gender" and an *AHR* Conversation on "Historians and the Study of Material Culture."

With this issue we note several changes on the Board of Editors. Toby L. Ditz, Lloyd S. Kramer, Daniel Lord Smail, Eric Van Young, and Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom are leaving the board, with our thanks for their invaluable service. Their replacements are Jonathan C. Brown, Paul Freedman, Jane Kamensky, Jeremy Popkin, and Ruth Rogaski.

In Back Issues

It used to be common practice for newspapers to print short features consisting of excerpts from past articles that provided a glimpse of what had been in the news twenty-five, fifty, or even a hundred years earlier. These snippets from past issues were curiosities, allowing readers to reflect upon what was considered newsworthy in those distant days, or reminding them of great and epoch-making events in the past, or perhaps merely humoring them with the thought that people have always been exercised by trivialities and ephemeral fashions. Such snippets were all that readers could savor at the moment, for the actual newspapers of the time were far out of reach, perhaps accessible by microfilm in a library, but certainly not easily retrievable. Now, of course, we live in a very different world, with whole archives and inventories of past material, including newspapers and scholarly journals, only a few mouse clicks away. Are we historians taking advantage of the historical inventory of our own forebears?

In many ways, the answer is clearly yes. In both scholarship and teaching, we access and consult articles from the past far more often than we did just a few years ago. But what impact has this accessibility had on how we think of our profession, of its development over time, and of our relationship to those scholars on whose shoulders we still stand? In the Renaissance, the recovery of classical texts had the initial effect of bringing antiquity closer to the humanists and other scholars who studied them, but further study had the opposite effect, instructing them in the distance in language, culture, and years that separated them from those ancient times. In a lesser sense, it would seem that the remarkable and rather sudden availability of materials, both primary and secondary, in electronic form to historians and students of history ought to have a similar, interestingly contradictory, impact of creating both proximity and distance between us and historians of the past. It is fair to say that most historians have some sense of how our discipline has progressed or developed over the several generations of its existence as an academic profession. But it is likely that these views are largely ill-informed—caricatures of the historical research and writing that was actually carried out. Some of us are hardly immune to the “enormous condescension” toward historians of previous generations, whose contributions we can easily dismiss as fatally flawed by wrong-headed, narrow-minded, simplistic, or even reactionary approaches and assumptions. Others are not exempt from an uncritical, nostalgic view of past history writing, seeing it as endowed with those pleasing virtues—strong narratives, accessible prose, intellectual certitude—that contemporary historians

have supposedly forsaken. Whatever our attitude toward or knowledge of past scholarship, increased familiarity with what historians actually produced, as well as the methods and themes that guided their research and writing, cannot fail to enrich our own understanding of the discipline of history.

In the hope of encouraging readers to dip into the long history of scholarship contained in the pages of the *American Historical Review* over the 114 years of its publishing history—and to take advantage of the digital availability of this archive to most readers—the *AHR* editors have decided to add a new feature, offering a look back at issues from one hundred, fifty, and twenty-five years ago. “In Back Issues” will not be a comprehensive survey of the contents of those issues, but rather a glance at some of the articles and other features that might be of interest, or even of use, today.

Volume 15, Number 1 (October 1909)

The October 1909 issue is an auspicious one to begin with because it was published in the year that marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the American Historical Association, which prompted the Editor of the *AHR*, J. Franklin Jameson, to reflect on its short history in the lead article. His piece, “The American Historical Association, 1884–1909,” is more than celebratory, and offers some interesting comments on the establishment of the AHA. To start with, Jameson suggests, in a self-evident tone that might surprise present-day readers, that scholarly societies, not universities, were primarily responsible for “the advancement of pure research” that had occurred in recent years. Clearly, he considered the AHA to be one of these. He revisits the founding of the AHA in 1884, suggesting different ways to understand its genesis. The wider view is that it was a “natural” development for “the great war for nationality”—obviously the Civil War—to “be followed within twenty years by a great outburst of historical activity,” something that should be no more surprising to “the student of the history of historical writing” than “that the Reformation should breed historians, or that the first epoch-making works [of French and German history] should appear within twenty years after the Napoleonic conflict.” But he also points to the specific conditions of its emergence. It was at the 1883 annual meeting of the American Social Science Association—a society that, having been founded in 1865, predated the AHA by nearly twenty years—that the “call for the meeting at which the American Historical Association was founded was signed.” A meeting the following year in Saratoga, New York, witnessed its formal beginnings.

Questions soon arose regarding how the AHA should be constituted, in particular its relationship to the American Social Science Association. One participant argued against establishing a separate society, citing “the evils of excessive specialization.” But the proponents of “independence” carried the day. Another view was that the AHA should take the form of an “Academy of History,” with a restricted membership; the question, in the words of one in favor of an academic model, was “whether we should try to be as big as possible or as good as possible.” Jameson finds

the reasoning here specious and clearly endorses the route taken: "Diffusion of influence, diffused participation, is the democratic mode." He also notes a subsequent "turning-point in the history of the society"—its incorporation by an act of Congress in 1888. Again there was controversy, with some members expressing "aversion" to this move, likening it to the deleterious effects that "patronage of 'the great' had in the eighteenth century, and that of monarchs before and since." While Jameson acknowledges the possible danger in government sponsorship, pointing to "censorship vested in the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution," he also expresses confidence, with a sanguinity that most contemporary readers would probably find amusing, that this appointee "is likely to be a discreet man, aware of his limitations, and of the probability that an historical association can judge better [than he] as to what publications will advance the cause of history." Nevertheless, problems with censorship did arise. The AHA's *Annual Reports* to Congress had to receive a governmental imprimatur. In one case, cited by Jameson with barely disguised incredulity, an essay on the Spiritual Franciscans of the thirteenth century was ruled by the authorities of the Smithsonian Institution to be unfit for publication because it treated a religious subject.

The balance of Jameson's essay is taken up with a discussion of the annual meetings of the AHA, its growth in membership, its funding, its service to the government, its work in helping to preserve manuscripts and other historical records, and, of course, the establishment of the *American Historical Review*, "independently of the American Historical Association, and supported for three years by a separate association of guarantors"—this last remark a rather cryptic qualification that the curious might want to investigate further.

Volume 65, Number 1 (October 1959)

It just so happens that the October 1959 issue includes another essay by Jameson, "The Future Uses of History." As the editors note, however, this is a slightly edited version of a paper that was delivered at the Carnegie Institution in Washington, D.C., in December 1912, included here "not only in recognition of the centenary of Jameson's birth, but as an illustration of his vision." It is pertinent to add, as the editors do, that Jameson was managing editor of the *AHR* for thirty years. The piece is placed in a section of the journal called "Notes and Suggestions," and it is accompanied by another contribution, "The British Empire and Commonwealth in Recent Historiography," by Philip D. Curtin (a past president of the AHA, who died this summer). Curtin's piece is interesting in several respects, but mostly for the way he urges historians not to rely exclusively on the materials and archives found in London but to seek out evidence and documents in the colonies or former colonies themselves. He recounts the experience of Sir Keith Hancock, a historian who had completed a manuscript on the Maltese constitution and then, as an afterthought, traveled to Malta "with the intention of adding a little local color and filling in a few gaps." Instead, he found the experience so impressive and revealing that he discarded his

manuscript and began again. "Too many historians never made the trip at all, and their manuscripts ended in print rather than in the wastebasket," Curtin comments.

The October 1959 issue also includes a thirty-three-page section listing recent journal articles in a range of fields.

Volume 89, Number 4 (October 1984)

It may seem merely coincidental that J. Franklin Jameson again surfaces in the *AHR* in the October 1984 issue. But such is not the case: 1984 was the centenary of the AHA's founding, and Jameson, as someone who not only was a past president and long-time editor of the *AHR* but also was present at the association's creation, was an important source and point of reference in this issue dedicated to "The First Hundred Years" of the AHA. He figures in two of the issue's pieces: "To Set a Standard of Workmanship and Compel Men to Conform to It": John Franklin Jameson as Editor of the *American Historical Review*," by Morey D. Rothberg; and "J. Franklin Jameson, Carter G. Woodson, and the Foundations of Black Historiography," by August Meier and Elliott Rudwick. It is interesting to read the first of these with, or against, Jameson's own essay on the founding of the AHA in the October 1909 issue, for they cover much of the same material, and Rothberg's article uses Jameson's as a source. The "Research Note" by Meier and Rudwick documents Jameson's efforts to find financial support for the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History and the *Journal of Negro History*.

Two other articles in this special issue deal with wider questions regarding the development of historical scholarship in the United States. In the lead article, "Historical Consciousness in Nineteenth-Century America," Dorothy Ross attempts to explain the intellectual and social conditions that gave rise to the historicist, as opposed to providential, understanding of historical development. After a survey of primarily nineteenth-century intellectual history, she concludes her analysis by evoking the social changes at the end of the century as a primary factor in explaining the new "historical consciousness" of the period. In "Beyond Consensus: Richard Hofstadter and American Historiography," Daniel Joseph Singal offers a portrait of this important American historian that depicts him as resisting simple labels, and certainly not as a celebrant of "American virtue characteristic of the consensus school."

As a general comment on the October 1984 issue, it might be noted that a commemorative issue of the *AHR* today, in 2009, even one in which the focus is on the AHA itself, would certainly not neglect non-American influences or comparisons as this one did.

Our hope with this new section of the *AHR* is that an engagement with what historians actually wrote, especially in the premier scholarly journal of the profession, might prompt us to take a more nuanced, appreciative, or at least measured view of past scholarship. Some material will remind us how far we have traveled in meth-

odological sophistication, in the breadth of our concerns, in our analytical rigor, in our theoretical awareness, and in the depth of the evidence we deploy. But undoubtedly, too, there will be much of value, prompting us to think about the long-term themes and problems that have been pursued over the generations, though sometimes abandoned in more recent times. In short, in these back issues we might find more that is useful, or at least interesting, than we previously assumed.

Historical truth . . . is not what has happened; it is what we judge to have happened.

JOSE LUIS BORGES

It should be possible to move beyond strongly held, competing, and incompatible narratives of the past and to reach some consensus that will be acceptable to all people of goodwill.

ANTONY POLONSKY and JOANNA B. MICHLIC

Why do some people like the problem, rather than the solution?

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AHR Forum
Truth and Reconciliation in History

**Introduction: Historians and
Historical Reconciliation**

ELAZAR BARKAN

“FOR THIS CRIME, WE SHOULD BEG the souls of the dead and their families for forgiveness,” declared the president of Poland, Aleksander Kwaśniewski, in Jedwabne on a rainy July 10, 2001. He was addressing his fellow Poles about a “particularly cruel crime.” Sixty years earlier in Jedwabne, as many as 1,600 Jews were killed by their neighbors—people with whom they had shared the small town.¹ The immediate spur to the president’s remarks was the publication of Jan Gross’s *Neighbors* in 2001. Gross’s book had instigated Poland’s confrontation with its past, and the events it described had come to be seen as a poignant symbol of Polish-Jewish relations.² “Today,” said Kwaśniewski, “as a man, citizen and president of the Polish republic, I ask pardon in my own name and in the name of those Polish people whose consciences are shocked by this crime.”³ The ceremony represented a high point in Poland’s struggle with its history, a struggle that was at once about both past events and the nation’s identity. The government had done much to investigate the crime, especially through the Institute of National Remembrance (IPN), which it charged with scrutinizing gross historical violations of human rights and war crimes. Its extensive research and published report on Jedwabne erased the world’s doubts about the historical events.⁴ Yet many locals boycotted the ceremony. And the Church was not officially represented, with Cardinal Jozef Glemp demanding that Jews apologize

Part of the research that informed my work on this essay was funded by a grant from the United States Institute of Peace, USIP-203-02S.

¹ Ian Fisher, “At Site of Massacre, Polish Leader Asks Jews for Forgiveness,” *New York Times*, July 11, 2001.

² Jan T. Gross, *Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland* (Princeton, N.J., 2001). See also Antony Polonsky and Joanna B. Michlic, eds., *The Neighbors Respond: The Controversy over the Jedwabne Massacre in Poland* (Princeton, N.J., 2004); Elazar Barkan, Elizabeth A. Cole, and Kai Struve, eds., *Shared History—Divided Memory: Jews and Others in Soviet-Occupied Poland, 1939–1941* (Leipzig, 2008). There is still disagreement about the number of dead.

³ Fisher, “At Site of Massacre, Polish Leader Asks Jews for Forgiveness.”

⁴ The IPN was established in 1998, having grown out of the Main Commission on the Investigation of Crimes against the Polish People. The latter, in turn, was developed from the Main Commission on the Investigation of the Hitler-Fascist Crimes in Poland, which in the early 1990s was expanded to include the task of looking at communist crimes, and if necessary to take legal action based on the findings. The tasks of the IPN encompass historical inquiry, along with legal functions. The institute is also responsible for preserving the files of the Security Service of the Polish People’s Republic. See <http://www.ipn.gov.pl>.

at the same time for collaborating with the Soviets in Poland from 1939 to 1941, and the local priest commenting, "It is Holocaust business. It is not my business."⁵ The Polish Church, a central component of national identity, reflected its ambivalence about the president's acknowledgment by expressing mere "regret" about the killings. The citizens of Jedwabne on the whole rejected their newfound fame, and the mayor, who had supported the president's acknowledgment and advocated that a memorial be erected, was forced to resign, and later emigrated to the United States.⁶

The desire to address the legacy of historical wrongs from a contemporary perspective informs the essays that make up this *AHR* Forum. They describe three joint efforts by historians from across national and ethnic divides to write shared narratives of past events as a way of contributing to present-day conflict resolution. In each case, the historians' intervention aims to promote reconciliation through collaborative work to produce a shared history.

The increased centrality of history to politics, as is evident in the Polish case, presents historians with a new and possibly unique challenge and opportunity. Because group identity is shaped by historical perspectives, historical narratives have an explicit and direct impact on national identities. Thus, by playing an adjudicatory role in the creation of such narratives and ensuring adherence to ethical norms, historians can contribute to reconciliation among nations. The challenge for historians is to write these narratives while maintaining the highest professional standards. The opportunity is to employ new methodologies and collaborative work to open up a whole new discourse of reconciliation that will engage social and political issues in novel ways. We often hear about the decline of the humanities, especially complaints about their lack of relevance to social problems and the corporatization of the universities, and that is true as far as it goes. But the articles in this forum show that there are ways for historians to counter this outside pressure, not by isolating scholarship or by remaining in the ivory tower, but rather by engaging the public in discourse. Scholars and scholarly "truth" carry weight in society that cannot be easily monetized or manipulated by political pressure, which means that historians can employ their scholarship—in this case rigorous and collaborative historical projects aimed at fostering dialogue—in a way that enables them to act as advocates in the cause of reconciliation. Each of the following essays describes the difficulties and successes that such efforts can lead to, and imagines the possibility that historians can write first-rate history and also explicitly contribute to current political reconciliation. But these are only early efforts; there is still much to be learned. While empathy and collaboration may eventually become the norm for historical writing, in the short run the aim is to delegitimize the nationalist (and often hateful) historical myths that feed ethnic and national xenophobia and conflict.

⁵ Derek Scally, "President Bids Forgiveness for Polish Massacre," *Irish Times*, July 11, 2001.

⁶ "Official Statement of the Institute of National Remembrance—Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes against the Polish Nation on the Manslaughter of Jewish Inhabitants of Jedwabne, July 10th, 1941," http://www.ipn.gov.pl/portal/en/19/193/Official_Statement_of_the_Institute_of_National_Remembrance_Commission_for_the_.html. The institute published two volumes: *Jedwabne: Documents, Inquiries, Analyses*, vol. 1: *Analyses* and vol. 2: *Documents*. On the mayor and the event, see the documentary film by Sławomir Grunberg *The Legacy of Jedwabne*, which is a powerful representation of the ceremony, the context, and the local responses.

POLAND'S ATTEMPT AS A NATION to come to terms with its past, which was a struggle over national identity played out in response to a historical event, is only one of many examples that could be brought forward out of the tidal wave of apologies, truth commissions, reparations, and investigations of historical crimes that accelerated in intensity in the various transitions to democracy at the end of the Cold War. Such redress work has become an international norm following violent conflict or transition from a dictatorship.⁷ Indeed, bilateral historical commissions are now a fixture in Europe, especially, but not exclusively, in cases concerning Germany's relations with its neighbors after World War II. Joint commissions between Germany and its former enemies (France, Poland, and the Czech Republic) are well-known, but there have been dozens of Holocaust-related commissions as well, in more than fifty countries. In the United States, this global trend is evident in the investigation of local histories, with a particular focus on questions of race relations, most notably the investigation of race riots from Greensboro and Wilmington, North Carolina, to the Greenwood neighborhood in Tulsa, Oklahoma, to the town of Rosewood, Florida.⁸

⁷ The ethnic violence in Kenya is a recent example. Even while the killings and ethnic expulsions were taking place, calls for a truth commission were being raised together with demands for prosecution of the guilty (January 2008).

⁸ The historiography of historical commissions cannot be condensed into a footnote. The following is more illustrative in nature. A good place to start is the "List of Government-Appointed Historical Commissions Concerning the Holocaust," prepared and maintained by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C., <http://www.holocausttaskforce.org/teachers/index.php?content=commission/>. The U.S. State Department keeps an archive and partially updates more recent involvement of the government on Holocaust issues; see <http://www.state.gov/p/eur/rt/hlcst>. Examples of commissions in Europe include internal commissions such as Latvia's History Commission: Crimes against Humanity Committed in the Territory of Latvia from 1940 to 1956 during the Occupations of the Soviet Union and National Socialist Germany (<http://vip.latnet.lv/lpra/angliski.htm>). Analogous commissions were established in Lithuania and Estonia. Each included international members in order to command legitimacy and additional input. Similarly, Austria belatedly established a commission to deal with the complex of expropriations in Austria during the Nazi era, inviting Jewish representatives to contribute. One example of a bilateral commission that expanded beyond Germany is the Polish-Ukrainian Historians' Commission, which published papers between 1997 and 2002 by one Polish and one Ukrainian historian addressing more or less the same topic, followed by a discussion and a short joint text under the title "Agreements and Differences." I know of no list analogous to the World War II-related commissions that is concerned with human rights violations on the grounds of race in the U.S. or other postcolonial conditions. (I have addressed the question of redress vis-à-vis several indigenous nations in Barkan, *The Guilt of Nations: Restitution and Negotiating Historical Injustices* [New York, 2000]. In 2008, after a dozen years of being in the Opposition, the Labour Party came into power in Australia, and immediately its prime minister, Kevin Rudd, delivered an official apology to the Aborigines, and opened the door for reparations.)

On the other hand, there have been few commissions in the U.S. that addressed selected race riots and the memory of slavery. One interesting effort was launched by Brown University. It appointed an internal committee to trace its early benefactors' involvement with slavery and to investigate its current responsibility in light of the tainted legacy. An independent commission was appointed at Greensboro to examine "the context, causes, sequence and consequence of the events of November 3, 1979," when five anti-Klan demonstrators were killed and "at least ten others were wounded, and numerous residents and other witnesses were traumatized," for the purpose of "healing transformation for the community," through research and civic engagement (<http://www.greensborotrc.org/>). Another North Carolina commission was the Wilmington Race Riot Commission (<http://www.ah.dcr.state.nc.us/1898-wrrc/>), appointed in 2000 to examine the race riots of November 10, 1898, which saw, in addition to an undetermined number of deaths, "the only [local] government overthrow recorded in U.S. history." It issued its final report in 2005. Perhaps the best-known race riots commission was the Oklahoma Commission to Study the Tulsa Race Riot of 1921, which issued a report on February 28, 2001 (<http://www.okhistory.org/trrc/freport.htm>), followed by civil suits to demand reparations. See Alfred L. Brophy, *Reconstructing the Dreamland: The Tulsa Race Riot of 1921, Race Reparations, and Reconciliation* (Norman, Okla., 2002). I have described the Rosewood Commission in Florida in *Guilt of Nations*, 296–299.

The centrality of historical memory in contemporary political conflict is evident all around us.

Two types of mechanisms have been widely employed in transitions from a dictatorship or civil war to democracy: restorative and retributive. The former includes the growing number of truth commissions and reparations mechanisms, while the latter focuses on prosecuting gross violators of human rights, either in the various international tribunals (including the International Criminal Court) or domestically. Both mechanisms are symbolic: even in the best of cases, only a few of the perpetrators are convicted, and truth commissions provide only a modest measure of disclosure. Nevertheless, the important innovation of truth commissions during the 1980s has become part of the prevailing international political culture. The most famous, of course, was the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which followed earlier commissions in Latin America. Dozens of analogous commissions have operated during the last generation all over the globe. Truth commissions vary greatly: They range from international to local. Some are state-sponsored, while others are organized by civil society. Some attempt to uncover recent crimes, war crimes, and gross violations of human rights, while others are engaged in investigations of atrocities more than one hundred years old. The participants are explicitly motivated by politics: they aim at acknowledgment and reconciliation and attempt to get there by writing a historical narrative that will be embraced by all sides of the conflict. Despite, or perhaps because of, being symbolic, the resulting historical narratives are central to the new identity of the involved groups. The variety of these commissions and the literature they have spawned has given rise to a whole new field of comparative studies.⁹

HISTORIANS HAVE, OF COURSE, played a central role as researchers in these mostly state-sponsored commissions and investigations, but the work was primarily initiated, sponsored, and managed by the government. The articles in this *AHR* Forum describe an expansion of similar methodology to civil society, where joint projects are initiated by groups of scholars who research and write history as a form of advocacy, with the objective of contributing to reconciliation. The main goal is to conduct research that focuses on causes of ethnic and national conflict. The following essays describe the progress and results of three working groups that bring together

⁹ The U.S. Institute of Peace played an early role in the study of truth commissions (and in sponsoring these activities). Neil J. Kritz, director of the institute's Rule of Law Program, edited *Transitional Justice: How Emerging Democracies Reckon with Former Regimes*, 3 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1995). The USIP keeps a list of commissions: <http://www.usip.org/library/truth.html>. Among other contributions are Priscilla B. Hayner, *Unspeakable Truths: Confronting State Terror and Atrocity* (New York, 2001); Ruti G. Teitel, *Transitional Justice* (Oxford, 2000); Robert I. Rotberg and Dennis Thompson, eds., *Truth v. Justice: The Morality of Truth Commissions* (Princeton, N.J., 2000); Martha Minow, *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness: Facing History after Genocide and Mass Violence* (Boston, 1998); Andrew Rigby, *Justice and Reconciliation: After the Violence* (Boulder, Colo., 2001); John Torpey, *Politics and the Past: On Repairing Historical Injustices* (Lanham, Md., 2003); Janna Thompson, *Taking Responsibility for the Past: Reparation and Historical Injustice* (Cambridge, 2002); Teresa Godwin Phelps, *Shattered Voices: Language, Violence, and the Work of Truth Commissions* (Philadelphia, 2004); and Naomi Roht-Arriaza and Javier Mariezcurrena, eds., *Transitional Justice in the Twenty-First Century: Beyond Truth versus Justice* (Cambridge, 2006). For the Wilmington Race Riot Commission, see note 8. Erin Daly and Jeremy Sarkin, *Reconciliation in Divided Societies: Finding Common Ground* (Philadelphia, 2006).

historians from both (or all) sides of a historical conflict in order to examine the events empirically within a framework of inclusion and to produce a narrative on which the stakeholders can agree. The explicit purpose of the resulting historical narratives is to provide the basis for a new shared historical identity. These initiatives function simultaneously as an exploration of the historiographical questions that arise from such work and as historical activism in the cause of conflict resolution.

Attempts at historical reconciliation thus provide a third means of redress in addition to tribunals and truth commissions. They deal with long-term memories of group animosity, including cases in which individual perpetrators and victims are no longer alive, yet their actions and suffering continue to haunt the national memory. Such undertakings provide an opportunity for historians both to be socially involved and to participate in collaborative research.

Some of the historiographical paradoxes that emerge from such attempts are obvious: activism involves advocacy and a presentist perspective, both problematic vantage points for most historians. Does constructing a “shared” narrative mean giving equal time to all sides? How do the goals of delegitimizing the nationalist historical myths that feed ethnic hatred and conflict converge with the aim to construct, through history, a new national identity? In other words, how does the historian avoid getting caught up in providing a historical narrative for “political hire” even for a “good” cause? Can historical narratives that are explicitly intended to influence ethnic and national relations be written without violating professional commitments and standards? Can we seek models in the earlier goals of historical writing that sought “moral certainty,” which, while employing the tools of empiricism, aimed at establishing sufficient certainty for action? Participation in collaborative work with a political goal clearly presents challenges to historical research.¹⁰

These dilemmas contextualize the three essays in this forum, but the essays first and foremost provide case studies that illustrate the possibilities and difficulties of conducting shared historical research. Each case is at a different stage in the process, and each is different in the type of conflict it addresses, but in all three, raw politics (often played out among the groups themselves) shape the writing of history, and the resulting historical narrative aims to influence subsequent inter-ethnic relations.

In “On Reconciling the Histories of Two Chosen Peoples,” David Engel describes a project on Jewish-Polish history that seeks to lay bare the underlying assumptions of historical identity of Jews and non-Jews in Poland. Why, Engel asks, has the discrepancy between the historical narratives of Poles and Polish Jews remained bewilderingly stable throughout the world wars, the Holocaust, and communism? Even the physical elimination of Jews in Poland did not profoundly change the two world-views. As Engel presents it, both the Polish and Jewish narratives represent in distinct ways the self-perception of each nation as a chosen people, where even the imaginary space is not roomy enough to encompass plural uniqueness. Thus, the two groups often find themselves at odds, despite the relative diplomatic closeness between Poland and Israel, the lack of contemporary conflict, and the principled will-

¹⁰ Each of the projects discussed in this forum has cooperated in some manner with the Institute for Historical Justice and Reconciliation, an NGO which has been established with the explicit aim of “addressing unresolved historical legacies . . . in former conflict regions.” Situated in the Hague, the IHJR works with partner and cooperating institutions around the world on multi-year projects and networking initiatives that engage stakeholder communities in peace and reconciliation processes.

ingness of many to reconcile. The tenacious durability of historical imagination was illustrated in a workshop titled "History and Memory: Interethnic Relations in the Soviet Occupied Territories of Poland, 1939–1941," at the Simon Dubnow Institute for Jewish History and Culture in Leipzig in 2005. The participants, convened to work toward building a shared narrative, agreed upon the goal, yet the question of the relative suffering of Jews versus Poles, and of antisemitism versus Jewish collaboration with the Soviets (where the presence of several individual communist Jews was presented as evidence of collective guilt and treason), loomed large over the proceedings.¹¹ While the work continues, and the assumption is that differences of interpretation will remain in the multiple new narratives, the goal is that these differences will no longer correspond largely to the ethnic differences of the scholars.

In "Truth in Telling: Reconciling Realities in the Genocide of the Ottoman Armenians," Ronald Grigor Suny describes an initiative, under way now for several years, that includes scholars of Turkish, Armenian, and other ethnicities. The weight of history on current politics is exceptionally heavy in the case of Turkey, whose image has become intimately associated in public opinion with the question of Armenian genocide. For moralistic reasons, no issue is more controversial in characterizing Turkey's relationship with Europe than its denial that the massacres of Armenians in 1915 amounted to genocide. In October 2006, the French proposed a law that would penalize the denial of the Armenian genocide, provoking a diplomatic crisis that led Turkey to suspend its military relations with France. The dispute is ongoing, and involves substantial disagreement over the denial and the recognition of the genocide, as well as a proxy struggle over the process of Turkey's accession to the European Union. Similarly, in the fall of 2007, members of the U.S. Congress pushed for formal recognition of the genocide. In response, Turkey threatened to cease military cooperation with the U.S., to forbid the passage of American military cargo to Iraq, and to escalate its war against the Kurds. Political realism won out over moral considerations, and the resolution did not make it to the House floor. It is certain, however, that the topic will be revived in the near future. This is an intense case that exemplifies the ascendancy of demands for historical redress and acknowledgment in international politics. It testifies not only to the growing role of human rights in political debates, but also to the public awareness that historical identity is central to shaping relations between states and peoples.

As described by Suny, the participants in the Turkish-Armenian initiative have conducted a number of workshops. These meetings, which were initially kept confidential, have been informed by a shared goal of bridging differences, recognizing and acknowledging the victims, and contributing to resolving the conflict between Turkey and Armenia (and Armenians). They have achieved broad agreement on new understandings and areas of research, and public reports of the work have been viewed as proof of progress. Suny's story delineates the evolution over the last decade of increasing cooperation between Turkish and Armenian scholars in studying the calamity of 1915 in the face of the Turkish state's denial. Suny describes the agreement among Turkish and Armenian scholars on the specific events of the Armenian catastrophe, even as the terminology of genocide remains contested. Nevertheless,

¹¹ Barkan, Cole, and Struve, *Shared History—Divided Memory*.

while individual efforts are being routinized—meetings of Armenian and Turkish scholars to discuss the topic are no longer unprecedented, and the ability of the participants to work together has improved significantly—the diplomatic stalemate and Turkey's active opposition to acknowledgment remain a major obstacle. The rapid shift over several workshops as participants learned to trust each other and as professional integrity enabled the overcoming of earlier perceptions suggests that the construction of shared narratives is feasible, even if the critical step of formal embrace by the state is not near. At the same time, it is precisely the international and scholarly attention that Suny describes—of which the workshops have been a manifestation, and to which they are a contributing factor—that pressured Turkey to modify its position. Suny's analysis emphasizes the importance of collaborative projects in shaping scholarly and public opinion. Indeed, Turkey's campaign to counter this work is one indication of its impact.

Finally, Charles Ingrao describes the Scholars' Initiative for the former Yugoslavia, which is an ongoing effort at coordination in which three hundred loosely affiliated scholars have been engaged at various points, collaborating mostly online, but also meeting at several conferences. The ease of e-mail communication makes such a project feasible, but ethnic animosity remains an obstacle, even among well-meaning scholars. By including foreign scholars outside the Balkans, the initiative has attempted to mitigate raw disagreements. This project, which is relatively more advanced than the others, has set out to publish eleven reports on the most contentious issues of the war in the former Yugoslavia. Its teams, which have included members of all ethnicities in the region (and outsiders), have earned praise and promises of support from leaders across the Balkans. The reports aim to do more than merely bring together individual papers on one topic; the goal is to jointly author a report that will adjudicate the disagreements and present a single narrative of all the horrendous crimes, as well as a structural analysis of the causes and the conduct of the conflict. The current phase aims to engage the public through publications and the organization of public forums. This in itself will contribute to a reconstruction of the narrative. The publication of the reports creates a new challenge. Even when agreement is reached, scholars faced with nationalist critique and extensive media attention may be hard-pressed to adhere to some of the most controversial findings. With respect to the publication of the 2006 report "Ethnic Cleansing," for example, Bosnian scholars found it hard to maintain support for their own account because in the general political atmosphere in Bosnia, the crimes were viewed as constituting genocide, and critics regarded "ethnic cleansing" as a euphemism. The next challenge is to expand the shared narrative beyond the wars in the 1990s to engage with identity conflicts throughout the long twentieth century.

These cases illustrate the intense political attention given to historical narrative as a methodology of redress and as a tool for promoting human rights and contributing to conflict resolution. The force of narrating history as a means of reconciliation was asserted in a UN report titled "Alliance of Civilizations," which explicitly recalls and rejects Samuel P. Huntington's theory of the "clash of civilizations." With respect to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the construction of "the mutual recognition of the competing narratives that emerged following the es-

tablishment of the state of Israel," this UN initiative included this core recommendation:

The competing narratives of Palestinians and Israelis cannot be fully reconciled, but they must be mutually acknowledged in order to establish the foundations of a durable settlement. To this end we recommend the development of a White Paper analyzing the Israeli-Palestinian conflict dispassionately and objectively, giving voice to the competing narratives on both sides, reviewing and diagnosing the successes and failures of past peace initiatives, and establishing clearly the conditions that must be met to find a way out of this crisis. Such a document could provide a firm foundation for the work of key decision-makers involved in efforts to resolve this conflict.¹²

The recommendation has yet to be implemented. The founding of historical commissions to investigate extreme violence and the demand for redress in various forms for historical crimes demonstrate that history has become central to human rights and politics. In this way, historical narratives have become an explicit political tool.¹³

ADVOCACY AND ACTIVISM HAVE TRADITIONALLY been viewed as the polar opposites of dispassionate scholarship. Similarly, the study of history as the study of the past has been understood as distinct from an intentional activism aimed at influencing the future. Of course, history has been employed to advance any number of political aims, and historians often pursue an explicitly political agenda in their writing. Indeed, some may see the discussion of activism and scholarship as a non-issue. So much of "identity" and other scholarship has been closely tied to activism that it might seem trite to engage the issue at this late date. Yet it is probably not unwarranted to acknowledge that the professional credo of scholarship for scholarship's sake remains strong.

For both temporal and methodological reasons, historians have not traditionally viewed their own professional work as a tool for furthering specific political goals; nor have policy schools regarded history as a methodology that is useful in pursuing political goals or capable of contributing to public or international policy. Professional historians have justifiably been concerned with maintaining credibility and the appearance of historical impartiality. At times this has been done at the expense of bringing together scholarship with political and social commitments. Most historians accept that one's identity and politics profoundly shape one's work in any number of ways—from the choice of subject matter to the methodology and the interpretive framework—but preserve the goal of not distorting the data to fit one's conviction.

¹² "Alliance of Civilizations: Report of the High-Level Group," November 13, 2006, V.5.7, <http://www.unaoc.org/content/view/64/94/lang,english/>, 18.

¹³ This is reflected in the growing attention to the history of human rights. See Linda K. Kerber, "We Are All Historians of Human Rights," *Perspectives*, October 2006. The increasing publications on human rights are an example of a field that is closely shaped by political developments, even when the connection is not made explicit. Kenneth Cmiel, "The Recent History of Human Rights," *American Historical Review* 109, no. 1 (February 2004): 117–135. Also Lynn Hunt, *Inventing Human Rights: A History* (New York, 2007); Paul Gordon Lauren, *The Evolution of International Human Rights: Visions Seen* (Philadelphia, 2003); Elizabeth Borgwardt, *A New Deal for the World: America's Vision for Human Rights* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005); Micheline R. Ishay, *The History of Human Rights: From Ancient Times to the Globalization Era* (Berkeley, Calif., 2005); Mark Mazower, "The Strange Triumph of Human Rights, 1933–1950," *Historical Journal* 47, no. 2 (June 2004): 379–398.

As the essays in this forum illustrate, this is all beginning to change. Historians understand that the construction of history continuously shapes our world, and therefore it often has to be treated as an explicit, direct political activity, operating within specific scientific methodological and rhetorical rules. As a result, they are taking on the role of public intellectuals and engaging in the construction of historical identity both as individuals and as participants in commissions. These sentiments were expressed in the phrase “intellectuals without frontiers” and in Stanley Katz’s call to “apply our theoretical training and experience to urgent problems whose full complexities have as yet gone untended.”¹⁴ Going beyond a simple dichotomy between activists versus sophisticated historians who engage the symbolic and the ambiguous, the role of the historian may be to engage real-world concerns and concrete goals with methodological sensitivity and empathy.

Charles Maier expresses this tension between resignation and action in a short essay on retribution and reparation: “We repair and remember because we cannot return,” he writes, because our aim is “to enable survivors to carry life after the rending.” The first part of Maier’s claim suggests an acceptance that goes beyond the obvious points that time past cannot be recaptured and history is irreversible. Loss has created a reality in which memory is primarily nostalgic and only secondarily ameliorative. This attitude of resignation is in contrast to the second half of Maier’s statement, however, where resignation is replaced by an activism oriented toward providing a political program to “enable survivors.” This “enabling” speaks to one end of a spectrum of redress that stretches from retribution and vengeance to accommodation and subjective memories. “Enabling” opens a passage between impartiality and engagement, between empathy and mobilized scholarship.¹⁵

Professional commitment among historians is viewed as rightly constraining the political agenda, but it also results in the frequent erasure of the “external” motivation from the text. A different approach, as pursued in the following essays, is to

¹⁴ Stanley N. Katz, “‘Excellence Is by No Means Enough’: Intellectual Philanthropy and the Just University,” *Common Knowledge* 8, no. 3 (2002): 427–438. Katz urges scholars to do more than “mak[e] our universities just,” and says that intellectuals face demands for action and worldly involvement.

¹⁵ Charles Maier, “Overcoming the Past? Narrative and Negotiation, Remembering, and Reparation: Issues at the Interface of History and the Law,” in Torpey, *Politics and the Past*, 295–304. It should be noted that after a generation of writing about history and memory, what began as two competing concepts (foremost perhaps with the writings of Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory* [Seattle, 1982], and Pierre Nora, *Realms of Memory* [*Les lieux de mémoire*, 1984]) have merged. The construction of many bridges and overlapping spaces—at times physical, such as sites of memory (see, for example, the interesting effort of the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience, <http://www.sitesofconscience.org/>), and at other times intangible—means that it is impossible today to delineate two separate domains for history and memory. While the antecedents of writing about memory go back to antiquity, it was during the 1980s that the intensity of engagement with the topic really took off. The two distinct concepts have melded into various layers where history and memory construct and reshape each other, where the collective and the private are intertwined. In addition, these concepts have been intimately related, among others, to the notions of trauma and nostalgia, all of which has been the subject of extensive writing. More than ten years ago, Alon Confino claimed that memory has become the leading concept in cultural history: “Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method,” *American Historical Review* 102, no. 5 (December 1997): 1386–1403. On the early years of the burgeoning literature, see Kerwin Lee Klein, “On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse,” in *Grounds for Remembering*, Special Issue, *Representations* 69 (Winter 2000): 127–150; as well as Gil Eyal, “Identity and Trauma: Two Forms of the Will to Memory,” *History & Memory* 16, no. 1 (2004): 5–36; Jeffrey K. Olick, ed., *States of Memory: Continuities, Conflicts, and Transformations in National Retrospection* (Durham, N.C., 2003). It is always good to revisit Ian Hacking, *Rewriting the Soul: Multiple Personality and the Sciences of Memory* (Princeton, N.J., 1995).

acknowledge the tension between the two types of commitments up front. This underscores Maier's sense of resignation that alludes to the notion of history as past events that cannot be changed. At its most fundamental level, this is clearly true. One response to this irreversibility of history is to explore redress. Forgiveness is one such response. But if we think of memory and historical truth as constructions that are produced under particular rules and constraints and that furnish new realities, then historical activism as a component of redress begins to take a specific shape.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF HISTORY is not limited to professional historians. Since history defines our identity in so many ways, numerous writers and politicians employ and disseminate historical narratives to advance their own goals. Often this is simply a subject for domestic political analysis or dispute, but when it instigates a national conflict, it can become a cause of war and of gross violations of human rights. Historians can hardly be content in these cases to avoid the public arena as unsavory. In both Rwanda and Bosnia, the worst violence in the 1990s was buttressed and to a degree caused by particularly hateful national memories and interpretations of history. The exploitation by nationalists of historical narratives is readily apparent around the globe, explicitly aggravating low-level conflicts. It is understandable that individual historians abstain from getting involved in such ugly public debates, leaving them to political actors. But when the profession as a whole disengages, we create a vacuum that all too often is exploited by nationalists.

As the essays in this *AHR* Forum show, there is an alternative to such nationalist histories. It is achieved when historians create space for joint work that engages intellectuals from both sides of a conflict who come together to cooperate in the writing of a shared narrative. The term "shared narrative" is used in this context to describe a historical narrative that intertwines and brings closer the perspectives of two or more national histories that are in direct conflict. It is unlikely to be linear or monovocal and will most likely have distinct registers. There may be meta-agreement and a variety of interpretations about the local and the specifics, or the other way around. The aim of a shared narrative is to erase the dichotomies along national lines. As Ron Suny tells us, many Turkish and Armenian historians can agree about the massacres and deportations and the fact that they were ordered, organized, and carried out by the state. Although numerous empirical disagreements remain, the critical rupture is not among the participants in the joint work, but between those historians and the official Turkish view. A similar, if less entrenched, dispute bedevils the former Yugoslavia. Yet, as the Scholars' Initiative described by Charles Ingrao shows, it is possible for agreement to be reached on overall perspective, as well as on specific questions. This is demonstrated by the numerous inconvenient facts agreed upon by scholars belonging to all ethnicities in the former Yugoslavia.¹⁶ Nonetheless, the distance between the national narratives remains significant. The ability to create a shared narrative is not meant to convey undue optimism. It is a step in a process of conflict resolution. It has to be followed with multiple types of

¹⁶ See Charles W. Ingrao and Thomas A. Emmert, eds., *Confronting The Yugoslav Controversies* (West Lafayette, Ind., 2009).

dissemination and education before it can have any significant impact. But it does provide both a necessary example of the feasibility of the reconciled narrative and a building block in the process. In many conversations involving scholars and politicians, the attractiveness of the shared narrative is patent; the challenge is to implement it.

It has been suggested that I am too optimistic in my belief in the power of historical reconciliation, and that by focusing on the symbolic rather than the tangible, I minimize the significance of redress embedded in historical narratives. Both implications are probably true. I believe this reflects the state of the field: while the symbolic power of shared narratives may appear to the outsider and the uninitiated to be minimal, it is enormously important to the stakeholders. Since historical redress is unlikely to restructure society and power relationships in the short run (although it may lead to long-term changes), even the symbolic becomes a cause for optimism, especially when it carries minimal material reparations.

Sharing may sound benign, but the process of constructing narratives may in certain instances be risky, and may subject historians to public pressure or more. One would be amiss not to note that the uncertainty of a shared space can be a lightning rod for nationalists. Scholars must be courageous enough to present a counternationalist narrative, and they must be willing to construct and sign on to a narrative that criticizes the national myths and gives "comfort to the enemy." In certain cases it leads participants to transgress the law. In Turkey, scholars and others have often been indicted for offending the nation by referring to Armenian genocide (article 301 of the criminal law). Hrant Dink—a journalist, not a historian—was assassinated following his indictment for participating publicly in this dialogue.

This is an extreme case, and more often a shared narrative leads to animated discussion and strong criticism. The political pressure exercised against historians for even participating in such an enterprise can be significant, however, as I have witnessed in both the Balkans and Palestine. Nationalist backlash is a real impediment, yet international professional legitimacy can provide encouragement and crucial support. The custodians of the nationalist discourse do not disappear; they are likely to mount a counteroffensive, but at least they face an agenda and a narrative that challenge their own myth.

At times, agreement on very elementary aspects of the conflict is viewed as an achievement and perceived as a step forward, since people on both sides are surprised to see the extent of the shared ground. For example, in a recent exchange that occurred during some joint Palestinian-Israeli work on a historical atlas of 1948, the mere acceptance by Israelis that what are now Jewish cities were previously Arab cities (such as Tiberius/Safad) was welcomed by Palestinians, although from the Israeli side this was not a gesture or a move of reconciliation, but merely a well-known historical description. On the other hand, the nationalist specter continues to haunt both sides when it comes to the Sanctuary, known to Arabs as Harem al-Sharif, and to much of the rest of the world as the Temple Mount. The willingness of the two sides to collaborate on a single text is innovative and is seen as a sign of goodwill, a potential facilitator of conciliation.¹⁷ There is little doubt that the process of de-

¹⁷ See <http://www.historyandreconciliation.org>. In an op-ed piece, Dennis Ross described the construction of myth in the outcome of Camp David (2000): "Nothing has done more to perpetuate the

termining the historical status of holy sites has profound implications for the contemporary Palestinian-Israeli conflict, and one way to move forward is for scholars from both sides to conduct specific historical investigations according to professional standards. The resulting shared narrative can first delineate the emerging agreement between the sides and secondly clarify the differences of opinion and explicate the reasons for the remaining disagreement (e.g., conflicting sets of data and interpretations of causality). Such a narrative has the potential for countering nationalist propaganda on both sides, and can present a framework within which politicians may be able to explore new possibilities.

An alternative theoretical way to reconcile historical national memories is to erase differences, that is, to create parity at any price. Vaclav Havel's famous assertion that "We are all perpetrators" is analogous to the focus of German expellees' organizations on "We are all victims," and to Desmond Tutu's emphasis on comprehensive forgiveness. These narratives, although impelled by polarized moral intuitions, construct moral equivalences among perpetrators and victims. Such views erase differences through their focus on individual actions and sufferings: victimized civilians are victims, no matter what crimes have been perpetrated by their kin. Havel's spread of the responsibility for political violence among the population at large mirrors the expellees' desire to share in the victimization of World War II. Tutu's insistence on forgiveness places yet another obligation on the victims that constructs a semblance of reciprocal responsibility between the perpetrators' need to apologize and the victims' need to forgive. The problem is that if everyone is either responsible or guilty, then no one is. If everyone is a victim, then neither guilt nor responsibility matters. Erasure of historical responsibility and the flattening of difference have not, however, generally been successful in persuading public opinion, and collective guilt remains a strong force in national politics. Neither the Czech nor the Polish publics embrace the notion of being perpetrators toward Germans, and at the same time, the victims of Germany are not willing to share their own victimization to allow parity for German suffering.

Confronting collective guilt presents a crucial challenge for redress. There is no parity in history, and no one should expect it. While the liberal worldview abhors the notion of collective guilt, national memory is replete with collective characterizations including guilt and responsibility. Collective guilt is a frequent if not a permanent fixture of public memory, and it has to be engaged directly. Engaging the national collective guilt and constructing the memory in a way that incorporates it into the national identity, rather than confining it to a form of collective accusation, can produce recognition and a more productive relationship. A rich narrative is not one that displays similar sympathy to both sides, particularly in cases of gross violence. One can assume that the conflict, and the nationalist histories that drive it, are often (perhaps always) based on memory that is flat, binary, and simpler than the complex historical record. Therefore it is probable that a rich narrative will undermine nationalist perspectives and provide for a more nuanced history. Yet there are cases

conflict between Arabs and Israelis than the mythologies on each side." Ross, "Don't Play with Maps," *New York Times*, January 9, 2007. Even when the history is in the immediate past, mythologizing can be instantaneous.

in which one-sided memory actually coincides with the historical research, in which victims are victims and perpetrators are perpetrators. In such cases, the overwhelming evidence necessary to produce a coherent and unambiguous narrative may well persuade the parties whose myth is shattered that their self-perception and their view of history ought to be revisited. Indeed, such was the response to the Jedwabne commemoration by some Poles and the government at the time.

More likely, assigning responsibility or guilt will evoke stiff opposition. This is evident in the Yugoslav Scholars' Initiative's focus on the wrongs/crimes committed by all sides, yet the recognition that Serb forces committed the most/worst crimes. As I experienced in presenting the question of Serbian aggression to a Serb audience, and as is widely evident in public discourse, there is a powerful desire among Serbs to contextualize Serbian crimes in the 1990s within the history of World War II in the region, especially the crimes committed by the Ustaše. The Serbs' memory of the Second World War provides them with vital justification for the 1990s war. These national narratives remain a potential and real cause of conflict.

Addressing the collective memory will of necessity include the exceptions, the plurality of attitudes, including those actions and individuals who provided haven to the victims. Although many Hutus were guilty of perpetrating genocide, the Hutu collective guilt cannot mean that every Hutu is guilty.¹⁸ Telling the stories of the "righteous" is also part of the national identity. Indeed, in places where the affected societies and peoples continue to coexist in proximity, such engagement is a must. The alternative too often is renewed violence.¹⁹

The history wars are on the front line of politics. As of mid-2009, Kenya, in the wake of the political violence of December 2007, is in the process of constituting a Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation Commission with the goal of investigating historical injustices since independence (1963). Despite sustained international pressure and threats of intervention by the International Criminal Court, it has taken eighteen months to set up, requiring the negotiation of political compromises. The scope of the investigation is wide; its aim is to facilitate a transitional democracy that will be accountable and work toward peaceful coexistence. It thus presents a dilemma: What should the TJRC privilege in order to achieve its larger goal of leveraging the historical truth to construct a usable history for Kenyans of diverse identities? So far, the headlines are not promising. The Kenyan public seems mesmerized—at least in the short run—by discussions over the nature of historical injustices, but most of these focus on the top political echelon and on unresolved political assassinations. They ignore long-term structural historical injustices and thus have quickly alienated deprived communities who do not see the commission

¹⁸ The number of persons accused of genocide soared to 818,000 in 2007. Those trials are still ongoing. Tens of thousands of Hutus, and probably more, were to be tried by the Gacaca courts, a system of "traditional" local "juries" adopted to prosecute "lesser" criminals who have been in custody for years because of a judicial backlog. The system is overwhelmed by the challenges it faces, not the least of which is that it has more than 200,000 judges who are not paid, and who are open to widespread manipulation. See "Rwanda: Events of 2007," <http://hrw.org/englishwr2k8/docs/2008/01/31/rwanda17828.htm>. Also, for an overview of the courts, see Christopher J. Le Mon, "Rwanda's Troubled Gacaca Courts," *Human Rights Brief* 14, no. 2 (Winter 2007): 16.

¹⁹ The sense that ethnic separation is a real alternative has gained new adherents since the 1990s. Chaim Kaufmann, "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars," *International Security* 20, no. 4 (Spring 1996): 136–175.

as serving their own interests. Muslim communities in the northeast, for example, have threatened to boycott it. Kenya provides an example of a society in transition that is focusing its national energy on acknowledging and amending historical injustices as a way of building a democracy. Recognition becomes a precondition for national unity. Whether the process will succeed is another matter; it will need a great deal of help.

If in Kenya grassroots human rights advocacy as well as international pressure led to the employment of history to resolve a political impasse, the government in Russia is in total control in mobilizing the writing of history for its own ends. In May 2009, Russian president Dmitry Medvedev established a wide-ranging special presidential commission for "historic truth" with the goal "to counteract attempts to falsify history that undermine the interests of Russia." This political statement, which some commentators saw as having "strategic importance," was published on the eve of the military parade in Moscow to commemorate World War II Victory Day. This move to defend the motherland against "the falsifiers of history" was directed at, among others, Ukraine and the Baltic states, but even more so against internal dissent. The suppression of freedom of speech is one of the most pointed attacks on human rights in Russia, and now Russia has officially opened the "history wars" as a new frontier in this suppression of human rights and in its propaganda war with Ukraine and the Baltic states. As with human rights, history is now central enough to international politics that it is used as a tool of abuse and is becoming a focal point for distorters of written history as much as it is for historians and advocates in pursuit of "legitimate" history. History is clearly subject to falsification, and abusers' attempt to own the process is akin to the policy of countries such as Cuba, Saudi Arabia, and China, which are being elected to the Human Rights Council with the sole goal of undermining a vigilant human rights system. When it comes to history, the challenge is to build a vibrant civil society advocacy movement that will counteract the abuse of history as a means of provoking conflict and repressing human rights.

One tangible shared narrative can be found in reparations agreements, which provide explicit and quantitative negotiation over memory and victimization. The worst violations of a people, genocides and the Holocaust, are the clearest examples. The reparations accord is a complex construction involving myriad issues, but the most important is that the protagonists, victims and victimizers alike, recognize each other's story in the narration. This form of closure, which acknowledges the current memories of each side, provides the structure for a shared narrative that retains a place for one's own national story. Such closure is more than merely an agreement of material claims; it is also a bartering of memory. As with other forms of writing history, the narrative remains subject to reinterpretation. While each side can turn around and reinterpret the memory, and even the meaning of the reparations agreement, it does signal that there is more to the shared narrative than divergent perspectives on the conflict.

STANDARDS OF TRUTH IN PHILOSOPHY and science form the backdrop to historians' struggle with objectivity, subjectivity, and activism. The tentativeness of historical

truth was articulated by Carl Becker in "Everyman His Own Historian," delivered as the AHA Presidential Address in 1932, long before most of today's practicing historians were born. The subjectivity that is an unavoidable component of the writing of history can lead at one end of the spectrum to George Orwell, who famously viewed historical writing as omnipotent because "those who control the present control the past and those who control the past control the future," and at the other end to Jorge Luis Borges, for whom "historical truth . . . is not what has happened; it is what we judge to have happened." Borges's perspective may lead to resignation in the face of the past, for history writing, as he says, is "an undertaking which was exceedingly complex and, from the very beginning, futile."²⁰ On the other end of the historical realist spectrum stands Günter Grass, who in *Crabwalk* vividly expressed the necessity of the writing of history because the past is like "a clogged toilet" that refuses to clear.²¹ The contributors to this *AHR* Forum suggest a middle way between these distant ends of the spectrum. They attempt to put the subjectivity of history not in the service of controlling or reversing the past, but rather to the delicate task of narrating the past in a way that enriches the present.

²⁰ George Orwell, *1984* (1949; repr., New York, 1961), 204; Jorge Luis Borges, "Pierre Menard, Author of the *Quixote*," in Borges, *Labyrinths: Selected Stories and Other Writings*, ed. Donald A. Yates and James E. Irby (New York, 1964), 43–44.

²¹ Günter Grass, *Crabwalk*, trans. Krishna Winston (Orlando, Fla., 2003), 122.

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AHR Forum
On Reconciling the Histories of Two Chosen Peoples

DAVID ENGEL

IN 2003, THE CARNEGIE COUNCIL for Ethics in International Affairs invited me to participate in a project called the International History Initiative, whose goal was to engage scholars in “reckoning with contested pasts . . . in order to transform historical disputes from a cause of conflict to a tool in long-term reconciliation and peace-building.”¹ Its premise was that there is a reciprocal linkage between contemporary intergroup relations and narratives about those relations in the past: not only are historical narratives shaped by contemporary events, but contemporary events can be shaped by historical narratives. Hence the project’s operative assumption: get historians from groups in conflict with one another to reconcile their clashing representations of their groups’ past interactions, and possibilities for improving the tenor of present interactions might well be enhanced.

The organizers of the project believed that the history of Polish-Jewish relations might offer a suitable test case for their hypothesis. Indeed, only a short while earlier, a historical work—*Neighbors*, Jan Gross’s book implicating Poles in the massacre of Jews at Jedwabne in 1941—had aroused passionate contention among segments of Polish and Jewish communities throughout the world, yet it had done so in a way that suggested to some observers that it was possible “to move beyond strongly held, competing, and incompatible narratives of the past and to reach some consensus that will be acceptable to all people of goodwill.”² The organizers were thus keen to gauge the extent of current disagreements and convergence among historians of Polish-Jewish relations in Poland, North America, Western Europe, and Israel and to assess the extent to which scholars in these different regions reflected and related to the specific public contexts in which they worked. To that end they convened an international workshop at the Simon Dubnow Institute for Jewish History and Culture at the University of Leipzig, most of whose participants affirmed that a consensus narrative—based upon a veritable explosion of empirical work produced since the

Special thanks are due Dr. Andrzej Bryk of the Jagiellonian University, who in an offhand remark more than two decades ago attributed ongoing Polish-Jewish friction to the fact that “there is not enough room on this planet for two chosen peoples.” Neither he nor I appreciated at the time how strong a basis his observation has in the Polish and Jewish historiographical traditions and their public reception.

¹ “International History Initiative (IHI): The Historical Commissions Project of the Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs,” 1, <http://www.cceia.org/media/IHIdescription.pdf>.

² Jan T. Gross, *Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland* (Princeton, N.J., 2001); Antony Polonsky and Joanna B. Michlic, eds., *The Neighbors Respond: The Controversy over the Jedwabne Massacre in Poland* (Princeton, N.J., 2004), 43.

early 1990s, much of it by a cadre of young scholars in Poland and abroad trained to work with materials of both Polish and Jewish provenance in all of the languages the two groups routinely employed—was within reach. Discussion at the workshop led the organizers eventually to commission ten of those young scholars to collaborate on a synthetic narrative history of Polish-Jewish relations since the mid-nineteenth century, aimed at a broad educated audience of Polish, Jewish, and other readers curious about the subject. I was engaged as editor.

The volume is currently in preparation, although sponsorship has meanwhile passed from the Carnegie Council to the Institute for Historical Justice and Reconciliation in Salzburg (IHJR). Each chapter is being composed by a team of at least two authors who live in different countries and write largely in different languages; the initial drafts are then circulated among all ten scholars for their responses. The observations of a diverse group of senior historians have also been solicited, with the intention of incorporating them into a running commentary alongside the text. I have assumed the challenge of turning these raw materials into a truly multivocal history—one in which the voices are not merely heard *seriatim* but actually interact with one another throughout the presentation.

It is still too early to determine the degree of historiographical consensus or conflict that the work's ultimate incarnation will reveal, let alone to predict how nonacademic readers in different countries will respond. But as it happens, the idea of producing a consensus history of Polish-Jewish relations is not new. In fact, the problem of adjusting Polish and Jewish narratives of the two groups' mutual interactions has a fairly long history of its own. That history suggests that reconciling those narratives, in the limited sense of creating congruence or consistency among them, is hardly impossible. Indeed, for the better part of the nineteenth century, Polish and Jewish historians represented earlier contacts between their respective groups in strikingly similar ways. Oppositional narratives and the strong feelings associated with them came to dominate the historiographical landscape only during the twentieth century. Those twentieth-century oppositions, however, have remained remarkably durable despite radical changes in the demographic contours of the groups' interactions, extending from the days before the Nazi occupation, when 3 million Jews constituted a tenth of Poland's residents and a third of its urban dwellers, to the present, when members of Jewish communities and organizations number scarcely above 5,000. Such durability suggests, ironically, that whether a reconciled version of the past can lead to "long-term reconciliation and peace-building"—whether a shared narrative to which respected Polish and Jewish scholars lend their common imprimatur will make contemporary Poles and Jews less angry with one another over injustices they claim their ancestors suffered at the hands of the others' ancestors—may not depend upon the actual content of Polish-Jewish interactions over time, or even upon the political and social contexts in which those interactions occur. Indeed, public reception of *any* version of the history of Polish-Jewish relations may actually be more a function of the role that history in general plays in both groups' self-understandings. Hence, any effort to reconcile not only historical narratives but the groups that claim them as their own must reckon with that role.

HOW DID THE OPPOSITIONAL NARRATIVES develop, and why have they proven so tenacious? Modern historical study of the Jews in Poland arguably began with Tadeusz Czacki's 1807 *Rozprawa o Żydach i Karaitach* (Treatise on the Jews and the Karaites). Czacki, a prominent intellectual and administrator, offered his research as an introduction to a "Plan for Reforming the Jews," which envisioned granting citizenship rights to Jews in return for their adjustment of Jewish educational practices "according to the criterion of the country's needs."³ One of his main concerns was to examine how various Polish state and communal agencies had influenced the balance of benefits and detriments that Jews had brought to Polish society, in the hope of establishing political conditions for maximizing Jewish utility.⁴ Similar concerns animated subsequent Polish works on the Jewish past, through to the legal histories of Władysław Smoleński and Wacław Maciejowski, published in the 1870s.⁵ Although different writers reached widely varying conclusions, the overall tone of their studies chimed with the introspective tendency of much Polish historiography of the era, born of a quest to expose the flaws of pre-partition Poland that may have expedited the disappearance of the old commonwealth in 1795.⁶ The reception that various segments of Polish society had accorded the Jews was often counted among the flaws. According to Czacki, Jews initially came to Poland hoping to exploit the economic opportunities offered by "our bountiful but sparsely populated country."⁷ However, as depicted in his and other nineteenth-century Polish works, Christian burghers viewed them as unwelcome competitors, while the Catholic Church, seeing Poland as a new and not entirely secure outpost of Latin Christendom, pushed to isolate them from the surrounding society. The attitude of the nobility was characterized as unprincipled capriciousness that brought Jews insecurity and periodic physical suffering. Although the crown was usually portrayed as a protector of Jews, in consonance with its own interests, its ability to provide an effective buffer against the hostile pressures of other social groups was shown to have declined markedly as the centuries passed—part of the general erosion of royal power that marked the history of the former Polish Commonwealth. The purportedly ill-spirited behavior of much of Polish society was assigned heavy responsibility for a pervasive sense of isolation among Jews, reflected in an educational system that left them in "complete ignorance . . . of the moral sciences" and disdainful of the Christians among whom they lived (in sharp contrast to the formidable intellectual achievements and openness to the surrounding society that medieval Jews were supposed to have demonstrated under Islamic rule).⁸ Nevertheless, it was claimed, when prospects for more equitable treatment appeared, Jews responded accordingly: during the 1794 Kościuszko uprising,

³ Tadeusz Czacki, *Rozprawa o Żydach i Karaitach* (1807; repr., Kraków, 1860), 117, 120.

⁴ See esp. *ibid.*, 37–58.

⁵ Władysław Smoleński, *Stan i sprawa żydów polskich w XVIII wieku* (Warsaw, 1876); Wacław Maciejowski, *Żydzi w Polsce, na Rusi i Litwie: Czyli opowieść historyczna o przybyciu do pomienionych krajów dziatwy Izraela* (Warsaw, 1878). For surveys of some additional works, see Artur Eisenbach, *Wielka Emigracja wobec kwestii żydowskiej, 1832–1849* (Warsaw, 1976), 161–185.

⁶ For a general overview, see Piotr S. Wandycz, "Historiography of the Countries of Eastern Europe: Poland," *American Historical Review* 97, no. 4 (October 1992): 1011–1125.

⁷ Czacki, *Rozprawa*, 41.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 114–119 (quotation from 118).

for example, they “joined the army and showed the people . . . that the fatherland’s cause is dear.”⁹

This narrative, which underwrote a liberal integrationist approach to the Jewish question shared by most of the Polish intelligentsia of that era, found its way, broadly speaking, into the work of the first generation of East European Jews to study their coreligionists in earlier times according to the canons of modern historical scholarship. The leader of those Jewish scholars, Simon Dubnow, published a series of essays and studies, beginning in the 1890s, that painted a complex picture of Jewish life in old Poland. Dubnow traced the origins of Jewish settlement to incentives offered by thirteenth-century Polish princes to commercial elements from central Europe, Jewish and Christian alike. In his version, “the legal position of the Jews was . . . determined by the conflict of political and class interests,” leading to fluctuating levels of freedom and security.¹⁰ Culturally, he maintained, “as little as the Poles resembled the Arabs of the ‘golden age’ did the Polish Jews resemble their brethren . . . in the Spain of . . . Maimonides.”¹¹ Although on the one hand he declared that “no country presented so intense a concentration of Jewish energy and so vast a field for the development of a Jewish autonomous life as Poland in the sixteenth and the following centuries,” on the other hand “it seemed as though [from the mid-seventeenth century] history desired to avoid the reproach of partiality . . . by apportioning the same measure of woe to the Jews of Poland as to the Jews of western Europe.”¹²

Yet if Dubnow’s construction drew heavily upon earlier studies by Polish scholars, and thus did not appear substantively all that different from theirs, the political thrust of his work diverged emphatically. Unlike the Polish historians, whose narrative had been forged in the heyday of Enlightenment universalism, Dubnow and his fellow Jewish promoters of East European Jewish historical studies, facing the spread throughout the region of nationalist movements that increasingly denied Jews a place in the communities they hoped to shape and lead, sought not so much integration of Jews from the Polish lands into Polish society (and eventually into a reconstituted Poland) on a liberal basis *as individuals* as they did integration of Jews from all parts of the tsarist empire *as a collective* into a reconstituted multinational state on the basis of national autonomy.¹³ Dubnow’s Polish contemporaries thus appear to have found his narrative disquieting and consequently to have entertained an alternative representation. In 1901, Szymon Askenazy—himself a Jew who identified his welfare with that of the Polish community and actively supported the Polish national movement—even persuaded Warsaw Jewish philanthropist Hipolit Wawelberg to endow a fellowship at Lwów University for young Jewish scholars studying the history of Jews in the Polish lands, evidently in order to counter the Dubnowian

⁹ Ibid., 57.

¹⁰ S. M. Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland*, trans. I. Friedlaender, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1916), 1: 68.

¹¹ Simon Dubnow, “Jewish History: An Essay in the Philosophy of History,” in Dubnow, *Nationalism and History: Essays on Old and New Judaism*, ed. K. S. Pinson (Philadelphia, 1958), 310–311. The essay originally appeared in the Russian-language Jewish monthly *Voskhod* in 1893.

¹² Dubnow, *History*, 1: 66; Dubnow, “Jewish History,” 311.

¹³ On the links between Dubnow’s historiography and his political program, see in particular René Poznanski, “Introduction,” in S. Dubnow, *Lettres sur le judaïsme ancien et nouveau* (Paris, 1989), 21–30, 43–56.

model.¹⁴ As he reportedly explained to a fellowship recipient, most Jews who studied the history of Polish Jewry, even those who were native to the country and published in the Polish language, “wrote about the partitions of Poland in a neutral spirit, without any feel for the tragic end” of the Polish state. Thus, he claimed, they could hardly be regarded as “Polish historians of the Jews.”¹⁵ In particular he worried about what he saw as the dominance of an imperial Russian viewpoint in the historiography of East European Jews, according to which “Jews had it bad in Poland because it was a kingdom of the nobility, and their political and economic situation improved greatly after Poland’s fall, especially in the regions taken by Russia.”¹⁶ In contrast, he maintained, the task of a “Polish historian of the Jews” was “to show that in Poland Jews had always had it good, and things became worse when Russia helped bury” the Polish Commonwealth.¹⁷

In the end, it was not a beneficiary of the Wawelberg fellowship who ultimately produced the desired counternarrative, but one of Askenazy’s Polish colleagues, Stanisław Kutrzeba of the Jagiellonian University in Kraków. In a 1919 essay, *La question juive en Pologne*, submitted to the Paris Peace Conference in connection with Poland’s campaign against international protection for its minority populations, Kutrzeba depicted the country as having offered Jews a “secure and beneficent oasis” during the Middle Ages, when everywhere else in Europe they were humiliated, beaten, and expelled.¹⁸ Thanks, he claimed, to the “complete tolerance” they encountered in Poland, which “imposed no impediment to their establishment in the country” and granted them “more advantageous” charters of rights than they could find in neighboring states, their immigration was “virtually constant”; even in the eighteenth century, the hostile policies of the Austrian and Prussian governments continued to “chase” Jews into Polish territories, until their share of the general population exceeded 10 percent.¹⁹ Enjoying “full freedom” and wide-ranging autonomy, this large community created, in Kutrzeba’s description, a thriving culture: Jews “developed printing, Jewish science flourished,” and Poland became a center

¹⁴ Jacob Shatzky, *Geshikhte fun yidn in Varshe*, 3 vols. (New York, 1953), 3: 93. On the interplay of Askenazy’s identities as Pole and Jew, see Marcin Nurowski, *Szymon Askenazy: Wielki Polak wyznania mojżeszowego* (n.p., 2005). Clearly, Askenazy conceived Polish national identity in cultural-linguistic, not ethno-religious, terms. Although the latter conception became more typical of the Polish national movement as the twentieth century progressed, at the beginning of the century significant segments of the movement still entertained the possibility that Jews might identify as such and belong to the Polish national community. Some Jewish intellectuals even asserted that Jews could belong to two national communities, Polish and Jewish, simultaneously, to the benefit of both. See Ela Bauer, *Between Poles and Jews: The Development of Nahum Sokolow’s Political Thought* (Jerusalem, 2005), 110–127. Dubnow rejected this position in favor of a strictly biological definition of nationality; “Letters on Old and New Judaism: Second Letter,” in Dubnow, *Nationalism and History*, 102–103. Perhaps this difference also contributed to Askenazy’s search for a new representation of the relation of Jewishness to Polishness.

¹⁵ Jacob Shatzky, “Mayne zikhroynes,” in E. Lifschutz, ed., *Shatzky-Bukh* (New York, 1958), 130.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 130–131. In 1912, Askenazy founded the first scholarly journal for the study of Polish Jewish history. In his introduction to the inaugural volume, he indicated that the recent appearance of two Russian-language journals of Jewish history in St. Petersburg, *Evreiskaia starina* and *Perezhitoie* (the former founded by Dubnow in 1909), “all the more emphatically throws into relief the urgent need for a Polish periodical publication that can consider . . . problems . . . belonging . . . to the realm of Polish historiography.” Redakcja, “Słowo wstępne,” *Kwartalnik poświęcony badaniu przeszłości Żydów w Polsce* 1 (1912): 2.

¹⁷ Shatzky, “Mayne zikhroynes,” 131.

¹⁸ Stanisław Kutrzeba, *La question juive en Pologne: Essai historique* (Kraków, 1919), 4.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 3–6.

of Jewish learning, where “celebrated Talmudists” founded academies and pioneered new methods for studying sacred texts.²⁰ On the eve of the partitions, he asserted, the Polish state was moving to integrate Jews as full and equal citizens and “to bring [them] closer . . . to the rest of society through culture and education.”²¹ Efforts in that direction were aborted, he explained, by the partitioning powers, who would have preferred not to take such large numbers of Jews within their borders but, having wiped Poland from the map, found themselves without a country to which they could expel them. Instead, he argued, the partitioning states interfered obtrusively in the Jews’ economic, religious, and cultural life, until “nothing but shreds remained of the former autonomy” they had known under Polish rule.²² Kutrzeba’s conclusion was emphatic: “It has been said that Poland is the *paradisus judaeorum*. It may not have been a paradise for the Jews, but if one compares Jewish liberties in Poland with the restrictions [prevailing elsewhere] . . . , the exaggeration in this name . . . may not appear excessively great.”²³

If Askenazy hoped that Jewish scholars from Poland would promulgate a similar version of the Polish Jewish past, he was surely disappointed. Although several leading historians of the Jews who lived in the Second Polish Republic—Majer Bałaban, Ignacy Schiper, Mojżesz Schorr, Rafael Mahler, Emmanuel Ringelblum, and Philip Friedmann (the first three of whom received the Wawelberg fellowship)—did depart in significant ways from the Dubnowian narrative about Poland’s place in Jewish history, the story line that they substituted for it accorded only in part with Askenazy’s desiderata.²⁴ On the one hand, it stressed that Jews and Poles shared a centuries-long common history, during which relations between the two groups were for the most part peaceful, and Jews developed a strong sense of attachment to the country. It also depicted whatever strains crept into those relations as largely of foreign origin. On the other hand, it attributed the long-term stability of Polish-Jewish relations not, as Kutrzeba had suggested, to any essential proclivity of the Polish nation for tolerance and liberty, but to mutual advantage stemming from a meshing of interests between Jews and certain classes of Polish society. Jews did well in Poland for a long time, the Polish Jewish historians argued, only because they contributed substantially to the development of the Polish state and economy. However, political and economic changes eventually engendered a situation where, in their view, the benefits of cooperation no longer sufficed to offset tensions born of

²⁰ Ibid., 19.

²¹ Ibid., 20.

²² Ibid., 56.

²³ Ibid., 22. The description of Poland as *paradisus judaeorum* dates to the seventeenth century. Through the time of the partitions, it was generally employed satirically, as a way of mocking the noble-dominated regime of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth for its alleged favoring of aliens over natives. In some formulations it was coupled with similar descriptions of Poland’s purported beneficence toward other groups. On the other hand, Poland was often called purgatory for the commoners and hell for the peasants. Stanisław Kot, *Polska rajem dla Żydów, piekłem dla chłopów, niebem dla szlachty* (Warsaw, 1937), esp. 14–15; Janusz Tazbir, *Państwo bez stosów: Szkice z dziejów tolerancji w Polsce XVI i XVII w.* (Warsaw, 1967), 28–56. Kutrzeba and his colleague Franciszek Bujak may have been among the first modern historians to employ the expression seriously as a more or less accurate description of the Jewish situation in old Poland. Bujak, *The Jewish Question in Poland* (Paris, 1919), 6.

²⁴ A detailed analysis of the narrative developed by these historians and the mechanisms by which it was transmitted to a broader public is part of ongoing research by Natalia Aleksion. For a partial report, based on work in progress, see Aleksion, “Narratives under Siege: Polish-Jewish Relations and Jewish Historical Writings in Interwar Poland,” *Antisemitism Worldwide*, 2003/2004, 29–50.

mounting competition and religious parochialism. Although the dating, description, and etiology of those changes were matters of ongoing debate among them, all agreed that during the period of partitions, Polish society had increasingly fallen prey to imported traditions of anti-Jewish prejudice that were not in keeping with its historic values. Poles might recover those values, they suggested, but only if they took affirmative action to do so.

Thus oppositional Polish and Jewish narratives of the historic relations between the two groups replaced convergent ones. Moreover, following the reestablishment of Polish independence, both narratives were routinely marshaled in the service of strategic objectives promoted by the organized Polish and Jewish communities respectively.²⁵ The majority of Poles hoped to see Poland constituted as a "national state" (*państwo narodowe*), in which the Polish community would legitimately exercise power primarily on behalf of its own members, whereas most Jews sought a "state of nationalities" (*państwo narodowościowe*), with power to be shared proportionally among the principal ethnic communities (Jews, Ukrainians, Belarusians, and Germans) whose members resided in significant numbers within the country's borders.²⁶ If it could be demonstrated that Poles were innately tolerant and had always, when not under foreign domination, helped Jews to flourish in their midst, then, Polish spokesmen argued, there was no reason for Jews to oppose monoethnic Polish rule. If, on the other hand, the historical record called Polish tolerance and beneficence into doubt, Jewish leaders possessed a seemingly powerful argument in favor of a multiethnic regime.

As it turned out, power relations in the Second Republic were such that the Polish community's dominant narrative became hegemonic within the country's borders. However, many Poles were persuaded that internationally the Jewish version enjoyed greater credence, to the detriment of Poland's efforts in the diplomatic arena.²⁷ History was thus easily turned into a primary field for intergroup contention. Historian Jacob Shatzky, once Askenazy's protégé and the object of his admonitions about the need to develop a patriotic Polish Jewish historiography, explained the situation from a Jewish point of view:

The Jewish historian in Poland was the ammunition bearer for the . . . masses of the Jewish people. The arguments and proofs that a historian dug out from dark, dusty basement archives were not only of academic importance. In life they were employed in the [Jewish] battle for

²⁵ Kutrzeba was quite blunt in this regard: "Après la guerre, le règlement des rapports des Polonais envers les Juifs, et des Juifs envers les Polonais, ne peut que se trouver à la première place parmi les problèmes à discuter et éventuellement à décider. Cette brochure a pour but de faire mieux connaître la question." Kutrzeba, *Question juive*, 1. See also Anita Shelton, *The Democratic Idea in Polish History and Historiography: Franciszek Bujak (1875–1953)* (Boulder, Colo., 1989), 84–90. On the Jewish side, see Moses Schorr, *Rechtsstellung und innere Verfassung der Juden in Polen: Ein geschichtlicher Rundblick* (Berlin, 1917), 29: "Inmitten dieser großen, zukunfts-schwangeren Ereignisse [des Weltkrieges] tritt auch das Judenproblem als eine der brennendsten inneren Fragen, des neuerstehenden [polnischen] Staates zum Vorschein. Es wird für beide Seiten gut sein, für das polnische Volk nicht minder wie für das jüdische, die Blätter der tausendjährigen gemeinsamen Geschichte aufzuschlagen und die Zeichen der Vergangenheit für die Zukunft zu deuten. Dieses Studium der Geschichte wird den einen wie den anderen manch lehrreichen Wink auch für die Gegenwart gewähren."

²⁶ Andrzej Chojnowski, *Koncepcje polityki narodowościowej rządów polskich w latach, 1921–1939* (Wrocław, 1979); Moshe Landau, *Mi'ut le'umi lohem: Ma'avak yehudei polin, 1918–1928* (Jerusalem, 1986).

²⁷ See Bujak, *The Jewish Question*, 1, 31–33.

rights on the floor of the Polish Sejm, in the speeches of politicians and national activists, in the passionate polemics in the press. That spiritual ammunition became an organic component of political contests in Poland. Jewish historians in Poland felt themselves part of the fight, partners in the long, bloody, and magnificent struggle.²⁸

Shatzky wrote in 1947, looking back upon a world that the Holocaust had abruptly destroyed. "Today the masses are no more," he mourned, "and their ammunition bearers, the historians, have vanished into eternity."²⁹ No doubt he expected the passion that until recently had fueled public debate over the history of Polish-Jewish relations to evaporate once one of the parties to it was no more, and neither Poles nor Jews had a pressing material stake in its outcome any longer. Yet sixty years after the Jewish masses disappeared from the Polish landscape, not only does representation of past Polish-Jewish interactions remain contentious, but the narratives around which parties to the post-Holocaust debates routinely coalesce are at bottom the same ones that crystallized in the early twentieth century. Indeed, contemporary disagreements over Polish-Jewish relations under Nazism and communism, and especially over how the legacies of earlier eras in Polish-Jewish relations might have influenced the outcome of murderous German operations in occupied Polish territory during World War II, have on the whole been readily integrated into pre-existing paradigms. The Holocaust, the imposition of communism, and the replacement of dictatorship with parliamentary democracy—none of these have fundamentally altered the stories that Poles and Jews had been telling about their histories together decades before the physical parameters of their relationship were altered beyond recognition.³⁰

It hardly seems self-evident that such should be the case. It has often been asserted that for Poles, the murder of the majority of continental European Jewry by the Nazi regime within the borders of pre-1939 Poland constitutes "a mass psychic and moral trauma unprecedented in history."³¹ The magnitude of the catastrophe for Jews requires no comment. Perhaps the depth of the horror for both groups has been sufficient to keep the history of the encounter between them alive as a subject of contention even though they no longer rub up against one another in the same geographical space. But exceptional trauma cannot explain why the *terms* of contention have survived the disappearance of actual physical friction. Poles and Jews no longer compete for scarce material resources; nor do they vie over the shape of the regime in a territory that only one group now inhabits in significant numbers. Neither group today has any urgent need for spiritual ammunition in a political struggle against the other. Yet they continue to speak about their relations more or less as they did when their conflicts bore immediate palpable consequences for millions of human beings.

²⁸ Jacob Shatzky, *In shotn fun over* (Buenos Aires, 1947), 7.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 8.

³⁰ Witness, for example, the exchange between Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Shamir and Polish president Lech Wałęsa in 1991 speeches to Israel's Knesset. "Statement in the Knesset by Prime Minister Shamir," May 20, 1991, <http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Foreign%20Relations/Israels%20Foreign%20Relations%20since%201947/1988-1992/206%20Statement%20in%20the%20Knesset%20by%20Prime%20Minister%20Shamir>; "Address by the President of the Republic of Poland Lech Wałęsa to the Knesset," May 21, 1991, <http://www.zbiordokumentow.pl/1991/2/3.html> (accessed August 6, 2006).

³¹ Michael C. Steinlauf, *Bondage to the Dead: Poland and the Memory of the Holocaust* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1997), ix.

It seems, then, that not only political conflicts over tangible interests fueled the narratives of Polish-Jewish relations that have opposed one another for nearly a century. Something about those narratives has evidently lent them the perceived ability not only to influence the distribution of power and resources within the boundaries of a single state but to shape the self-understanding of both groups at the most basic level. And whatever that feature was, the Holocaust reinforced it.

A CLUE TO WHAT THAT FEATURE MIGHT BE is found in the close connection between the formulation of the twentieth-century Polish narrative of Askenazy and Kutrzeba and a more general turn-of-the-century redirection of Polish historiography from the alleged pessimism of the so-called Kraków school toward what came to be known during World War I as the "optimistic" turn. The Kraków scholars, who had dominated Poland's historiographical scene in the aftermath of the failed 1863 Polish insurrection and the collective soul-searching it engendered among Polish intellectuals, placed primary responsibility for the fall of the old Polish Commonwealth on Polish society itself and drew attention to what they saw as fatal defects in its political culture.³² In contrast, the optimistic trend, which first appeared in the 1890s in conjunction with the crystallization of the Polish national movement and gained the lead in Polish historiography after 1914, sought to rehabilitate what the Kraków school had disparaged, stressing the overwhelming rapacity of Poland's neighbors as the principal cause of the partitions and identifying features of vitality and broad human value in historic Polish traditions.³³ Askenazy was one of the chief architects of the new direction.³⁴ Kutrzeba, too, placed himself firmly in the optimists' camp in a 1917 essay in the Christian Democratic daily *Głos narodu*, in which he castigated the Kraków historians for turning the "condemnation of everything that ever was in Poland . . . into a mania" and praised those who had lately "spoken out in defense of the worth of Polish institutions." Polish history, he suggested, ought to be written so as to augment Poles' pride in "our ideals of freedom and liberty."³⁵

Although representatives of the two trends couched their arguments largely in the language of scientific objectivity, Kutrzeba's exposition demonstrated that much more than factual precision separated them. In the event, both sides shared the conviction, common throughout nineteenth-century Europe, that historical study offered a uniquely powerful tool for evaluating permanent features of group character. Indeed, the actions of one's forebears were widely assumed to reflect the essential qualities of all generations. Moreover, proper appreciation of those qualities was held to be indispensable not only for accurate self-assessment but also for determining the measure of merit each group could legitimately claim in its relations with others. Thus, Kutrzeba complained, the Kraków historians not only had damaged the Polish community's collective self-esteem; they had also given "foreigners

³² For basic overviews, see Andrzej F. Grabski, *Zarys historii historiografii polskiej* (Poznań, 2000), 126–134; Marian Serejski, "'L'école historique de Cracovie' et l'historiographie européenne," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 26 (1972): 127–151.

³³ Grabski, *Zarys*, 151–153; Shelton, *The Democratic Idea*, 30–36, 57–68.

³⁴ Wandycz, "Historiography," 1016–1017; Shelton, *The Democratic Idea*, 60–62.

³⁵ Stanisław Kutrzeba, "Wartości historyczne Polski," in M. H. Serejski, ed., *Historycy o historii: Od Adama Naruszewicza do Stanisława Ketrzyńskiego, 1775–1918*, 2 vols. (Warsaw, 1963), 2: 582, 586, 587.

... ammunition against us" by allowing them to infer that "we are not capable of independent existence and therefore have no right to claim a state of our own."³⁶

The version of the history of Jews on Polish soil promoted by Askenazy and penned by Kutrzeba fit the optimists' desire for one that served both political and emotional Polish needs. By depicting the situation of Jews under Polish rule as superior to any they had known in contemporary Europe and locating the source of that superiority in a purported essential value of the Polish nation, Kutrzeba not only made a case that Jews in the newly independent Poland required no international protection and had no need for a constitutionally guaranteed share of political power; he also struck a powerful blow on behalf of the Polish community's overall image, both in its members' eyes and abroad, thus potentially enhancing Poland's international prestige and strengthening its ability to advance broader foreign policy aims.³⁷ At the same time, however, by representing inherent national character as the primary determinant of the history and tenor of Polish-Jewish relations (in contrast to earlier Polish and Jewish narratives, which emphasized more mundane factors), his depiction inevitably raised both the practical and the emotional stakes in discussions of those relations far beyond previous levels. Not only policy decisions but the collective self-images and good names of Poles and Jews alike now stood to be deeply affected by the extent to which pre-partition Poland was perceived as *paradisus judaeorum* and Polish society as consistently tolerant by nature.

In situations where the Polish and Jewish communities found themselves in frequent conflict over material interests and policy matters, agreement on that question was unlikely. If Jews acknowledged that Poles, when left to their own devices, had always provided them the best possible conditions not out of self-interest but because of their collectively tolerant, freedom-loving character, they would be hard-pressed to justify political positions different from those of the Polish majority. In fact, they could do so only by disputing the postulate that past experience left them no cause for worry. However, given the extent to which Poles felt that their national prestige was bound up in the disputed version of history, such an argument could barely be raised without impugning Polish honor. On the other hand, that narrative effectively absolved Poles of responsibility whenever Jews expressed dissatisfaction with what the Polish majority had in mind for them. Indeed, it suggested that dissatisfaction in the face of historically demonstrated Polish beneficence might well stem from some essential flaw in the Jews' own collective character. It is thus no accident that Polish-Jewish clashes before 1939, especially those with significant international repercussions, featured not only competing historical narratives but inferences drawn from those narratives about the disputants' own moral worth.³⁸

³⁶ Ibid., 585.

³⁷ On the manner in which impressions of Polish-Jewish relations affected the Great Powers' attitudes toward a range of Poland-related issues at the Paris Peace Conference, see Kay Lundgreen-Nielsen, *The Polish Problem at the Paris Peace Conference: A Study of the Policies of the Great Powers and the Poles, 1918–1919* (Odense, 1979), 341–348; Carole Fink, *Defending the Rights of Others: The Great Powers, the Jews, and International Minority Protection, 1878–1938* (Cambridge, 2004), 186–193.

³⁸ The most widely examined of these clashes is the one surrounding the 1912 elections in Warsaw to the Fourth Russian State Duma and the subsequent Polish boycott of Jewish businesses. On the clash itself, see, e.g., Stephen D. Corrsin, *Warsaw before the First World War: Poles and Jews in the Third City of the Russian Empire, 1880–1914* (Boulder, Colo., 1989), 89–104; Frank Golczewski, *Polnisch-jüdische Beziehungen, 1881–1922: Eine Studie zur Geschichte des Antisemitismus in Osteuropa* (Wiesbaden, 1981),

The implications of those narratives for the self-image and prestige of the conflicted parties were not obviated once their immediate political significance disappeared. Quite the contrary: with material interests no longer in the balance, the moral plane seemed the only one on which the history of their interactions could be considered. That the disappearance of the material plane began with the Holocaust merely heightened that perception. Examinations of the Nazi era in Poland are easily loaded with ethical overtones. So too are discussions of the subsequent years of communist rule. The history of Polish-Jewish relations following the initial formulation of the two groups' competing narratives—in the Second Polish Republic (1919–1939), the Second World War, the communist era (1945–1989), and beyond—thus continues to be seen by Poles and Jews alike, in their diasporas as well as their centers, as an ongoing test of their peoples' respective essential natures; and the terms of debate that prevailed in the first third of the twentieth century, which encouraged the assignment of praise and blame for any situation short of perfect intergroup harmony in zero-sum fashion, remain relevant to both communities at the beginning of the twenty-first.

What is more, the *particular* self-understandings at stake in the clash of narratives make attempts to reconcile the competing versions of the past especially daunting. The early optimists, who hoped to make Poles proud of their history, linked themselves to the mid-nineteenth-century romantic insurrectionary tradition that their Kraków interlocutors had denigrated.³⁹ A central part of that tradition portrayed Poland's struggle to regain independence as the spearhead of a movement to liberate all people from tyranny. In a well-known figure, the great Polish epic poet Adam Mickiewicz termed his country the "Christ of Nations": Poland, he claimed, had been divinely chosen to lead humanity to universal salvation.⁴⁰ The image appealed to many optimists, if only as a way of concretizing the notion that Poles had founded their state, in Kutrzeba's words (with a nod to the prophet Zechariah), "not by might, nor by power, but through brotherly love," and in doing so had "led [other] nations to their own liberty and freedom."⁴¹ Those optimists approached such a portrayal of the virtues of the old Polish Commonwealth as one way to demonstrate Poland's ongoing special mission in world history.

That approach still inspires some writers of Polish history today, especially when addressing non-Polish audiences:

The achievements of the Poles lie . . . in the field of political culture and moral civilisation, and the mission they have fulfilled has been an ethical one. Mickiewicz did not pull his messianic vision out of a hat: at some level it corresponded to the historical truth that the Poles were playing the part of moral guinea-pigs subjected to a series of political experiments . . .

90–120. For an analysis of the history-based rhetoric surrounding the confrontation, see David Engel, "Tsa'ir miGalitsiyah al haHerem haAnti-yehudi bePolin haKongresa'it," *Gal-Ed* 19 (2004): 29–55.

³⁹ Hence, for example, their efforts to rehabilitate the leading Polish historian of the first half of the nineteenth century, Joachim Lelewel, for whom the Kraków scholars had no use. See Shelton, *The Democratic Idea*, 30–36.

⁴⁰ On Mickiewicz's messianism, see, e.g., Andrzej Walicki, *Philosophy and Romantic Nationalism: The Case of Poland* (Oxford, 1982), 247–267.

⁴¹ Kutrzeba, "Wartości historyczne," 587.

The Poles themselves have emerged from these experiments . . . remarkably unscathed . . . they have abandoned none of their moral positions.⁴²

Even when not referring specifically to Jews, such a self-representation can be especially threatening to Jewish sensibilities. Indeed, it lays claim to a historic role that Jews have long reserved for themselves, one that Dubnow limned in 1893:

Jewish history, as compared with the history of other nations, enjoys . . . distinction in its capacity to exercise an ennobling influence . . . Nothing so exalts and refines human nature as the contemplation of moral steadfastness, the history of the trials of a martyr who has fought and suffered for his convictions . . . If Israel bestowed upon mankind a religious theory of life, Judah gave it a thrilling example of tenacious vitality and power of resistance for the sake of conviction. This . . . moral intrepidity in night and storm and in despite of all the blows of fortune—is it not an imposing, soul-stirring spectacle?⁴³

The claim that the Jews' special merit had been repeatedly demonstrated over the course of history stood at the root of their two fundamental political demands in the modern era: for civic equality and for recognition as a nation among nations entitled to exercise a measure of state power on its own behalf. Jews' assertions of individual and collective political rights, no less than similar assertions by Poles, have rested heavily upon portrayals of constant fidelity to the noblest moral values in the face of repeated adversity.⁴⁴ Small wonder, then, that Jewish historiography has traditionally proceeded from premises strikingly like those of the Polish optimists.

In other words, narratives of unique righteousness, maintained even in the face of unique suffering, have consistently lain at the heart of how historians of the Poles and the Jews have taught their respective communities to see themselves, not in relation to one another but absolutely. Yet in talking about Polish-Jewish interactions, such narratives cannot coexist; one can be asserted only at the expense of the other. Hence the overwhelming temptation that has confronted and continues to confront members of each community to read the history of Polish-Jewish relations with a mind toward refuting the other's pretensions, whether by denigrating the

⁴² Adam Zamoyski, *The Polish Way: A Thousand-Year History of the Poles and Their Culture* (New York, 1988), 395–396. Cf. Norman Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland*, revised ed., 2 vols. (New York, 2005), 2: 523–524: “Poland is not just another European country battered by war and beset with problems of post-war adjustment. To everyone who knows its History [*sic*], it is something more besides. Poland is a repository of ideas and values which can outlast any number of military and political catastrophes. Poland offers no guarantee that its individual citizens will observe its high ideals, but stands none the less as an enduring symbol of moral purpose in European life.” To be sure, neither Zamoyski nor Davies produced his history in Poland. In general, historians writing in Poland today seem rather more reluctant than historians abroad to engage in such sweeping characterizations. Yet the writing of Polish history, like the community of people who identify personally with that history, is not confined to Poland alone. Moreover, the work of historians abroad who, like Davies, show “a considerable liking for Poland” tends to be highly valued within the country—as witnessed, for example, by a recent proposal from the director of scholarly research at Poland's Institute of National Remembrance, Antoni Dudek, to create a government-funded stipend for scholars abroad to write about Polish history in a way that will “actively represent the Polish point of view in the international arena.” “If a ‘second Norman Davies’ would write [such a work],” the originator of the proposal declared, “the power of that stipend would be much greater than if a Polish historian wrote it.” Michał Tyrpa, “Fundamentem demokracji jest pamięć,” *Gazeta* (Toronto), December 9, 2005, <http://prawica.net/node/2128>.

⁴³ Dubnow, “Jewish History,” 268–269.

⁴⁴ On the role of Dubnow and his followers in encouraging and purveying such portrayals, especially in interwar Poland, see David Engel, “Ketivat haHistoriyah keShelihut le'umit: Yehudei Polin uMe-soroteihem haHistoriografiyot,” in Y. Gutman, ed., *Emmanuel Ringelblum: HaAdam vekaHistoriyon* (Jerusalem, 2006), 109–130.

other's values, proclaiming the other's wrongs, or (especially since the Holocaust) claiming the greater measure of victimhood. And hence the intense passion that conflicting readings arouse, even in the absence of any actual clash over material interests.

WHAT OPERATIVE CONCLUSIONS might be drawn from this history of the role of history writing in modern Polish and Jewish public life for the effort "to transform historical disputes [between Poles and Jews] from a cause of conflict to a tool in long-term reconciliation and peace-building"? The first conclusion is that meeting the goal depends less upon impartially evaluating specific factual claims of the oppositional narratives than upon neutralizing the metahistorical, religiously based figures they employ. To be sure, disagreements remain concerning the facts of particular interactions between members of the two groups, but even when such disagreements are absent, the agreed facts have still readily been assimilated into the preexisting oppositional paradigms of essential Polish tolerance or its absence.⁴⁵ That paradigm is so deeply rooted in the historical consciousness of contemporary Poles and Jews that even the most unassailable, nonpartisan scholarship—work that not only resolves all matters of factual dispute on the most contentious issues but presents a consensus interpretation of context and causation—is likely to be read by the broader Polish and Jewish publics largely as a referendum on the two communities' intrinsic virtue and claims to special merit.

Can the tendency to such a reading be overcome? Among professional historians, a growing group appears to have overcome it. Indeed, the fall of communism in 1989 witnessed the reemergence of self-critical tendencies in Polish historical writing, fueled largely by a reaction to the unabashedly partisan official communist historiography, which, it was widely charged, had given dogma and myth the status of historical truth. The myth-busting fervor that was set loose in this context prompted a few noted scholars in Poland to reexamine aspects of the history of Polish-Jewish relations and to regard the prevalent Polish representation, especially concerning the Holocaust and communist periods, with a jaundiced eye. Their efforts gave rise to advanced-degree programs in the history and culture of Polish Jews at several leading Polish universities, most of which have developed cooperative relations with Israeli institutions that participate in the training of Polish candidates. Contacts between historians of the Jews around the world and historians in Poland with a particular interest in Jewish history have also been strengthened, with the former visiting Poland and presenting their work to Polish academic audiences to a far

⁴⁵ The Jedwabne controversy is a case in point. While some Polish historians continue to deny that Poles were substantially involved in the massacre, most have come to terms with the 2002 findings of the Institute of National Remembrance that "the Polish population played a decisive role in the execution of the criminal plan" and that "the perpetrators of the crime *sensu stricto* were Polish inhabitants of Jedwabne and its environs" (quoted in Polonsky and Michlic, *The Neighbors Respond*, 134–135). However, that acceptance does not appear to have mitigated the tendency among Poles to represent the Polish community's fundamental attitude toward Jews throughout history as one of tolerance and beneficence. Thus, for example, Antoni Dudek, while declaring that "Polish public opinion must . . . understand that there were moments, as in the Jedwabne affair, when some of our countrymen took on the role of oppressors," has continued emphatically to affirm the image of Poland as *paradisus judaeorum* and to promote its promulgation.

greater degree than was ever possible under communist rule. As a result, the 1990s and the first years of the twenty-first century appeared to offer the prospect of historiographical convergence. Although some historians of Poland, in the country and abroad, continued to insist on the need to defend Polish honor against attacks by “left-wing and pro-Zionist scholars,” and a handful of Jewish historians have taken up the history of Polish-Jewish relations in order to call Poles collectively to account for their alleged misdeeds during the Holocaust and after, the senior and junior scholars who gathered at Leipzig in 2003 tacitly affirmed Krystyna Kersten’s 1992 exhortation that that history be studied “in neither a Jewish nor a Polish spirit, but in the spirit of learning.”⁴⁶ Moreover, all of the scholars subsequently recruited to draft the chapters of the IHJR collaborative history (not all of whom had been present at the Leipzig gathering) insisted emphatically that they would not represent a “Polish” or a “Jewish” perspective but would write solely as historians, without any ethnic, geographical, or religious label (although none is blind to the constraints that inevitably ensue from their subject positions).

However, those developments among professionals seem to have resonated only marginally with the broader Jewish and Polish publics.⁴⁷ In fact, in Poland an actual backlash appears to be under way. Following the 2005 elections, in which the victorious right-wing Law and Justice and Civic Platform parties promised to replace the liberal post-1989 regime with a new “Fourth Republic” that would, among other things, restore a sense of pride in Polish history, the latest decade and a half of self-reflection was officially pronounced dead.⁴⁸ The head of a newly created Ministry of Culture and National Heritage, Kazimierz Ujazdowski, re-invoked visions of Polish chosenness, promising state subsidies for historical museums, commemorative celebrations, school textbooks, and documentary films depicting Poland as “the country in Europe with the longest republican and parliamentary tradition, in which civil liberty, religious tolerance, and an original way of life flourished.”⁴⁹ Among others, the director of scholarly research at the Institute of National Remembrance—an organ of the Polish state entrusted with prosecution of “crimes against the Polish nation” committed under Nazi and communist domination, as well as with preserving and disseminating the documentary record of those crimes—summarized how the government’s “historical policy” (*polityka historyczna*) sought to depict the history of Polish-Jewish relations:

Jagiellonian Poland [was] a commonwealth of many nations, a tolerant state like no other . . . for Jews. All those who tell stories today about Polish antisemitism, about “Polish concentration camps,” need to remember that Jews from all over Europe fled to Poland to avoid persecution . . . The country was called *paradis[us] Iudeorum* . . . At the end of the nineteenth century Polish nationalism made an appearance, and with it a certain measure of antisemi-

⁴⁶ On the purported “left-wing and pro-Zionist” threat, see Peter D. Stachura, *Poland in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1999), 22. An example of a recent work by a Jewish historian displaying an accusatory tone toward Poles is Leo Cooper, *In the Shadow of the Polish Eagle: The Poles, the Holocaust, and Beyond* (New York, 2000). For Kersten’s position, see Krystyna Kersten, *Polacy, Żydzi, komunizm: Anatomia półprawd, 1939–1968* (Warsaw, 1992), 12.

⁴⁷ Robert Cherry, “Contentious History: A Survey on Perceptions of Polish-Jewish Relations during the Holocaust,” *Polin* 19 (2006): 327–344.

⁴⁸ Paweł Kowal, “Bądźmy dumni z naszej historii,” *Gazeta Wyborcza*, February 9, 2006.

⁴⁹ Łukasz Perzyna, “Okręt flagowy: W ciągu czterech lat w odbudowanym Pałacu Saskim powstanie nowoczesne Muzeum Historii Polski,” *Tygodnik Solidarność*, May 12, 2006.

tism, but this does not change the fact that for hundreds of years Poland was a refuge for the Jews. Antisemitism was a widespread phenomenon in *fin-de-siècle* Europe, but the Jewish community was nowhere as numerous as in Poland.⁵⁰

This narrative has never won substantial acceptance among the Jewish public. If it is to gain such acceptance now, it will do so only in the wake of far-reaching shifts in the attitudes of Jews toward *their* history—shifts that thus far have shown no signs of materializing. And there is the problem: historians—Polish, Jewish, or members of any other group—can shape public beliefs about the past only to the extent that the public they address wants what they have to say about the past to shape them. At present, then, it appears that Polish and Jewish historians who challenge their respective groups' sense of historical chosenness directly are liable to find their efforts rejected out of hand.

Can the IHJR collaborative history present a shared narrative without issuing such a frontal challenge? Several techniques have been devised to help it do so. The multivocal presentation, with its commentary surrounding the text, is the most basic. In addition, the identities of the authors of the chapter drafts have not been made known to the commentators, whose comments will in turn be presented anonymously. Readers will thus be forced to engage the text without any conventional presumptions derived from knowledge of the authors' ethnic identity or political orientation. On the other hand, the authors have been informed that the volume is to be published simultaneously in Polish, Hebrew, and English, which will restrict their ability to direct their remarks to any particular community and encourage them to eschew both the self-critical and self-celebratory modes. The text and the commentaries will thus expose readers to a range of historical interpretations not consciously formulated with their presumed particular communal needs in mind.

Furthermore, the authors have been asked to address a different set of questions from those that spawned the present dominant versions. Instead of assessing the benefits or detriments that Jews brought to Poland or Poland to Jews, the appropriateness or inappropriateness of one group's behavior toward the other, or the balance of responsibility for the tenor of intergroup relations, the authors are endeavoring primarily to ascertain and relate matter-of-factly, for the particular period discussed in each chapter, the range of attitudes and actions displayed by each group toward the other, the sources of information that each group possessed about the other during each interval, and the ways in which each group influenced the behavior of the other in various aspects of life. The narrative is to focus attention on the changes that are evident in these issues both within periods and between them, so as to mitigate readers' sense that the history being related reveals any permanent Polish or Jewish collective character. The object is to help contemporary readers from each group enter into the minds of different members of the other group at different points in time, to clarify for them the conditions under which each group's images of the other were formed, and to explain why certain actions by members of one group were interpreted by members of the other as they were. No special effort is being made to assign praise or blame for particular features of the Polish-Jewish

⁵⁰ Tyrpa, "Fundamentem demokracji jest pamięć." The mention of Poland as *paradisus Iudeorum* (paradise for the Jews) was made by the interviewer; the interviewee agreed with the formulation.

relationship or to adjudicate conflicting group claims, although gross factual misrepresentations are to be corrected. In the end, it is hoped that whereas readers may initially take the text in hand in the hope of discovering their essential selves, they will come in the course of reading to discover the contingencies that shaped both them and the other side in a way that moderates the impulse to delegitimize the other's view of the past.

To what extent the product of these techniques can be packaged so as to persuade contemporary Polish and Jewish readers that they are not personally implicated in the events described remains to be seen. But if the IHJR project is indeed to reduce the contentious passions that continue to surround discussions of Polish-Jewish relations, it must first accomplish that goal.

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Truth in Telling: Reconciling Realities in the
Genocide of the Ottoman Armenians

RONALD GRIGOR SUNY

IN THE SUMMER OF 2002, the reporter Ron Suskind was told by a White House aide about displeasure with a critical article he had written. "The aide said that guys like me," Suskind writes,

were "in what we call the reality-based community," which he defined as people who "believe that solutions emerge from your judicious study of discernible reality." I nodded and murmured something about enlightenment principles and empiricism. He cut me off. "That's not the way the world really works anymore," he continued. "We're an empire now, and when we act, we create our own reality. And while you're studying that reality—judiciously, as you will—we'll act again, creating other new realities, which you can study too, and that's how things will sort out. We're history's actors . . . and you, all of you, will be left to just study what we do."¹

Sadly, not only self-styled current empires, but past empires, indeed most governments and their defenders, have been creating their own preferred realities and narratives of the past for much of recorded history. Nations and states have long been in the business of fabricating, more honestly at some times than others, myths and stories of their origins, golden ages, heroic deeds, victories, and triumphs, while eliminating the defeats and failures, even mass murders. What appears to be new in our own time is the brazenness of what is claimed, the un-self-reflexive cynicism of the perpetrators, and the potential reach through mass printed and broadcast media, the Internet, and film. Historians inevitably have been pulled into this war of words.

Positioned on both sides of the discussion, historians have been both the producers of sanctioned historical memories and among the principal destabilizers of official narratives. A few years ago, Condoleezza Rice, Colin Powell, and President George W. Bush talked about "revisionist history," referring to those with different memories of why the United States invaded Iraq—the second time.² Long before its latest political deployments, the term "revisionist history" had its own controversial

My gratitude to Taner Akçam, Kevork Bardakjian, Paul Boghossian, Geoff Eley, Fatma Müge Göçek, Jirair Libaridian, and the anonymous readers for this journal for suggestions that improved this article.

¹ Ron Suskind, "Without a Doubt: Faith, Certainty and the Presidency of George W. Bush," *New York Times Magazine*, October 17, 2004, <http://www.nytimes.com/2004/10/17/magazine/17BUSH.html?ex=1255665600&en=890a96189e162076ei=5090>.

² White House Press Briefing with Ari Fleischer, June 17, 2003.

pedigree. Most infamously applied to those discredited cranks who deny the validity of the Holocaust, revisionism has been equated with the most egregious practices of historical falsifiers. Conservatives have criticized revisionists who questioned the sanitized narratives of American history that neglected the horrors of slavery and racism, the treatment of Indians, or the darker sides of the Vietnam War. Western historians of the Soviet Union who attempted to rethink the Bolshevik victory in the revolution of 1917 or the social history of the Stalin era in the Soviet Union have been labeled revisionists, a term which in the polemics of some means "apologists for communism." Israeli revisionist historians have been attacked for interrogating the foundational myths of how their state was established and how the indigenous Palestinians became refugees. And the Turkish state and Turkophilic historians have revised the mass deportation and killing of Armenians in 1915 from state-initiated ethnic cleansing and massacres into a civil war between Muslims and Christians.

Revisionism works both ways, as falsifying or whitewashing the past, or simply as what good historians regularly do: bringing new evidence to bear to reinterpret existing stories of whence we have come. Historical revisionists at their best are subversives, undermining unquestioned assumptions with documentation and argument. The result of the last forty years of rewriting American history has been a history that now includes women and minorities, slavery and ethnic cleansing, blemishes as well as beauty marks. The revisionist historians of the Cold War forced a fundamental rethinking of responsibility for the dismal end of the Grand Alliance. A shift in the angle of vision and the opening of Soviet archives have led historians of the USSR to a deeper appreciation of the depths of the brutality of Stalin's regime, of how ordinary Russians managed to live and love under Stalinism, but also how even radical authoritarian political projects can have massive social support.

Aware that someone had to educate the educator, most historians appreciate the provisional nature of their conclusions. Postmodernist doubts about the possibility of finding the "truth" disarm to a degree those who face the fierce certainty of faith-based ideologues. In the besieged public sphere of early-twenty-first-century America, rather than "the truth shall make us free," plausible explanations that people are willing to accept seem adequate. Credibility replaces fact and truth.

A contemplative lot, historians might prefer to shy away from confrontation with governmental opposition or public protest, but the cost of retreat is the replacement of critical assessments by the feel-good narratives of the organic intellectuals of the state. The commitment of professional historians to the mustering of evidence and careful argument and the submission of their findings to peer review at least provides some assurance that their conclusions are reliable, if never definitive. However doubtful its ontological status in the minds of some intellectuals—and, apparently, state officials—reality has a nasty habit of biting back. When usable pasts and preferred realities are being proliferated, historians can take some comfort in the thought that dangers lurk when intellectual constructs stray too far from careful and accurate readings of the world.

Revision of history is constant, even essential, and it is especially needed in the story of the Ottoman Armenians. The conventional histories have led to two separate, contradictory nationalist narratives that appear to defy reconciliation. Although the existing literature produced by Armenian and Turkish historians actually

agrees on many of the basic facts, the various authors interpret them so differently that neither explanations of the causes of the events nor a synthetic narrative has been convincingly elaborated. Armenians passionately defend the case that massive deportations and massacres of a peaceful, unthreatening people were ordered by and carried out by the Young Turk authorities and that these events constitute a genocide. The Turkish state and those few historians who reject the notion of genocide argue that the tragedy was the result of a reasonable and understandable response by a government to a rebellious and seditious population in time of war and mortal danger to the state's survival. *Raison d'état* justified the suppression of rebellion, and mass killing is explained as the unfortunate residue ("collateral damage" in the now-fashionable vocabulary) of legitimate efforts at establishing order behind the lines. This position, which Armenians and those who recognize the events of 1915 as genocide call denialist, might be summarized as: There was no genocide, and the Armenians are to blame for it. They were disloyal subjects who presented a danger to the empire and got what they deserved.³ Relative peace and harmony had existed in the Ottoman Empire between the state and its religious minorities until "outside agitators," usually from the Russian Empire, aroused the nationalist and separatist passions of the Armenians. But despite the existential threat posed by the Armenians and their Russian allies to the survival of the empire, the denialists claim, there was no intention or effort by the Young Turk regime to eliminate the Armenians as a people.

On the other side, many historians sympathetic to the Armenians have shied away from explanations that might place any blame at all on the victims of Turkish policies. Because a full account of the background and causes of the Genocide seems to concede ground to the deniers, Armenian scholars in particular have been reluctant to see any rationale in the acts of the Young Turks.⁴ Explanation, it is claimed, is rationalization, and rationalization in turn leads to the denialist position of justification. When explanation is offered, it is either an essentialist argument—Turks are the kind of people who employ massacres and systematic killing to maintain their imperial dominance—or related arguments that religion and/or nationalism were the underlying causes of the killings.

THE ARGUMENT FROM RELIGION holds that the Genocide was the culmination of a deep-seated Turkish-Armenian conflict that existed for centuries and was rooted in the incompatibility of the theocratic Ottoman state, guided by the precepts of Islam, with rule over a heterogeneous population divided by religion, language, and culture. Islam could not tolerate the reforms that Turkish bureaucrats and European powers attempted to implement in the nineteenth century that would have created more

³ This argument has been called "the provocation thesis" by political scientist Robert Melson. See Robert F. Melson, *Revolution and Genocide: On the Origins of the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust* (Chicago, 1992); and Melson, "A Theoretical Enquiry into the Armenian Massacres of 1894–1896," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 24, no. 3 (1982): 481–509.

⁴ Uppercase "Genocide" will be used in this article to refer to the Armenian Genocide of 1915, while lowercase "genocide" refers to the phenomenon more generally. This usage is consistent with the now-conventional employment of "Holocaust" with a capital "H" to refer to the genocide of the Jews by the Nazis.

egalitarian relations with the non-Turkish peoples of the empire. The theocratic dogmas of Islam denied that the *gâvur* (infidel) could be equal to the Muslim, and permanent disabilities and inequities were imposed on non-Muslims by the Ottoman state. When Armenians moved from centuries-long acquiescence in Ottoman rule to self-assertion and self-protection, they provided the excuse for (not the cause of) the massacres.⁵

The argument that a theocracy by definition and fact cannot be secularized is belied by the evidence that polities infused with and sanctioned by religion managed to become more secular in the long European transition from medieval to modern times, and to some degree in the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth and even more so in the twentieth century in Turkey. Religious orthodoxy was certainly a powerful inhibitor to effective reform in both Europe and the Ottoman Empire, but it was not an insurmountable barrier, as reforming Ottoman bureaucrats, Young Ottomans, Young Turks, and Kemalists would seek to demonstrate. The argument that theocracy cannot tolerate heterogeneity also fails before five centuries of imperial rule. Empire may be defined by its preservation, even enforcement, of heterogeneity. Distinction and discrimination, separation and inequality were hallmarks of Ottoman imperial rule (and, indeed, of all empires). That heterogeneity was marked in the *millet* system, an imperial structure through which the Islamic state managed other religious communities.⁶ Moreover, one has to question seriously whether the Ottoman Empire was in any meaningful sense a theocracy ruled by a clerical elite rather than a dynastic empire held by the House of Osman. Finally, as Islamic as the empire conceived itself, religion was often used instrumentally—by Abdul Hamid in the formation of Kurdish units to police eastern Anatolia, and by the Young Turks in their policies toward the Arabs.⁷ The revolutionaries who seized control of the empire in 1908 were not religious fanatics but secular modernizers devoted to bringing technology, science, and greater rationality and efficiency to their country.⁸ Suspicious, even hostile, to conservative clerics who blocked reform, they were, however, willing to deploy Islamic, Turkish nationalist, or pan-Turkic rhetoric when it served their strategic ends.

THE ARGUMENT THAT TWO NATIONALISMS—even two competing nations—faced each other in a deadly struggle for the same land is most eloquently made by the eminent

⁵ Vahakn N. Dadrian, *The History of the Armenian Genocide: Ethnic Conflict from the Balkans to Anatolia to the Caucasus* (Providence, R.I., 1995); Dadrian, *Warrant for Genocide: Key Elements of Turko-Armenian Conflict* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1999); and Peter Balakian, *The Burning Tigris: The Armenian Genocide and America's Response* (New York, 2003).

⁶ Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, eds., *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*, 2 vols., vol. 1: *The Central Lands* (New York, 1982); Aron Rodrigue, "Difference and Tolerance in the Ottoman Empire: Interview by Nancy Reynolds," *Stanford Humanities Review* 5, no. 1 (1995): 85.

⁷ Hasan Kayali, *Arabs and Young Turks: Ottomanism, Arabism, and Islamism in the Ottoman Empire, 1908–1918* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997).

⁸ M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *The Young Turks in Opposition* (New York, 1995). Ambassador Henry Morgenthau, who knew the leaders of the Young Turks personally, believed that violence was inscribed in Islam, but he characterized Minister of the Interior Tâlât, one of the key architects of the Genocide, as uninspired by Islam or any religion. "I hate all priests, rabbis, and hodjas," Tâlât told Morgenthau. Morgenthau, *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story* (1918; repr., Detroit, 2003), 14.

scholar of Islam Bernard Lewis. It can be read as an implied rationale for the Turkish massacres of Armenians:

For the Turks, the Armenian movement was the deadliest of all threats. From the conquered lands of the Serbs, Bulgars, Albanians, and Greeks, they could, however reluctantly, withdraw, abandoning distant provinces and bringing the Imperial frontier nearer home. But the Armenians, stretching across Turkey-in-Asia from the Caucasian frontier to the Mediterranean coast, lay in the very heart of the Turkish homeland—and to renounce these lands would have meant not the truncation, but the dissolution of the Turkish state. Turkish and Armenian villages, inextricably mixed, had for centuries lived in neighborly association. Now a desperate struggle between them began—a struggle between two nations for the possession of a single homeland, that ended with the terrible holocaust of 1915, when a million and a half Armenians perished.⁹

In what appears to be a cool and balanced understanding of why their Ottoman rulers would have used mass violence against a perceived Armenian danger, Lewis places the Armenians “nearer [the Turkish] home” and “in the very heart of the Turkish homeland,” employing language that already assumes the legitimacy and actuality of a nation-state. In this transparent paragraph, he subtly rewrites the history of Anatolia from a land in which Armenians and Kurds were the earlier inhabitants into one in which they have become an obstacle to the national aspirations of the Turks, who now can claim Anatolia, rather than Central Asia, as their homeland. His language employs the logic of nationalism as if it has a kind of universal relevance even in political structures that evolved out of and still worked within the contradictory logic of empire. In 1915, the ethnically and religiously diverse Ottoman Empire was evolving into a more homogeneous Turkic-Muslim state, but until the triumph of the Kemalists in the early 1920s, it remained a multinational imperial state with large Arab, Kurdish, Jewish, and Christian minorities. Already long existing within an international system of powerful nation-states in which there was an increasingly hegemonic Western conviction that the nation, however defined, was the principal source of political legitimacy, the Ottomans were desperately seeking a road to survival. But Lewis’s reading of a notion of ethnic homogeneity as the basis for a national republic of the Kemalist type, which lay in the future, into the moment of Armenian annihilation is ahistorical and anachronistic. Whatever else they were, the Young Turks were never purely Turkish ethnonationalists but remained Ottoman in fundamental conception. They were primarily state imperialists, empire preservers, rather than the founders of an ethnic nation-state. There was no thought of giving up the Arab lands that they still controlled, and when opportunity presented itself in 1918, the Young Turks were prepared to move north and east into Caucasia. On the other hand, the removal of the Armenians, and later the Greeks, laid the basis for the Kemalist state, nearly homogeneous except for those resistant Kurds who had lived in eastern Anatolia long before the first Turks arrived and who after 1915 spread onto lands formerly held by Armenians.

The dual narratives of the Turkish state and its supporters and the Armenians and theirs are equivalent neither in their number of adherents and general acceptance in academic historiography nor in the evidentiary base and argumentation of

⁹ Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1968), 356.

their positions. Besides Turkish official historians, there are only a small number of defenders of the provocation thesis or the notion of Armeno-Turkish civil war, among them Justin McCarthy of the University of Louisville; Heath W. Lowry, Atatürk Professor of Ottoman and Modern Turkish Studies at Princeton University (who has been notably silent on this issue for many years); the late Stanford J. Shaw, who had retired from UCLA; and a new entry, Guenter Lewy, an emeritus political scientist who taught at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst.¹⁰ Overwhelmingly, since 2000, publications by non-Armenian academic historians, political scientists, and sociologists—among them Donald Bloxham of the University of Edinburgh, David Gaunt of Södertörn University, Hans-Lukas Kieser of the University of Basel, Michael Mann of UCLA, Norman Naimark of Stanford University, and Benjamin Valentino of Dartmouth College—have seen 1915 as one of the classic cases of ethnic cleansing and genocide.¹¹ And, even more significantly, they have been joined by a number of scholars in Turkey or of Turkish ancestry—among them Fikret Adanir, Taner Akçam, Halil Berktaş, Fuat Dündar, and Fatma Müge Göçek—who have moved far beyond any notion of civil war and demonstrated the initiation and organization of the massacres by the Young Turk political apparatus.¹² What has become known as genocide is seen by several of these historians as part of a general population policy that was specifically implemented during the war. Several have pointed to the importance of the Ottoman defeats in the Balkan wars as a turning point that intensified anxieties about the fragility of the empire and turned the Young Turks' attachment to the earlier Ottoman "heartland" in the Balkans toward a new interest in Anatolia. The older stories are being radically revised by professional historians and a new generation of graduate students engaged in diligent research in the available archives.

Unprecedented initiatives in the academy and developments in the domestic and international politics of Turkey and Armenia have moved the discussion of 1915 into

¹⁰ Justin McCarthy, *Muslims and Minorities: The Population of Ottoman Anatolia and the End of the Empire* (New York, 1983); McCarthy, *Turks and Armenians: A Manual on the Armenian Question* (Washington, D.C., 1989); Heath W. Lowry, *The Story behind Ambassador Morgenthau's Story* (Istanbul, 1990); Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey* (Cambridge, 1977); and Guenter Lewy, *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey: A Disputed Genocide* (Salt Lake City, 2005).

¹¹ Donald Bloxham, *The Great Game of Genocide: Imperialism, Nationalism, and the Destruction of the Ottoman Armenians* (Oxford, 2005); David Gaunt, *Massacres, Resistance, Protectors: Muslim-Christian Relations in Eastern Anatolia during World War I* (Piscataway, N.J., 2006); Hans-Lukas Kieser and Dominik J. Schaller, eds., *Der Völkermord an den Armeniern und die Shoah / The Armenian Genocide and the Shoah* (Zurich, 2002); Hans-Lukas Kieser, ed., *Turkey beyond Nationalism: Towards Post-National Identities* (London, 2006); Michael Mann, *The Dark Side of Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing* (Cambridge, 2005); Norman M. Naimark, *Fires of Hatred: Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001); Benjamin A. Valentino, *Final Solutions: Mass Killing and Genocide in the Twentieth Century* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2004).

¹² Many of these works are still in preparation, but among the first to appear were Taner Akçam, *From Empire to Republic: Turkish Nationalism and the Armenian Genocide* (London, 2004); Akçam, *A Shameful Act: The Armenian Genocide and the Question of Turkish Responsibility* (New York, 2006); Fuat Dündar, *İttihat ve Terakki'nin Müslümanları İskan Politikası [The Muslims' Resettlement Policy of the Committee of Union and Progress (1913–1918)]* (Istanbul, 2001); Dündar, "L'ingenierie ethnique du Comité Union et Progrès et la turcisation de l'Anatolie (1913–1918)" (Thèse de Doctorat en Histoire, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2006); Fatma Müge Göçek, "Reading Genocide: Turkish Historiography on the Armenian Deportations and Massacres of 1915," in Israel Gershoni, Amy Singer, and Y. Hakan Erdem, eds., *Middle East Historiographies: Narrating the Twentieth Century* (Seattle, 2006), 101–127.

new channels. In the last twenty years, Armenia became an independent state, and Turkey became a vibrant modernizing state with an energetic, diverse civil society. Ten years ago, the idea of Armenian and Turkish historians sitting down together to discuss the traumatic last years of the Ottoman Empire would have been almost unthinkable, but with the Cold War in the past, the opening of negotiations on the possible entry of the Turkish republic into the European Union, and the courageous forays by individual Turkish scholars to investigate the fate of the Armenians, a fragile but sustained dialogue emerged that moved beyond accusation and denial. My own initial experience with such a dialogue occurred in early 1998 when I was invited to give a lecture and seminar at Koç University in Istanbul, and my host—a former graduate student at the University of Michigan and at the time a professor of political science at Koç—suggested that I speak about the Armenians.¹³ Given the official position of the Turkish government that no genocide had taken place, and with laws in place prescribing that insults to the Turkish state were punishable by imprisonment, this seemed a bizarre and even dangerous suggestion. Yet it also was an opportunity that I could not turn down. I consulted with friends, some of whom suggested that I was taking an unnecessary risk. One Turkish colleague encouraged the trip: “Don’t worry, if anything happens, we can get you out!” That was not the kind of assurance I wanted to hear, but as someone who has long advocated intellectual exchange between Turks, Armenians, and others on the issue of genocide, I decided to fly to Istanbul.

Koç University, founded by the head of one of Turkey’s richest families, was a newly established institution specializing in business and economics. The Spartan campus was filled with young people, fluent in English, who could easily have been mistaken for American college students, and the faculty was both Turkish and foreign. The university prides itself on being Western and lives with the contradiction between its loyalty to a Kemalist vision of secularism, statism, and modernization, on the one hand, and the critical attitudes of some of its foreign faculty and the reviving interest in Islam among Turkish youth, on the other. Still recovering from the long flight, I began by thanking my host and the university for the chance to discuss a great tragedy that divides Armenians and Turks. My opening lines seemed to paralyze the audience:

Historians have analyzed the massive deportation and killing of hundreds of thousands of Armenians in eastern Anatolia in 1915 as the conflict of two exclusivist nationalisms, the conflict of two people over a single piece of territory. Carrying that view slightly further, those who would deny that a genocide took place have interpreted these events as a civil war between Turks and Armenians. What I will argue is quite different. Rather than a civil war, which indeed never took place and exists only in the imagination of professional falsifiers, the Genocide occurred when state authorities decided to remove the Armenians from what had been their historic homeland in order to realize a number of strategic goals—the elimination of a perceived Armenian threat to the war against Russia, to punish Armenians for activities which the Turkish authorities believed to be rebellious and subversive, and to realize their ambitions to create a pan-Turkic empire that would extend from Anatolia through the Caucasus to Central Asia.

¹³ Paul Kubichek is now a professor of political science at Oakland University.

I spoke for an hour. Several people walked out. A Turkish faculty member whom I had met just before the lecture looked particularly grim through the entire talk. But the audience was extraordinarily attentive, and when I finished, they applauded—and, I would say, enthusiastically. For the next hour I answered questions, none of which were hostile. The audience seemed to accept the argument that a genocide had occurred, that it had been initiated and carried out by the Young Turk government, and that rather than a clash of nationalisms, the massacres had resulted from the state's desire to reformulate and preserve a Turkic-Islamic empire by drawing together the Islamic peoples, expanding to the east to include other Turkic peoples, and physically removing those whom they considered to be the most alien, dangerous, and disloyal of the Ottoman peoples, namely the Armenians.

Asked about Armenian attitudes toward Turks, I told the students that most diaspora Armenians reviled Turks for what they had done and for the continued denial, that this denial had caused pathological responses by both Armenians and Turks (including Armenian terrorism in the past), and that the only way to move beyond the pain caused by repressed memories was to face what had happened. I said that many Armenians in the United States would be surprised that such a talk had been allowed in Turkey, and even more amazed by the reception that I had been given by the students. At some point during the question-and-answer session, I mentioned that my mother's father had come from the central Anatolian town of Yozgat and my mother's mother from Diarbekir, the town that the Armenians called "Dikranagert," now largely inhabited by Kurds. My grandparents had left Turkey after the massacres of 1894–1896 and 1909, but all of their relatives left behind were murdered during the Genocide. The stillness with which those personal remarks were received left me with the clear impression that what I had related about 1915 had struck a nerve.

Back home, a graduate student encouraged me to "do something" about the Armenian-Turkish question. I met with my colleagues Kevork Bardakjian, an Armenian language and literary scholar, and Fatma Müge Göçek, a sociologist specializing in Ottoman society and history, and we began planning a workshop to bring Armenian, Turkish, and other scholars together to present work on the non-Turkish peoples in the last years of Ottoman rule.¹⁴ The reaction from both the Armenian and Turkish diaspora communities was generally hostile to the idea of such a meeting, and prominent scholars in genocide studies declined to attend. Articles appeared in English-language Armenian newspapers warning that "the Turks are coming" to Chicago and asserting that "Suny is worse than a Turk!" But enough scholars were willing to participate that we held our first workshop (what would later be called WATS, the Workshop on Armenian-Turkish Scholarship) at the University of Chicago over the weekend of March 17–19, 2000. All doubts and hesitations evaporated in the first minutes of the first day. Halil Berktaý of Sabancı University, Istanbul, made it clear that he did not want to be known as a "Turkish historian," but simply as a historian. Jirair (Gerard) J. Libaridian, formerly the senior adviser to the pres-

¹⁴ The graduate student who first suggested the project was Kenneth Church; the other faculty member involved in organizing the initial workshop was Stefanie Platz. They were subsequently joined in the organization of the workshops by Taner Akçam, Elazar Barkan, Paul Boghossian, Selim Deringil, Stephen Feinstein, Jirair Libaridian, and Eric Weitz.

ident of the Armenian Republic, asked rhetorically, "Why do some people like the problem, rather than the solution?" A common past has been hijacked by those who accept a nationalist framework. "Some historians," he said, "are like failed gods; they cannot make the future in their own image, so they remake the past in their own image."

Taner Akçam, the first Turkish historian to write about the Genocide, re-created in detail the timing of the decision for the deportations, locating it at the beginning of March 1915. Earlier, Enver Pasha, one of the top Young Turk leaders, had called other party members to Istanbul to make plans for eliminating non-Muslim elements from Anatolia. In May–June 1914, the government moved Greeks from the west Anatolian coast. On August 2, 1914, the Young Turk Central Committee reestablished the Teşkilatı Mahsusa, the special organization that would later carry out many of the deportations and massacres of Armenians. At this point its task was to work in the Caucasus to provoke Russia into a war with Turkey. After the defeat of the Ottoman army at Sarıkamış at the beginning of 1915, the fateful decisions to deport Armenians were made. A dual mechanism operated: an official one from the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the local gendarmeries, and an unofficial one made up of party officials and agents sent with secret orders to provincial governors.

While historians tried through efforts such as the Chicago workshop to open a dialogue between Armenian and Turkish scholars, the Turkish state maintained, even intensified, its campaign of denial of the Genocide. Threats were made against Turkish scholars, including Taner Akçam, who had appeared in a Dutch film with the sociologist Vahakn Dadrian as early as 1997 and had acknowledged the Genocide even earlier. Prompted by the Turkish ambassador to Washington, Baki İlkin, an editor of the Microsoft Encarta encyclopedia approached me and the genocide scholar Helen Fein and requested that we revise the articles we had written for Encarta, removing the word "genocide" in reference to the 1915 events. We both protested, and eventually Microsoft accepted our texts. When the House of Representatives' International Relations Committee voted in October 2000 on a resolution recognizing the mass killings of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire as genocide, Turkish money financed powerful lobbyists in Washington to work against it, and it eventually was scuttled. Influential supporters of the Turkish position, among them former congressmen Bob Livingston, Stephen Solarz, and Gerald Solomon, opposed putting the United States on record as accepting this historic tragedy as the first genocide in the twentieth century. Reaction to the resolution in Turkey was furious. Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit warned that Turkish-American relations would suffer if the House accepted the characterization of the massacres as genocide. The press condemned the Armenian version of history as myth, and demonstrators in Adana burned an Armenian flag. Just as Congress was about to pass the bill, the administration of President Bill Clinton convinced enough House members to vote against it, and the resolution failed. A similar outcome occurred in October 2007 when the House Committee on Foreign Affairs resolved that the 1915 deportations and massacres amounted to genocide. Turkey recalled its ambassador and threatened American supply lines to Iraq, and within weeks the resolution was withdrawn. Although *Realpolitik* had once again trumped moral and historical imperatives, the

debate this time focused almost entirely on policy considerations, not on whether or not there had been a genocide.

IN BOTH TURKEY AND THE WEST, those who opposed political resolutions recognizing the Genocide frequently proposed that the matter be “left to the historians,” as if the political implications of the issue could be avoided. Our workshop had been founded on the premise that as politicized as the matter had become, scholars could at least do what they do best professionally and establish the documentary evidence, review the various interpretations, and make judgments about the most convincing arguments. Workshop participants differed as to their willingness to engage in political efforts, but all were committed to keeping WATS dedicated to scholarship and as free of politics as possible. We continued our series of workshops at the University of Michigan (2002), at the University of Minnesota (2003), in Salzburg, Austria (2004), at New York University (2005), and at the University of Geneva (2008). Journalists from Turkey attended the meetings and reported back illuminating accounts of the discussions. Each time, new papers, some by younger scholars with remarkable archival access, explored what had been rendered as a controversial subject. Historians from Armenia met with historians from Turkey and their respective diasporas. Participants shared their findings in an atmosphere of frank, respectful exchange. Agreement far exceeded difference. There was no dispute that deportations and massacres had occurred, that the forced movement of the Armenians had been ordered by the Young Turk government, that the mass killing was the result of both government and party actions, and that while there were several moments of Armenian resistance (most notably at Van), there was no civil war. The two opposing nationalist narratives were replaced by a single shared account based on evidence. Yet many blank spots remained; archival access in Turkey remained restricted; and disagreements about the timing of events, the motivations of the Young Turk leaders, and, most important, the question of whether to call the mass killings genocide remained yet to be resolved.

In Article II of the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (December 9, 1948), “genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group, as such: a) Killing members of the group; b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.” A capacious definition, the UN’s conception has become standard and widely accepted, even as it is contested. Most difficult of all for scholars has been the phrase “intent to destroy.” On the motives and aims of the Young Turks, as well as the timing of their decision to deport the Armenians, major Armenian scholars claim that massacres of dissident minorities were a consistent Turkish practice. The Hamidian massacres of the 1890s and the killing of Armenians in Adana in 1909 were precursors of the Genocide, which in turn was a premeditated event planned before World War I. Others argue

that the earlier massacres were discrete events different in kind from the Genocide of 1915 and that the Genocide was a largely contingent event that occurred in a moment of radicalization following the catastrophic defeat at Sarikamış in the winter of 1914–1915.¹⁵ The contention that the Genocide was planned long in advance and realized a consistent Turkish policy of extermination harked back to the essential notion of “the terrible Turk,” an irredeemable enemy of Christians and European civilization, as well as to the debate in Holocaust scholarship between “intentionalists” and “structuralists.”¹⁶ But even those who want to disaggregate the episodes of Ottoman state violence against Armenians agreed that the earlier massacres reflected a propensity for violent repression. Repeated official justifications based on security requirements, as well as inconsistent and ineffective responses by the European powers, served only to open the way for future episodes. While it is undeniable that an anti-Armenian disposition existed among the Turkish elite long before the war, that some extremists contemplated radical solutions to the Armenian Question, particularly after the Balkan Wars, and that the world war presented an opportunity for carrying out the most revolutionary program against the Armenians, the particular conjuncture that brought the Young Turk triumvirate to ethnic cleansing and genocide came together only after the outbreak of war and the leaders’ fear that their rule was in peril and that the Armenians were particularly dangerous as the wedge that the Russians and other powers could use to pry apart their empire.

MY OWN FORAY INTO THE DEBATE can be summarized in the claim that had there been no world war, there would have been no genocide, not only because there would have been no war to cover up the events, but also because the radical sense of endangerment among Turks would not have been as acute. Without the war, there would have been less motivation for a revolutionary solution and political opportunities for negotiation and compromise. On the eve of the Ottoman declaration of war on Russia, the government was engaged in negotiations with the leading Armenian political party, the Dashnaktsutun (Armenian Revolutionary Federation), to secure its support in subverting the Russian Empire from within using Russian Armenians. The Dashnaks wisely refused, but it is evident that the Young Turks were considering a variety of political options short of genocide. When it came, the Armenian Genocide was the result of long-term, deep-seated elite and popular hatreds, resentments, and fears intensified by war and defeat—an affective disposition in which Armenians were perceived as irredeemable enemies of Muslims—that in turn shaped the stra-

¹⁵ Michael Mann, Norman Naimark, and I are among those who have argued for contingency and the distinctiveness of the Genocide. Ronald Grigor Suny, “Empire and Nation: Armenians, Turks, and the End of the Ottoman Empire,” *Armenian Forum* 1, no. 2 (1998): 17–51; critical responses by Vahakn N. Dadrian, Engin Deniz Akarli, and Selim Deringil, with a reply by Suny, 131–136. A similar argument had been made earlier by Yves Terson in a series of works: *Les Arméniens: Histoire d'un génocide* (Paris, 1977); *La Cause arménienne* (Paris, 1983); with Gérard Chalian, *The Armenians from Genocide to Resistance*, trans. Tony Berrett (London, 1983) and *Le génocide des Arméniens, 1915–1917* (Paris, 1984); and his own *Enquête sur la négation d'un génocide* (Marseilles, 1989).

¹⁶ For a review of these debates, see Ian Kershaw, *The Nazi Dictatorship: Problems and Perspectives of Interpretation*, 3rd ed. (London, 1993), 80–107; and Geoff Eley’s introductory essay to his edited volume *The “Goldhagen Effect”: History, Memory, Nazism—Facing the German Past* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 2000), 1–31.

tegic considerations of the Committee of Union and Progress as to the most effective ways to save the empire. In the absence of fully opened archives, the evidence at hand suggests that the decision to deport the Armenians was made sometime early in 1915 and was related to the military disasters of that winter. The circumstances were now propitious for such an effort, for the parliament had been shut down, the state appeared to be at risk from the British navy and Russian armies, and the Armenians could be linked to the Russian advance as collaborators. What appears in the sources to have been the Turks' panic and paranoia at an imagined danger from their Armenian subjects has metastasized in the hands of apologists into justification for state-ordered murder.

The workshop discussions managed to return agency to the Ottoman Armenians, transforming them from simple victims into historical actors in their own right, but without either rationalizing a policy of mass deportation and murder or trying to render equivalent the roles of Turks and Armenians. Both before and during the early months of World War I, leading Young Turks constructed the Armenians as the principal obstacle to their plans for modernizing the country and preserving, even expanding, their empire. This sense of threat—combined with resentment at what they took to be Armenians' privileged status, Armenian dominance over Muslims in some spheres of life, and the preference of many Armenians for Christian Russia—fed a fantasy that the Armenians presented an existential threat to Turks. Threat must be understood not only as an immediate menace but as a perception of potential danger, of future peril. Within such an imaginary, Armenians were helpless and soon became the victims of both their success within the *millet* system and their vulnerability as largely unarmed subjects.

Our workshops, which had begun in great controversy at the end of the last century, had by 2002 found acceptance, even legitimacy, in the academic community, and more broadly among the Armenian-American community and among Turkish university scholars in Europe and Turkey, as well as others in the public sphere who increasingly accepted the need for such discussions. The emphasis on scholarship rather than polemic, accusations, or political pleading allowed discussion to flow freely without rancor or defensiveness. WATS managed to hold together while more political efforts withered, including the Track Two diplomacy of the Turkish-Armenian Reconciliation Commission (TARC).¹⁷ The monolithic view held by many Armenians of Turks as Armenocidal fanatics slowly dissipated—for some. Dialogue became acceptable. At the Michigan workshop, Richard Hovannisian, originally skeptical of the possibility of such discussions, presented a paper on Turks who had protected and saved Armenians during the Genocide. The acknowledged dean of modern Armenian scholars, Hovannisian had had little interaction with Turks, other than hostile exchanges. A few years later, he toured eastern Turkey (historic Armenia!) with Müge Göçek. Others, even among the founders of the dialogue, fell away for personal reasons, but none disavowed the effort. And the circle of those involved grew, as alongside active scholars preparing research papers, WATS also

¹⁷ On TARC, with which WATS has sometimes been confused or deliberately conflated, see David L. Phillips, *Unsilencing the Past: Track Two Diplomacy and Turkish-Armenian Reconciliation* (New York, 2005).

involved hundreds of people interested in Armenian-Turkish history and relations through its e-mail list, armworkshop.

Among the most exposed and vulnerable scholars were those who lived and worked in Turkey. Halil Berktaş gave an interview to the Turkish newspaper *Radikal* in which he affirmed that genocide had occurred but called on the Turkish state and other governments not to take official positions on such historical events. "Bringing up the issue renders the Turkish state and society more defensive on this topic and closed within themselves," he said, "and pushes them to become more rigid. Political polarization on this topic is so strong that even finding the courage to speak on this subject is a great problem."¹⁸ The Turkish state not only did not heed Professor Berktaş but instead intensified the campaign of denial of the Genocide. Some Turkish nationalists called upon Sabancı University to fire Berktaş, but the university's benefactress refused to succumb to pressure.

The workshop process reached an unexpected climax when Turkish scholars in Turkey decided to hold their own conference on "The Ottoman Armenians during the Era of Ottoman Decline" in May 2005. Spearheaded by several veterans of WATS and sponsored by three leading Istanbul universities—Bosphorus, Sabancı, and Bilgi—the conference was abruptly postponed by its organizers the day before it was to open because of an aggressive campaign of "pressure, threats and slander." The minister of justice, Cemil Çiçek, had pronounced that holding the conference would be tantamount to stabbing Turkey in the back, adding, "I wish I had not renounced my authority to open criminal cases as justice minister." Despite intimidation by nationalist protesters, the conference opened at the end of September at Bilgi University. Unperturbed by about a hundred nationalist protesters outside who occasionally threw eggs or tomatoes, historians met for two marathon days, listening to and discussing dozens of papers. Despite a lone woman protester in the hall, the sessions heard accounts of Armenian life in Ottoman Anatolia, the evacuation of some three thousand Armenian communities, the international media coverage of the 1915 events, rival interpretations of the famous Ottoman Bank incident and the Adana massacres of 1909, and the "demographic engineering" of the Young Turks. Müge Göçek reported on the WATS process, linking what had begun so modestly five years earlier with the signal gathering in Istanbul. Many of those who gave papers either had attended the earlier workshops or were participants on the WATS e-mail list. Several "Turkish" speakers revealed how they had recently discovered their Armenian ancestry, and discussants reflected on "the terrible social death of the Armenian identity through forced conversion, adoption, and marriage."¹⁹ Much discussion centered on the evolution of Turkish nationalist views generated in the Kemalist republic on the events of World War I and on the silence that had progressively enveloped the memory of what happened to the Armenians. In an eloquent address to the conference, the Turkish Armenian journalist Hrant Dink, a participant in several of the WATS meetings, told the largely Turkish audience, "We [Armenians] want this land; not to take it away but to lie under it!"

¹⁸ "A Special Organization Killed Armenians": An Interview with Halil Berktaş," *Radikal* (Istanbul), June 30, 2000, interviewed by Nese Duzel, translated by Marc David Baer.

¹⁹ The account of the Istanbul conference comes from a report authored by Fatma Müge Göçek and circulated through the WATS e-mail list.

As dialogue broadened, as Turkish civil society increasingly explored through universities, the press, television, and published works the dark pages of Ottoman history, the backlash from nationalists and the state turned against journalists and fiction writers as well as historians. The most famous Turkish novelist, Orhan Pamuk; the editor of the Turkish Armenian newspaper *Agos* (Furrow), Hrant Dink; the novelist Elif Şafak; and the publisher Ragıp Zarakolu were among those who were either brought to trial or threatened with prison for remarks “insulting” to Turkishness. Most of the cases were dismissed, but Dink was convicted and given a suspended sentence. Still, the waves generated by the initial pebbles thrown into the historians’ pond were splashing up against the dikes. When Pamuk was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature in October 2006, nearly every account mentioned his statement to a Swiss journal that “thirty thousand Kurds and a million Armenians were killed in these lands.” Just hours before the announcement that Pamuk had received the prize, the French National Assembly passed a bill criminalizing denial of the Armenian Genocide. The past could no longer be contained; awareness of a genocide could no longer be obliterated.

WHILE BOTH THE TURKISH AND ARMENIAN GOVERNMENTS have asserted that the question should be left to historians, official Turkish denial, along with well-meaning governmental interventions to recognize 1915 as a genocide and to make denial a crime, have taken the issue out of the hands of the historians and made the free and full discussion of the Turkish and Armenian experience more difficult. Just as the dialogue among scholars was reaching the point of rough consensus, activists and politicians hardened the positions of defenders and deniers. The Turkish parliament responded with a joint declaration signed by all parties denouncing the French bill as motivated by domestic political concerns and predicting that it would harm Turkish-French relations as well as prospects for normalization of relations between Ankara and Erevan. Opposition deputy Şükrü Elekdağ, a former ambassador to the United States, called for sanctions against Armenia and the deportation of some seventy thousand Armenian illegal workers living in Turkey. From the opposite side, Pamuk condemned the French move as a betrayal of France’s own liberal traditions. Many who have been tending the delicate dialogue in which history is written, rewritten, revised, and presumably improved were dismayed by the preemptive strike by legislators. Dink boldly stated that if the bill passed, he would provoke arrest by publicly denying the Genocide in France.

He never got that chance. On January 19, 2007, a seventeen-year-old nationalist assassin from Trebizond gunned Dink down outside his office in Istanbul. The irony of his death is that he was killed in the name of a particularly narrow notion of patriotism while he was himself a fervent Turkish patriot. His vision of his native country, however, was of a modern democratic, tolerant state, the eastern edge of Europe, in which his own people, the Armenians, could live together with Turks, Kurds, Jews, Greeks, and the other peoples who had coexisted, however uneasily, in the cosmopolitan empire out of which the Turkish republic had emerged. What he could not tolerate was the denial of the shared history of those peoples, a history that involved not only the mass killing of Armenians but the ongoing repression of

Kurds. Dink was an active participant in the vital civil society emerging in Turkey, and people who had felt alone suddenly, briefly, felt empowered in the outpouring of grief witnessed at his funeral. Tens of thousands marched for hours through the streets of Istanbul with signs proclaiming "We are all Hrant; we are all Armenians." January 19 seemed to shift the landscape for Armenians and Turks. More starkly than before, Armenians were revealed as symbols in present-day Turkey, having taken on a variety of meanings—enemy, outsider, foreigner, victimizer. After January 19, they further became symbolic of an alternative to the current impasse, a way out, perhaps into the European Community, to greater tolerance, to democracy. But as cracks in the edifice of denial widened, a backlash from nationalists took on new force. Dink's assassin was cheered in public as a national hero. Turkey's mildly Islamist government faced the "deep state" of the military and Kemalist elite and was forced at times to take a hard line on the Armenian issue. The question of the Genocide became even more difficult either to suppress or to resolve. Where scholars had tentatively trod had turned into a perilous minefield, but now it was just as dangerous to turn back as to push forward.

NO MATTER HOW HARD HISTORIANS TRIED to keep the question of genocide confined to scholarship, it could not be kept from the public sphere. While WATS scholars are as yet unable to express clear unanimity on whether 1915 constitutes a genocide, they have come together around a shared sense of what happened and why. The problem of the "G" word is both definitional and political. Some of the participants hold that public acceptance of the term "genocide" would render them ineffective with the Turkish public. Others disagree with the standard United Nations definition of genocide. The resident philosopher in our workshops, New York University professor Paul Boghossian, explored the imprecision of this official internationally accepted definition and the confusion surrounding it, but in a summation of where we were, he noted that we all agreed that deportations and massacres had occurred; that they had been ordered, organized, and carried out by the Young Turks and their agents; and that the target of these brutal policies had been defined ethnoreligious groups (the Assyrians and some other minorities, as well as the Armenians). If, he suggested rhetorically, you accept that all this happened, and you still do not want to call it genocide, then you give us the word.

Acceptance of 1915 as an instance of ethnic cleansing, *avant la lettre*, is much less problematic. And we appear to have achieved a closer consensus that ethnic cleansing, like genocide, is almost always an activity organized by state authorities. The line between the two is a thin one, but ethnic cleansing—the coercive removal of an ethnically defined group of people from a given territory—need not involve mass killing, although death from deportation, forced marches, and deprivation usually accompanies it. Genocide, on the other hand, is the deliberate, sustained mass killing of a designated ethnic or national community with the aim of reducing or eliminating its political, social, or cultural potential.²⁰ Unlike a pogrom or urban riot instigated

²⁰ A useful discussion of the distinction between ethnic cleansing and genocide can be found in Naimark, *Fires of Hatred*, 2–5.

and carried out by one ethnicity against another, genocide does not simply flare up and die down in a relatively short time; it is sustained over both time and territory. It requires some premeditation and planning, however chaotic and messy its actual execution and consequences. What remains open and in dispute for some, albeit a minority among scholars, is whether the murder of a nation in the case of the Armenians and the Assyrians was intentional or an unfortunate consequence of a brutal program of deportations.

Early in December 2007, eighteen of the participants in the WATS process gathered at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford University for a writers' conference, preliminary to publishing the first collection of articles emerging from the series of workshops. The stunning impression of the two and a half days of discussion was how far we had come—how questions that had troubled the earlier meetings had been resolved, and how subtle and nuanced our understanding of the Young Turks' motives, Armenian activities, and the role of the Great Powers had become. A newly minted doctor of history, Fuat Dündar, showed with his careful reading of Ottoman archival documents how the deportations had been organized and carried out by the Turkish authorities, and—most shocking of all—that Minister of the Interior Tâlât, the chief initiator, had been aware that sending people to the Syrian desert outpost of Der Zor meant certain death. A more senior scholar of twentieth-century Turkey, Erik Zürcher of the University of Leiden, confessed that his earlier work on the Young Turks had not given their role in the Armenian massacres—and the lasting effects of those massacres in the Turkish republic—the attention that it deserved. David Gaunt delivered a meticulous account of Ottoman atrocities in the invasion of Persia and the mass killing of Nestorian Assyrians, a genocide in its own right. A general, if not complete, consensus was reached that the Young Turks had had no “blueprint” for genocide—that is, no carefully drawn out, long-established plans for exterminating the Armenians—but that sometime in March 1915, a decision was made to deport them systematically and, by issuing oral orders and sending out secret emissaries, to massacre them in the process. The working title for the volume (forthcoming from Oxford University Press), “A Question of Genocide: Armenians and Turks at the End of the Ottoman Empire,” reflects both the certainty of some and the ambiguity of others about the nature of the killings.

There may be no escape from the political aspects of setting the record straight on any genocide, and the Armenian Genocide has been the exemplary victim of deliberate, sustained falsification. Historians are implicated in these politics no matter how faithfully they attend to the obligations of their craft. As Turkey and Armenia both construct and reconstruct their historic and present-day identities, they have to deal with the traumas of their twentieth-century emergence. These two countries and their peoples, both at home and in the diaspora, are condemned to live in the present and the future, as they have for half a millennium in the past, side by side, their destinies intertwined, their senses of self intimately wrapped up in each other. For historians, who have done so much to construct the past with which each nation now lives, the task of reconstruction has become imperative. Essentializing the other as irremediably evil leads to endless repetition of the debilitating conflicts and deceptions of the last century. At present, the histories preferred by most Armenians

and Turks remain embedded in their respective nationalist master narratives, which portray the other people as perpetrator and their own as victim. Yet the simplicities of national myths, themselves the handiwork of historians as well as politicians, must continually be challenged by more critical historical work, so that “realities” created instrumentally to defend particular power and knowledge structures can be replaced by shared, subversive narratives that move us beyond nationalism toward truer understanding.

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The Scholars' Initiative

CHARLES INGRAO

WINSTON CHURCHILL ONCE LAMENTED that the Balkans had produced far more history than they could possibly consume. The history to which he referred was the lengthy litany of wrongs and retribution that had been committed by the various groups that inhabited the peninsula. What he did not say—or, perhaps, realize—was that the great bulk of what passes for history among the region's peoples was of relatively recent vintage, having been written over the previous century by apologists for the region's newly created nation-states. Nor could he know that the Balkans would share in the bounty of a second great age of state- and history-making at the other end of the twentieth century.

Like the self-serving accounts of newly created states everywhere, the Balkan narratives are highly selective in their choice of facts, but simultaneously accommodate compelling myths that stress each nation's achievements, its heroism, and, oftentimes, its victimization at the hands of its former oppressors. But none has been as influential as the Serbian national narrative, which helped create the centrifugal forces that tore Yugoslavia apart.¹ Among the successor states of the former Yugoslavia, Serbia enjoyed a substantial head start in constructing its national narrative after winning autonomy from the Ottoman Empire in 1830. It informed the calculus of Serbia's leaders and the heroism of its armies through three Balkan Wars (1912–1918) and the subsequent establishment of the tightly centralized, Serbian-dominated “first” Yugoslavia (1918–1941).² Resentment against Serbian hegemony inspired not only the country's ready partition by the Axis powers and the genocidal terror of the Croatian Ustaša puppet state that they established in 1941, but also Marshall Tito's resolve to reconstitute a “second” Yugoslavia in 1945, in which the country's 38 percent Serbian plurality would become merely the first among equals. Although Tito appealed to the “unity and brotherhood” of Communist Yugoslavia's nineteen national and ethnic groups, it was the sober calculus of “strong Yugoslavia, weak Serbia” that ensured peace and stability among them.³

¹ Jasna Dragović-Soso, *Saviours of the Nation: Serbia's Intellectual Opposition and the Revival of Nationalism* (Montreal, 2003); Tim Judah, *The Serbs: History, Myth and the Destruction of Yugoslavia* (New Haven, Conn., 1997).

² Ivo Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia: Origins, History, Politics* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1984), 141–202, 214–231.

³ Dennison Rusinow, *The Yugoslav Experiment, 1948–1974* (Berkeley, Calif., 1977); Pedro Ramet, *Nationalism and Federalism in Yugoslavia, 1963–1983* (Bloomington, Ind., 1984).

Slobodan Milošević's demagogic attempt to reassert Serbian domination prompted the creation of not only a half-dozen new Balkan states, but a corresponding number of custom-made national histories as well, based, once again, on a combination of victimization and martial heroism.⁴ Today more than ever, the peoples of the Yugoslav successor states are divided by a common history that has been edited, demarcated, and steadfastly protected with the same resolve they have applied to their newly constructed territorial frontiers. Inevitably, each narrative employs a different array of "truths," many of which are either distorted or blatantly untrue, while carefully excising "inconvenient facts" that promote the utility of multiethnic coexistence and justify the dissonant narrative or political agenda of other national groups. The resulting divergent recitations of history not only unite each new republic's constituent "state-forming" nationality, but sow mistrust, resentment, and even hatred between them and other peoples with whom they had previously coexisted.

The perceptual gap is particularly wide between Serbia (and Bosnia's Republika Srpska), on the one hand, and the dominant national groups in Croatia, Kosovo, and the Bosnian Federation, on the other. In keeping with their long-established national narrative of victimization and heroism, most Serbs portray themselves as the selfless creators and defenders of multiethnic Yugoslavia, whose sacrifices were negated by the Croats in World War II and again at the end of the Cold War, when they were abetted by Slovene, Bosnian, and Albanian secessionists. Central to the Serbian narrative is the genocidal intent of successive Croatian regimes that murdered a million Serbs during the world war and would have resumed their work in 1991—this time with the assistance of Bosnia's and Kosovo's Muslims—had their intended victims not acted to prevent it.⁵ For their part, the Slovenes and Croats portray their secession from Yugoslavia as a necessary response to Serbia's violation of the Yugoslav constitution, rather than as a selfish refusal to share their greater wealth and tax revenue with the federation's poorer republics. To them, the outbreak of war in 1991 was Serbian aggression, compounded in Croatia by the unilateral commission of war crimes against prisoners of war and civilians alike.⁶ Far from being "fundamentalists" bent on executing or expelling their Serb minorities, Muslim Bosnians and Kosovars claim peaceful intent while minimizing the insecurities created by their respective quests for freedom from Belgrade's embrace.⁷

In the hands of nationalist politicians and journalists, the tragic events of the 1990s continue to be manipulated in ways that have sustained mutual recrimination, further solidifying the cultural gap between the Serbs and their neighbors. But is there an antidote to the corrosive effect that proprietary myths and mass amnesia have on public discourse and popular memory? And even if one exists, who is pre-

⁴ Sabrina Ramet, "The Dissolution of Yugoslavia: Competing Narratives of Resentment and Blame," *Südosteuropa* 55 (2007): 26–59.

⁵ David Bruce MacDonald, *Balkan Holocausts? Serbian and Croatian Victim-Centred Propaganda and the War in Yugoslavia* (Manchester, 2002). Parallel studies by Croatian and Serbian scholars reduce the toll by two-thirds, although not as much as some Croatian estimates. Jozo Tomasevich, *War and Revolution in Yugoslavia, 1941–1945: Occupation and Collaboration* (Stanford, Calif., 2001), 718–750.

⁶ Branka Magaš, *The Destruction of Yugoslavia: Tracking the Break-up, 1980–92* (London, 1993), 301–309, 320–325; Smail Čekić, *The Aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Planning, Preparation, Execution*, 2 vols. (Sarajevo, 2005).

⁷ Gale Stokes, "From Nation to Minority: Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia at the Outbreak of the Yugoslav Wars," *Problems of Post-Communism* 52 (2005): 3–20.

pared to work toward its implementation? Certainly not political leaders in the West. Although they eventually intervened militarily to end the humanitarian catastrophe that ethnic cleansing brought to Bosnia (1995) and Kosovo (1999), today's presidents and prime ministers focus their attention on immediate, bona fide threats to their own national security. Admittedly, their policymakers and diplomats who work in the Balkans are somewhat more attentive to the problems posed by competing national narratives. Yet their search for solutions is heavily mortgaged by the tactical mindset that traditionally guides the everyday application of foreign policy. Indeed, while national leaders in the United States tend to think in four-year electoral cycles, the career trajectory of foreign service officers is determined by the triennial performance evaluations that precede their transfer to new assignments, which can be halfway around the world.

Given this structural reality, U.S. and most other Western diplomats are programmed to fulfill A. J. P. Taylor's observation that they simply "muddle through" by seeking solutions to today's crises within the finite time frame of their current appointments, without the latitude to contemplate or set long-term objectives that could be realized only on somebody else's watch. Such resignation (or diffidence) was evident during the summer of 2000, when President Clinton's special representative for the former Yugoslavia worked feverishly to topple indicted war criminal Slobodan Milošević from power, while dismissing visionary, systemic solutions for the region as unworthy of consideration. This approach is emblematic of Western policy throughout the Balkans, which routinely makes access to foreign credits or entry into NATO and the European Union (EU) contingent upon the appointment of ministers and the formation of governing coalitions committed to a democratic agenda that includes the accommodation of ethnic diversity. This top-down approach often delivers temporary results, albeit at the cost of fostering resentment among the majority of the population against the West and the very minorities it seeks to help.

While Western diplomats have focused their efforts on the pursuit of such political epiphenomena, some semi-independent actors within the international community have endeavored to bridge the cognitive gap between the region's peoples by reaching out directly to the public. Western media platforms such as the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, the BBC, and Deutsche Welle have disseminated news and information, while philanthropic non-governmental organizations (NGOs) such as the Soros, Friedrich Naumann, and Bertelsmann foundations have sponsored numerous confidence-building "people-to-people" programs. The International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) has painstakingly investigated, exposed, and punished criminal acts committed by all sides.⁸ Yet none of these admittedly foreign vehicles enjoy the credibility of indigenous, "patriotic" political leaders and the great majority of "mainstream" media platforms that hew closely to their proprietary accounts. This has been especially the case in Serbia, whose newly democratic leaders and free media largely ignore or deny the criminal record of the Milošević regime, but it is also true of Bosnian, Croatian, and Kosovo Albanian politicians, who dare not concede even the smallest point of their narrative of vic-

⁸ Two compelling accounts of the ICTY are Cees Banning and Petra de Koning, *Balkan aan de Noordzee: Over het Joegoslavië-tribunaal, over recht en onrecht* (Rotterdam, 2005); and Florence Hartmann, *Paix et châiment: Les guerres secrètes de la politique et de la justice internationales* (Paris, 2007).

timization to the Serbian enemy—including the admittedly less extensive war crimes committed by their own commanders. Moreover, so long as they retain a *de facto* monopoly over public memory, perception, and interpretation, they will continue to discredit and marginalize the few independent voices that challenge them. Indeed, there are many among the region's political and media elite who privately concede the corruption of their vocal majority's historical accounts, but who nonetheless lack the courage to challenge them publicly.

The gap between private recognition and public expression is particularly great among scholars in the Yugoslav successor states. This became immediately apparent when I resumed traveling to the region following the conclusion of the Dayton Accords. To my surprise, it was even possible to find scholars at the famously nationalistic Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SANU) who acknowledged key elements of the predominant Western narrative of the recent conflict, despite the combined regime of press censorship and mythmaking to which all Serbs had been subjected.⁹ This revelation only reaffirmed the professional conceit that all scholars are trained to recognize and critically analyze a multiplicity of sources, perspectives, narratives, and interpretations. Moreover, historians and social scientists enjoy another advantage over the general public and political leaders in their propensity for looking beyond historical epiphenomena to identify broader structural realities that drive events. Given their disciplines' search for underlying, "hidden" causes, could they not also discern the kind of long-term, systemic solutions necessary to break loose from the cycle of ethnic tension and conflict that threatens the stability of all multiethnic polities? Or can scholars identify and address endemic problems for which there appear to be no viable solutions? In the Central European context, we must ask if today's multiethnic democracies are capable of recognizing—and then minimizing—the danger that proprietary narratives pose to mutual trust and understanding. If so, is it then possible to reintegrate people whose separate identities spring substantially—and sometimes exclusively—from contradictory accounts of the past? Or have two centuries of democracy left us resigned to the inevitability of conflict in an increasingly multicultural world?¹⁰

The Scholars' Initiative (SI) stemmed from the conviction that native historians and social scientists are best positioned to challenge the tendentious nationalistic narratives that have succeeded so well in dividing the peoples of Central Europe. But to do so, they would need to accomplish two tasks to which most are unaccustomed, and with which they are even uncomfortable. First, they would have to join with scholars from across the successor states to craft a common narrative that exposes and discredits each belligerent's myths about the Yugoslav conflicts, while simultaneously inserting indisputable but inconvenient facts known to their former adversaries. Second, they would need to reach out to the public by engaging media and, when possible, politicians willing to place at least one foot on the common platform that their own scholars have helped construct. If leaders from across the region's newly erected borders were to do likewise, they would take an important first step

⁹ However, SANU's singular contribution to the conflict remains the inflammatory memorandum that inspired Milošević's fateful coup against the Yugoslav constitution.

¹⁰ For the challenges that democratization poses, see Sabrina P. Ramet, *Whose Democracy? Nationalism, Religion and the Doctrine of Collective Rights in Post-1989 Eastern Europe* (Lanham, Md., 1997); and Fareed Zakaria, *The Future of Freedom: Illiberal Democracy at Home and Abroad* (New York, 2003).

along the long road that begins with mutual recognition and ends with mutual reconciliation.

AT FIRST GLANCE, THIS AMBITIOUS AGENDA would appear to be a mission impossible. Indeed, a number of the SI's early supporters readily welcomed and contributed to the project, despite feeling that the magnitude of the task and of the obstacles it confronted would prevent it from succeeding. One reason for their initial pessimism was that they did not fully realize what the SI was not and need not be.

First, given the lack of time, cognitive distance, and extramural funding, it could not pretend to undertake a significant amount of groundbreaking research. Nor did it need to, since so many of the most divisive myths and "inconvenient facts" are already well known to scholars on all sides of the region's newly created borders. There is, in fact, an enormous amount of published material available, including many hundreds of book-length accounts, memoirs, and documentary compendia, thousands of scholarly articles, and hundreds of thousands of pages of trial transcripts already released by the ICTY and various national courts. These sources alone enabled the SI's research teams to narrow the cognitive gap between peoples by simultaneously validating evidence and discrediting unfounded, proprietary myths through a combination of sober scholarship and sustained interaction with media and public officials. Although scholars may continue to argue over some issues for which there remains a dearth of documentation, most are "finer points" that are less well known or important to the general public.

Even if major disagreements remain, it is hardly necessary to resolve every controversy in the otherwise common narrative. After all, scholars always enjoy the latitude to admit to the insufficiency of evidence and the existence of multiple, divergent inferences. During the course of the project, team leaders were frequently reminded that it was not necessary to resolve every difference within their group, and that it was perfectly permissible to highlight the existence of two or more contradictory explanations or interpretations in their final report—and to call for more research on the subject.

In identifying those areas that need additional attention, the project accepted that there was nothing truly "final" about any of the completed reports being released to the public. Rather than indulge the widespread public assumption that the SI was formulating the "final word" on the Yugoslav conflicts, we readily and repeatedly advised that it was only taking a first step, providing the initial installment in a process that we hope will continue for decades as more and more evidence is uncovered. This is especially true when writing about a conflict that ended only a decade ago, although even early modern historians like me can vouch for the persistence of debates that have gone three or four centuries without being resolved.

Whereas many participants and public observers alike assumed that the project would incur the obligations of undertaking extensive original research, resolving all controversies, and presenting a definitive narrative, they were equally unaware that the SI itself needed to avoid controversy and to maintain its credibility with two crucial constituencies: the community of scholars to which it belonged *and* the general public that was its ultimate target. To do so, the SI had to operate at all times

on two discrete levels, one that called for absolute adherence to scientific methodologies and substance, and another that required it to present an image that corresponded with public expectations of sound scholarship. This need to combine image and reality constituted the greatest challenge that the project faced during its ten-year career, requiring as it did a series of adjustments and compromises that needed to survive the scrutiny of each audience, even though many SI participants did not fully appreciate why this was necessary. This tension was readily apparent to project co-director Tom Emmert and me as we worked to fulfill four key operational principles upon which the project's credibility depended.

First, any attempt at achieving mutual recognition and acceptance requires clearly defined goals. From the very beginning, the project's overriding objective was to create teams of researchers who would attempt to resolve those major disputes that divided the peoples of the Yugoslav successor states. Toward this end, the prominent Serbian historian Dušan Bataković and I drafted a tentative, but comprehensive, list of ten topics that we felt would embrace all salient controversies:

1. Kosovo under Autonomy, 1974–1990
2. The Dissolution of Yugoslavia, 1974/1986–1992
3. Independence & the Fate of Minorities, 1989–1992
4. Ethnic Cleansing & War Crimes, 1991–1995
5. The International Community & the SFRY/Belligerents
6. The Safe Areas, 1993–1995
7. The War in Croatia, 1991–1995
8. Kosovo under Milošević, 1990–1999
9. US/NATO Intervention in Kosovo, 1999
10. The International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY)

Although these topics covered the entire period of the Yugoslav conflicts, they were not intended to present a comprehensive narrative of all the key events, personalities, or other developments that one would expect in a truly definitive account. To have done so would have unduly burdened not only our investigators with additional research, but also the general public with a lengthier text that they would be less likely to purchase and read. Thus the goal was to produce a reasonably short volume that would focus intently but solely on the targeted controversies, presented in a positivist narrative that would be accessible to laypeople. On the other hand, several scholars wanted to build the reports around social science theory or pursue other worthwhile but tangential issues that corresponded to their own research interests. As project directors, Emmert and I discouraged such forays and worked to reduce the length of text that was “off task.” Not surprisingly, the teams’ focus on the salient controversies did not wholly forestall the submission of some exceedingly long reports (three of which topped 100 pages), a problem that we ultimately resolved by posting the entire unedited text on the SI website, while publishing them in abridged form.

The project also needed to be inclusive. To begin with, the decision to form ten research teams to tackle each of the targeted controversies reflected a commitment to examining all major subjects of debate. Not to have done so would have inevitably inspired accusations of biased selection. Instead, all ten topics were consciously con-

structed as double-edged swords that could be employed by two or more “sides” in each controversy. No less important was an absolute commitment to the admission of all qualified evidence, so that nobody could claim that one or another accusation or body of evidence had been excluded from consideration. In practice, this meant that Serbian scholars could present evidence of valid concerns and grievances that have generally been ignored by a world focused solely on the atrocities that their nation’s forces committed; at the same time, it emboldened team leaders to appeal to all project participants for credible evidence to support some of the more outrageous Serbian myths, with the foreknowledge that the failure to present any documentation would permit the reports to expose them as fraudulent.

The commitment to inclusivity also extended to the project participants. For the sake of efficiency of operation, we had originally planned for research teams of no more than a half-dozen or so specialists and a total membership of well under a hundred. As more and more scholars expressed an interest in joining, however, we realized that refusing to accept anyone with genuine interest and expertise in the field might invite the charge of selective bias, particularly from extreme nationalists bent on discrediting the common narrative that we would be presenting. Indeed, the intentional exclusion of any scholar—particularly one with a well-known position—could undermine public confidence in the project’s impartiality. To avoid the appearance and charge of bias, we routinely accepted applicants whose *curricula vitae* presented the semblance of expertise, including many graduate students, both because they were willing to do project-related research and because their engagement constituted an investment in a new generation of scholars who could develop independently from the entrenched nationalist elites that dominate faculties throughout the successor states. At the same time, however, we strictly limited the number of accomplished investigative journalists who had published significant accounts, lest their presence enable nationalist critics to challenge the project’s claim to be a consortium of *scholars*. We also refrained from recruiting—and in a couple of instances intentionally excluded—a very small number of scholars when preexisting personality conflicts threatened to undermine the rapport that we needed to nurture, particularly among scholars from the various successor states. This was without question the most painful compromise that we were obliged to make between the public expectation of inclusivity and the private insistence of individual team leaders on a high level of collegiality at the research team level.

Perhaps our single greatest concern was the need to sustain a commitment to scholarly methodologies, most notably the impartial weighing and representation of evidence. Indeed, the threat to individual integrity posed by the Milošević regime’s programmatic intimidation of Serbian scholars forced us to postpone operations for three years, until after his fall from power in October 2000. We then took the further precaution of forming an advisory board to adjudicate accusations of bias against or between project participants. We were even prepared to remove those whose misplaced patriotism hopelessly compromised their ability to weigh evidence, thereby raising the unwelcome specter of playing out the popular game of “Survivor” with a cast of scholars. In the end, only one individual was removed from the project.¹¹

¹¹ It was a Serbian-American scholar who maintained that the 800,000-plus Albanians whom Serbian

Almost without exception, the numerous face-to-face meetings between scholars were attended by a high degree of mutual respect and collegiality, with participants generally achieving a consensus on the evidence that governed most major controversies. Perhaps the best explanation for what remains the most surprising development is that the project participants were guided by the invisible hand of peer pressure. Whereas all professionals seek recognition from their peers, the successor state scholars who joined the SI were particularly interested in reaffirming and strengthening their membership in the scholarly guild; none were more committed than the Serbian scholars, whose bridges with the West had been destroyed through guilt by association with a criminal regime and the sanctions levied against it. Thus, whereas some of us originally expected Western scholars to serve as referees in debates between our successor state colleagues, they may have preempted such conflict by creating an emulsion from which few Albanian, Bosnian, Croat, and Serb participants were willing to separate. Which is not to say that individual participants did not sometimes oppose the resolution of one controversy or another that reflected poorly on their country or national group, but such opposition usually manifested itself through omission and inertia, acted out in silence at a safe distance from the machinery that generated the team reports.

But once again, it was not enough that project participants retain their scholarly integrity; it was equally important that the general public perceive them as impartial, albeit by meeting a different set of standards. The overriding criterion here was the presence of native scholars on the project who could be trusted to defend the interests of each successor state. This was particularly important for a Serbian public that has routinely dismissed the grim findings of international bodies such as the ICTY because they were headed by foreigners.¹² The problem of public perception was addressed by the aggressive recruitment of scholars from all eight Yugoslav entities, including a disproportionately large number of Serbian citizens. Moreover, from the beginning, each research team was co-directed by *two* scholars, one of whom was invariably an ethnic Serb. This preponderance is evident in the comprehensive list of scholars that was made available to the media, which was intentionally organized by country so that the public in each successor state could see for themselves that their nationality was sufficiently represented. Of course, we as scholars knew that our project participants could not be easily pigeonholed by nationality, particularly the large number who had been fervently anti-nationalist and highly critical of their regime's actions during the Yugoslav wars—including more than a few American and Western European scholars! Nonetheless, a classification system that indulged popular expectations has helped to forestall accusations of bias, particularly in Serbia.

Finally, we needed to maintain a high level of transparency. Whereas this is desirable in any type of organization, it is absolutely essential in a part of the world

forces expelled from Kosovo in 1999 were actually fleeing NATO bombs, and that the myriad of televised interviews with refugees were staged by professional actors hired by NATO.

¹² Thus the refusal of many Serbs to accept the DNA tests for thousands of Muslim victims of the July 1995 Srebrenica massacre, because there are reportedly no Serbs on the forensic teams—which eventually inspired some to claim that many of the bodies recovered were actually drowning victims from the December 2004 tsunami whose corpses were flown in from the Indian Ocean.

in which conspiracy theories abound. A first step was to craft a detailed prospectus, clearly enumerating principles, policies, and procedures on the project website. Thereafter, key decisions were routinely disseminated to all project participants via e-mail. Successive drafts of reports were first discussed at the team level before being passed on to all of the project participants, each of whom had the right to make suggestions, which ranged from fulsome praise to withering criticism. Although we permitted anonymous postings, particularly to encourage participation by graduate students and untenured faculty, the overwhelming majority of the correspondence bore the authors' names. At the conclusion of each round of criticism, all comments were bundled together and sent in a single e-mail message to every project participant so that succeeding drafts could be checked for mandated revisions. Once a report had finally passed muster, it was immediately distributed to the media and an assortment of government supporters in Washington and the successor states.

IN STRICTLY CHRONOLOGICAL TERMS, the project went through three distinct stages. The initial, organizational phase began with the fall of Milošević in October 2000. After a year devoted to recruiting prospective participants via telephone and e-mail, we held the first of two organizational meetings at Marshall Tito's former hunting lodge at Morović, in the northern Serbian province of Vojvodina. Although local sponsors covered the costs, there was still no funding for a major international initiative. Consequently, only a couple of dozen Serbian and ten North American and Western European scholars met to plan a relatively modest "Historians' Dialogue." Except for an ethnic Serb from Zagreb, there were no scholars from the other successor states, primarily because we felt that it was imperative to establish a level of trust and camaraderie between Serbian and Western scholars before we could even consider adding a potentially volatile mix of Albanians, Bosniaks, and Croats. Indeed, we considered ourselves lucky to have met at all, considering the disruption of air travel two weeks earlier by the 9/11 attacks.

Yet even as the conference participants discussed project parameters, a prospective donor was emerging that would greatly expand the project's scope. Whereas the historians who assembled in Morović were content to sustain a discreet academic dialogue between Serbs and Westerners, the U.S. Institute of Peace (USIP) urged us to submit a proposal for bringing together scholars from across the region. Given USIP's focus on public policy, we were also encouraged to pursue our more ambitious plans for reaching out to the general population. Even before we were awarded a USIP grant in March 2002, the modest Historians' Dialogue that had convened in Morović had morphed into a public policy initiative that would involve an almost equal number of social scientists. When we next met at UN Headquarters in Sarajevo in July 2002, there were already 135 participants from nearly twenty countries, including all of the successor states.

The Sarajevo meeting proved to be a very difficult undertaking. By another stroke of bad timing, the conference coincided precisely with a threatened cutoff of U.S. funds that would force the UN's Bosnian mission to close just as we were heading to the conference site. When we arrived, we found our UN hosts preparing to evac-

uate the premises, rather than to host a conference. Although we were saved by a last-minute reprieve from Washington and the can-do mindset of UN mission chief Jacques-Paul Klein, our problems were only beginning. It was in Sarajevo that we first realized that scholars whose countries had suffered the most could be the most demanding and the least flexible. Only a third of the eighteen Bosnian invitees attended the meeting in their own capital, simply because many of them were unwilling to listen to any account of the war that differed from what they already knew to be true. Meanwhile, it was only after an evening of intense discussion in front of the bombed-out remains of Bosnia's National Library that the Albanian attendees agreed to meet with their Serb colleagues; at the end of the conference, they even chose a new group leader, who explicitly promised to sustain contact with his Serbian counterparts. Meanwhile, scholars from the other successor states exhibited a commitment to collegial interaction, including the twenty Serbian scholars who were making their first trip to Sarajevo since the wartime siege. To our surprise and general dismay, the only Serbian scholars to embarrass our attempt to rebuild bridges in Sarajevo were a phalanx of six fervently anti-nationalist women scholars, all but one of whom refused to leave Belgrade to listen to the same men who had publicly assailed their character and patriotism during the wartime quest for a Greater Serbia. Although four of them eventually joined the project, Sarajevo indicated for the first time that it might be easier for mainstream Serbian scholars to adhere to a common narrative than for some of their former victims to assist them in the process.¹³

THE SARAJEVO MEETING CONCLUDED the project's organizational stage by adding an eleventh team. "Living Together or Hating Each Other?" was dedicated to examining why the uneventful "positive history" of multiethnic coexistence is invariably overshadowed by accounts of national awakenings, insurrections, and civil wars. Having set a research agenda, the teams now commenced the process of gathering evidence and preparing a first draft for presentation fifteen months later.

The tension between scholarship and public expectation was also evident at this stage. The commitment to inclusiveness and transparency suggested to some laypeople that all of the project participants would play an active role in researching and writing the reports. Yet this was not possible at a time when the project membership was approaching three hundred, with the research teams averaging more than twenty scholars. Efficiency would be best served by entrusting the research to a small number of particularly qualified scholars and the writing to one or both of the team leaders. Even the two-headed leadership configuration invited wasted time and energy. In the end, primary responsibility was vested in a single team leader, the

¹³ No one in this group suffered more than the lone Sarajevo participant, historian Branka Prpa, director of the Belgrade City Archive and widow of journalist Slavko Ćuruvija, who was pistol-whipped as her husband was gunned down for criticizing Milošević at the height of the 1999 NATO bombing campaign. Prpa attributed the gender difference to the fact that women generally enter doctoral programs in history and social science for academic reasons, while these same disciplines are often the avenue of choice for politically ambitious men, whose pursuit of elected office ultimately necessitates the adoption of a nationalist agenda, often informed by gender-specific discourse that contrasts male strength with feminine weakness. Wendy Bracewell explores such typologies in "Rape in Kosovo: Masculinity and Serbian Nationalism," *Nations and Nationalism* 6 (2000): 563–590.

person who was most willing (or least reluctant) to manage the research and writing process. This included recruiting from the bloated team membership those who were willing and capable of undertaking targeted research, while encouraging the rest to contribute with suggestions and criticism as the work progressed. Typically, between three and six team members actively contributed material, which was then submitted to the team leaders, one of whom usually conducted the lion's share of the research and then wrote the first draft alone, or edited text contributed by as many as a half-dozen members. The report was then circulated at the team level before being posted via e-mail to all project participants.

The all-important research and writing stage was funded by a new grant from the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), which permitted us to offer modest stipends to the more than forty successor state scholars who served as team leaders or individual researchers. But NED's largesse also created a new set of difficult choices that needed to be resolved between the project's Western and successor state scholars. One problem involved the means by which we could motivate participants to perform work that would not necessarily advance their careers. Clearly the stipends could offer meaningful remuneration to Central European scholars whose depressed university salaries routinely obliged them to earn outside income. But no scholar from North America or the European Union could be paid or even reimbursed for travel, telephone, or other ancillary expenses. Quite aside from compensation, how could we expect to engage eminent Western scholars who were already heavily overcommitted, or talented junior faculty who were currently seeking tenure and promotion? A partial solution was provided by commissioning the publication of three volumes for project-related research by twenty-one SI scholars from North America and the EU.¹⁴ Otherwise, we were obliged to rely heavily on the idealism and selfless professionalism that sustained the roughly forty Western scholars who contributed significantly to the process of researching and writing the eleven team reports.

Another difficult choice concerned the proportion of team leaderships to be entrusted to Western scholars. It would have been easy to fill all eleven team leader positions that were not reserved for Serbs with scholars from North America and the EU. Given a combined population approaching 700 million people and the world's best-equipped university systems, it was hardly surprising that they had provided Central European studies—and the Scholars' Initiative—with an impressive list of preeminent leaders who could be expected to produce first-rate scholarship. On the other hand, public acceptance of the SI's findings within the successor states would be best served by promoting a greater sense of ownership in the process. Ultimately the eleven ethnic Serb team leaders were complemented by three prominent scholars from Albania, Croatia, and Slovenia, together with eight from the U.S., Germany, Great Britain, New Zealand, and Norway.

The most difficult choice that the NED grant forced upon us concerned deadlines. Scholars need substantial amounts of time to research, conceptualize, and

¹⁴ Thomas A. Emmert and Charles Ingraio, eds., "Resolving the Yugoslav Controversies: A Scholars' Initiative," *Nationalities Papers* 32, no. 4 (2004): 727–730, republished as *Conflict in Southeastern Europe at the End of the Twentieth Century: A Scholars' Initiative* (New York, 2006); Lenard J. Cohen and Jasna Dragović-Soso, eds., *State Collapse in South-Eastern Europe: New Perspectives on Yugoslavia's Disintegration* (West Lafayette, Ind., 2007); Marie-Janine Calic, ed., *Südosteuropa* 55 (2007).

write, but institutional donors expect grantees to complete work according to a schedule that is invariably arbitrary and frequently unreasonable. This is especially the case when work is performed in the public sphere, where results were needed yesterday and cannot wait until tomorrow without incurring social consequences. Although Central Europeanists often joke about the leisurely pace of "Balkan time," the project's overcommitted and unpaid Western team leaders were hardly immune to missed deadlines. In the end, several of them stepped down because they were unable or unwilling to keep up with the schedule worked out with NED. No fewer than three team leaders from Austria, Kosovo, and the Bosnian Federation resigned following the next SI meeting in Edmonton in September 2003 at the University of Alberta's Centre for Austrian and Central European Studies, after having failed to commence work on the team reports during the fifteen months since the Sarajevo meeting. A fourth North American scholar dropped out five months later because we were unable to meet his demands for compensation.

Nonetheless, the Edmonton meeting pushed the SI past the failsafe point by producing a critical mass of first drafts that could be presented to all project participants for criticism in the months that followed, even as we scrambled to recruit new team leaders to replace the four who had stepped down. The process lasted three years. Most reports went through eight to ten drafts before successfully passing through the highly public and sometimes humbling project-wide review that came to be known as "the gauntlet." Three reports needed to be totally rewritten, including one that went through three wholly new drafts, each written by a different team member, until it finally passed muster in September 2006.

WITH THE COMPLETION OF THE TEAM REPORTS, the focus now turned to the project's final, "representational" stage, in which the SI would present its findings to the public and their elected representatives. This proved less difficult than actually bringing together the scholars themselves. We had already spent several years building an infrastructure of journalists, public policy NGOs, Western diplomats, and top government officials throughout the successor states. The task had been greatly facilitated by preexisting relationships that our own scholars had with each of these groups, including several heads of state. Nor had there ever been any doubt that they were genuinely interested in the construction of a multilateral but common narrative of the Yugoslav conflicts. This was evident in the support from institutional donors, which readily provided funds for the numerous plenary and team meetings that the SI convened between 2001 and 2005. It was equally apparent in the readiness with which the news media covered project developments in the successor states. Thus, within days of the initial meeting in Morović, Serbian television had broadcast a live ninety-minute program about the project across most of the country. Nevertheless, the task of constructing and cultivating a broadly based, transnational matrix of public officials required a considerable amount of personal diplomacy, including more than forty transatlantic trips to the successor states—and almost as many to Washington, D.C., to garner support from U.S. State Department officials and congressional staffers.

The public outreach began in earnest at the beginning of 2005, during which time completed reports were released one at a time to media throughout the successor states. The process was greatly facilitated by the first of two grants from the German Marshall Fund's Balkan Trust for Democracy, which supported a network of nine journalists for all six successor states, plus Kosovo, the Bosnian Serb Republic, and the autonomous Serbian province of Vojvodina. Each "media liaison" was provided with the complete English-language text, together with a bullet page and executive summary written in both English and the formerly common language now known as Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian (BCS); meanwhile, for Albanian readers, the Kosovo daily *KOHA Ditore* began translating selected reports into Albanian for publication in serialized format. The media interface also enabled us to rent studio facilities for press conferences, something that few of our Western scholars would ever have considered as a vehicle for disseminating their work.

Indeed, the first team report, "Kosovo under Autonomy, 1974–1990," was released in February 2005 at a press conference in Belgrade that ensured coverage by Serbia's major news outlets. The Serbian team leader and primary author, Momčilo Pavlović, had been assailed just one year earlier by assorted anti-nationalists and human rights activists for producing a popular textbook that perpetuated the usual nationalist myths. But on this occasion he spoke as a scholar, delivering a report that exploded many of the very myths that had fueled Serbia's suicidal drive for mastery over Yugoslavia: There had never been a preconceived program by ethnic Albanians to overwhelm Kosovo's Serb minority by producing huge families, a conclusion that was backed up by fertility data that varied markedly between urban and rural populations, but not between ethnic Serbs and Albanians. Meanwhile, the widespread charge of Albanicization of public office holding was disproved by statistics showing that the percentage of ethnic Serb civil servants (23 percent) was roughly twice their proportion of the population. Poll data rebutted the claim that "Kosovars" favored secession and/or union with neighboring Albania, showing instead that the overwhelming majority aspired for republican status that would have kept them within Yugoslavia. Yet even as it debunked the prevailing view that Serbs had been subjected to sustained violence, the report confirmed that there was pervasive discrimination in favor of Albanians in the private sector and an exaggerated fear of repression and Albanicization that outpaced economic opportunity as the primary cause for steady Serb emigration during the period of autonomy.

Subsequent reports further justified the conceit that scholars would readily expose myths that many had already conceded in private. Thus the report of Team 3 ("Independence & the Fate of Minorities") drew the inescapable conclusion that Bosnian Muslim president Alija Izetbegović and his "Islamic Declaration" represented a hybrid of religion and modernism that had nothing in common with the fundamentalism of Iranian ayatollahs and al-Qaida terrorists. Nor had there ever been a plan to commit genocide against Croatia's or Bosnia's Serb populations—the pretext that Milošević's surrogates had used to justify the ethnic cleansing of more than a million civilians. By contrast, one myth that has enjoyed credence even among Western academics and public officials concerned Germany's role in Yugoslavia's breakup and descent into war. Team 5's report, "The International Community & the SFRY/Belligerents," did, in fact, readily acknowledge German lobbying for in-

ternational recognition of Slovenian, Croatian, and Bosnian independence. But by presenting a simple chronology of events, it showed that both secession and full-scale military conflict were already established facts before the European Community recognized the independence of a single successor state. One myth that was easily exposed but could not be totally put to rest involved the state-organized expulsion of 850,000 Albanians from Kosovo in 1999. At the time, the Milošević regime had insisted that they were fleeing NATO bombs. In the process of recounting the overwhelming evidence of the expulsions, Team 9 ("US/NATO Intervention in Kosovo") did uncover perhaps a few thousand Kosovars who fled the bombing, together with nearly two thousand Roma who remained in refugee camps inside Macedonia for several years out of fear of discrimination or worse should they return home.

Whereas it was relatively easy to discredit the outrageous myths that Milošević's minions had created in order to motivate and justify their forces' criminal behavior, the most painful element in the representational process involved the acknowledgment of "inconvenient facts" that constituted the second edge of the sword wielded by each research team. In many cases, Yugoslavia's Serbs had had legitimate grievances, which had been addressed by such grossly illegitimate means that it was now difficult for either their erstwhile victims or even Western observers to acknowledge them. A case in point was the report of Team 6 ("Safe Areas"), which was first presented at a press conference in the Bosnian Serb capital of Banja Luka on the tenth anniversary of the Srebrenica massacre. Its findings of massive Serbian atrocities hardly caused a stir there or in Serbia, but subsequently drew criticism from Muslims, who objected to the report's recognition of far lesser crimes committed by Bosnian government units and the acknowledgment that Serbian forces had not acted illegally in *besieging* Sarajevo and the other Safe Areas, but only in the *methods* that they employed in prosecuting them. Similarly, Serbian crimes in Vukovar and Dubrovnik recounted by Team 7 ("The War in Croatia") have already been admitted and punished in Serbian courts, while the admission of atrocities committed by the Croatian army after Operation Storm continues to meet stiff resistance from Croatian apologists of the "Great Patriotic War." Even some Western scholars were uncomfortable with Team 10's report on the Hague Tribunal, which has indicted, tried, and convicted far more Serbs over the past decade than any other national group. While rejecting charges that the Tribunal was inherently "anti-Serb," the team enumerated a litany of organizational shortcomings that many human rights advocates had privately admitted for years, but withheld from the public lest their disclosure undermine the court's credibility in the fight against genocidal Serbian leaders such as Milošević, Ratko Mladić, and Radovan Karadžić.

If the Tribunal has committed missteps, the imprecision of international law has precluded the resolution of several controversies. It was impossible to judge conclusively whether the Croatian and Bosnian conflicts were civil wars that justified Serbian intervention or an international conflict precipitated by Serbian aggression, since they contained key elements of both. Nor was it possible to establish either the legality or the illegality of the 1999 air campaign against Serbia, although the team concluded that each NATO member state was satisfied one way or another that it was permitted by international law. The biggest conflict centered on the difficulty of defining genocide. That task fell to Team 4 ("Ethnic Cleansing and War Crimes").

First released at a press conference in Banja Luka, its report represented the first time that a group of Serbian scholars had acknowledged that the overwhelming majority of war crimes were committed by Serbian forces and accepted the Tribunal's decision characterizing the Srebrenica massacre as genocide. No longer could Serbian media and politicians claim that "all sides sinned equally" without contradicting the judgment of their own scholars. But the team's American, Western European, and Serbian scholars refused to equate the massive ethnic cleansing campaign that had been conducted at the war's outbreak with genocide, in part because the Tribunal itself has studiously avoided making that determination.¹⁵ Although the report was grudgingly reported by Serbian media, it elicited an outcry from several major federation periodicals, including the highly respected *Dani*, which labeled the entire report as nothing more than a denial of genocide. Amid the turmoil, international officials in Sarajevo dismissed press criticism as symptomatic of the Bosniaks' prevailing rejection of anything that minimized their suffering. Indeed, politically charged debates over the term's definition and applicability will only postpone any resolution of the controversy, much as it has prevented Turks and Armenians from reaching a consensus on the horrific atrocities committed in 1915. In such cases, it is better simply to focus on the documentary evidence in order to present verifiable facts like those that Team 4 was able to produce without disagreement or acrimony.

A prominent Serbian anti-nationalist politician put a positive face on the uproar by observing that "there is no such thing as bad publicity." Surely the "genocide" flap proved to be a much more effective vehicle for interfacing with the public than the numerous consensuses heretofore forged by the research teams. And this would especially be the case if it induced political leaders to contribute their own views. Hence the SI's rather labor-intensive pursuit of politicians and government officials across the successor states. Ultimately, more than a dozen presidents, prime ministers, and foreign ministers pledged to participate in the SI's public outreach by commenting publicly in support of either the process or individual findings. The dynamic nature of politics within the successor states demanded their continuous cultivation to supplement and replace those who have left office, whether through electoral defeat, death, or—in a couple of instances—indictment by the ICTY. Moreover, as denizens of any democracy know, it is difficult to predict whether politicians will keep private or even public promises. To assist this process, several team leaders met with State Department and congressional officials in Washington, D.C., to enlist their assistance in coaxing public statements from successor state leaders and coordinating them in order to generate public political discourse across frontiers. In 2007, the State Department did, in fact, send a *demarche* to the Serbian government, urging it to match public statements by Croatian president Stipe Mesić endorsing the project's findings on the war in Croatia. That no response was forth-

¹⁵ Whereas ICTY judgments occasionally allude to "genocidal" intent by Bosnian-Serb forces, they have heretofore judged only the July 1995 massacre of 8,000 men and boys at Srebrenica to be genocide. The Genocide Convention requires "intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group," but many scholars—and, apparently, judges—are reluctant to apply the term when expulsion of populations is motivated by the desire to establish an ethnically homogenous political entity, but not to eliminate them. ICTY Statute, http://www.icty.org/x/file/Legal%20Library/Statute/statute_sept08_en.pdf. Robert M. Hayden eloquently distinguishes between the two in "Schindler's Fate: Genocide, Ethnic Cleansing, and Population Transfers," *Slavic Review* 55, no. 4 (1996): 728–748.

coming speaks to the difficulties that politicians face in balancing the need to retain popular support against the immediate cost of replacing cherished myths with incontrovertible yet inconvenient facts.

YET ONE OF THE ADVANTAGES that historians have over the rest of the universe is an appreciation of the timelessness of the historical record. Hence, after delivering the individual team reports over the course of 2005–2007, the SI repeated the process by publishing the complete collection in book form in January 2009.¹⁶ There followed a new round of press conferences, news interviews, and book presentations to government officials in Bosnia, Croatia, Kosovo, and Serbia, a process that will be repeated a third time with the appearance of a BCS edition in November 2009. Throughout this process, the region's political elites will be encouraged to comment and, hopefully, join their counterparts across the region by placing one foot on the common platform constructed by their own scholars. Surely many will either abstain or repudiate the SI's findings altogether.

For this reason, it is still much too early to measure the overall success of the Scholars' Initiative. Long after today's news stories and elected officials have faded from memory, there will remain the assessment of its consortium of scholars, published and accessible to lay readers, waiting for a future generation to use it as a foundation for recognition and reconciliation. Which is not to say that this will ever happen, or that anything else in this process has been easy. Far from being a super-straight yellow brick road to a certain endpoint, the course across the cultural tundra of the postwar Balkans has been much more like a winding dirt path filled with ruts, potholes, landmines, and the occasional roadside bomb. It has demanded an enormous amount of networking, lobbying, interpersonal diplomacy, and coordination, which has driven the project's administrative correspondence alone to more than 25,000 e-mails. Most importantly, it has required that scores of scholars invest their time and reputations in a common effort that, at least in the beginning, offered no guarantee of completion. But scholars should realize that there is nothing intrinsically insurmountable about such a project, so long as there is a will to circumvent, push aside, or pave over each obstacle that impedes its progress.

¹⁶ Charles W. Ingrao and Thomas A. Emmert, eds., *Confronting the Yugoslav Controversies: A Scholars' Initiative* (West Lafayette, Ind., 2009).

Charles Ingrao is Professor of History at Purdue University. Among his books are *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1618–1815* (Cambridge University Press, 2000); *The Hessian Mercenary State: Ideas, Institutions, and Reform under Frederick II, 1760–1785* (Cambridge University Press, 1987); *In Quest and Crisis: Emperor Joseph I and the Habsburg Monarchy* (Purdue University Press, 1979); and (with Franz Szabo) *The Germans and the East* (Purdue University Press, 2007). He has also served as editor of the *Austrian History Yearbook* (1997–2006).

AHR Forum
Settling Accounts? An Americanist Perspective on
Historical Reconciliation

JAMES T. CAMPBELL

SOME YEARS AGO, A STUDENT OF MINE wrote a paper about white resistance to Freedom Summer, the Mississippi voting rights campaign launched in 1964 by activists of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Congress of Racial Equality. The goal of the campaign, which brought more than eight hundred northern college students into the state, was to cast a national spotlight on the violent repression that African Americans and their allies faced in the last great citadel of Jim Crow. My student's goal was to examine white reactions, to make sense of the wave of violent assaults and bombings that greeted the volunteers. What she found was the ostensive definition of state-sponsored terrorism: elected officials spouting defiance; the Jackson Police Department posing in *Newsweek* in front of the new armored car the city had purchased to repel the "invaders"; agents of the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission, a shadow state government, feeding surveillance reports to local police, including the license plate number of the car driven by three civil rights workers who were later murdered outside the town of Philadelphia. The most eloquent evidence, however, came from a political cartoon in a local newspaper, depicting three Civil War-era soldiers. A caption labeled them "Civil Rights Workers," but their tattered fatigue blouses and forage caps clearly marked them as Union renegades. One held aloft a noose. "We'll larn them Rebels some Civil Rights," he declared.

There is much to ponder in the cartoon. Obviously it illustrates the political climate of that bloody summer, as well as the enduring American penchant, on matters of race, for turning reality inside out, for projecting onto African Americans and their allies the violent rapacity routinely directed against them. (A civil rights lynch mob?) But the cartoon also speaks, in a more general way, to the use and abuse of history, to the ways in which narratives of the past—and narratives of collective victimization, in particular—are used to license atrocious conduct in the present. The men who committed the Philadelphia murders, and the vastly larger number of people complicit in their crime, had all been steeped in the historical narrative that the cartoon evoked—a twice-told tale of victorious Yankees, driven by greed and racial fanaticism, placing a proud but prostrate white South under the boot heel of Negro domination. The result was the "agony of Reconstruction," an orgy of tyranny and unbridled corruption that persisted until courageous "Redeemers" finally rose up and expelled the invaders. Ninety years later, their descendants en-

deavored to do the same to a new generation of Yankee meddlers, with murderous results.¹

The cartoon provides a small example of a large problem. While most of us regard the study of history as benign and edifying, we also know that historical consciousness frequently manifests itself in malignant and unedifying ways. As the essays in this *AHR* Forum make clear, many of the bloodiest, most intractable conflicts in the world today are “buttressed and to a degree caused by particularly hateful national memories and interpretations of history.”² The question posed by the forum is whether this process might somehow be reversed, whether present conflicts might be alleviated by the creation and dissemination of more accurate, even-handed accounts of contested pasts. In short, can we promote historical reconciliation by reconciling histories?

THE CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS FORUM have all devoted years of their careers to historical reconciliation efforts. In their essays, they frankly discuss their achievements, setbacks, and continuing challenges. In the process, they pose some fundamental questions about the historian’s enterprise—questions about academic objectivity and public engagement, the politics of memory, the inescapable entanglements of past and present. In soliciting this closing comment, the editors of the *AHR* asked me to reflect briefly on these questions from an Americanist perspective. What are the prospects for and impediments to historical reconciliation in the United States? What work are American historians already doing? The editors asked, in particular, for some observations on my involvement with Brown University’s Steering Committee on Slavery and Justice, one of a number of recent attempts by prominent American institutions to come to terms with previously unacknowledged aspects of their histories. Concluding a forum about European genocide with a discussion of the U.S. case may seem the height of American parochialism. The initiatives described here have no obvious relationship to the United States, a nation notoriously reluctant to confront the darker chapters of its own past (even as it demands that other nations confront theirs). Yet in recent years the U.S. has become, almost despite itself, a bellwether in the global reconciliation movement.

That there is such a movement is indisputable. As Elazar Barkan notes in the forum’s introduction, the last two decades have seen a “tidal wave” of historical redress initiatives, including reparations campaigns, national and institutional apologies, the creation of public memorials and days of remembrance, even a “National Sorry Day” (organized by civil society groups in Australia in 1998 after the Conservative government of John Howard refused to apologize to Aboriginal children

¹ Seth Cagin and Philip Dray, *We Are Not Afraid: The Story of Goodman, Schwerner, and Chaney and the Civil Rights Campaign for Mississippi* (New York, 1988). On Reconstruction historiography, see Eric Foner, “Reconstruction Revisited,” *Reviews in American History* 10, no. 4 (1982): 82–100; and John Hope Franklin, “Mirror for Americans: A Century of Reconstruction History,” AHA Presidential Address, *American Historical Review* 85, no. 1 (February 1980): 1–14. Woodrow Wilson’s *A History of the American People* (New York, 1902) exemplifies the scholarly orthodoxy about Reconstruction that prevailed through the 1950s; for an early demurral, see W. E. B. Du Bois, “Reconstruction and Its Benefits,” *American Historical Review* 15, no. 4 (July 1910): 781–799.

² Elazar Barkan, “Introduction: Historians and Historical Reconciliation,” this issue.

abducted from their families as part of a state-sponsored forced racial assimilation policy). Truth commissions, a novelty when they were first introduced in the 1980s, are now an accepted, even assumed, part of political transitions in historically divided societies. Post-conflict reconciliation has become a major priority of international foundations and NGOs, as well as of a network of dedicated institutions, including the International Center for Transitional Justice, the Institute for Historical Justice and Reconciliation (of which Barkan is co-founder and director), and Facing History and Ourselves, to name only a few. Although these initiatives and institutions are diverse in conception and approach, their sheer number suggests a fundamental shift in international political culture, an emerging consensus on the importance of confronting atrocious pasts and, where possible, making some kind of amends to the victimized. This consensus was codified in international law in 2005 with the adoption of the United Nations' "Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Violations of International Human Rights and Humanitarian Law."³

How are we to explain all this? To some extent, the proliferation of initiatives is simply a function of the number of authoritarian regimes that collapsed in the post-Cold War era, and of the unfinished business that such states inevitably leave behind. The first truth commissions, for example, were created to determine the fate of the *desaparaciones* (a neologism for our times) lost during the decades of military rule in Latin America. But the surging international interest in redress and reconciliation also reflects broader political and intellectual transformations: the growing power of non-governmental organizations, foundations, and other agencies of civil society; increased attention to victims' rights within the criminal justice process; the emergence within liberal societies of what Charles Taylor has called "the politics of recognition," a politics attentive not only to individuals' basic civil rights but also to their right to have the group identities and histories that they cherish acknowledged within the public sphere. Perhaps most important, the contemporary concern with confronting painful pasts reflects the growing (and to some critics alarming) influence of therapeutic culture, particularly of the "trauma" paradigm. Extending an argument only recently entrenched in the field of psychiatry, proponents of historical

³ A burgeoning scholarly literature has emerged on the subject of historical reconciliation. For a sampling, see Elazar Barkan, *The Guilt of Nations: Restitution and Negotiating Historical Injustices* (Baltimore, 2000); Martha Minow, *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness: Facing History after Genocide and Mass Violence* (Boston, 1998); Erin Daly and Jeremy Sarkin, *Reconciliation in Divided Societies: Finding Common Ground* (Philadelphia, 2007); Mark Gibney et al., eds., *The Age of Apology: Facing Up to the Past* (Philadelphia, 2008); and Pablo de Greiff, ed., *The Handbook of Reparations* (New York, 2006). On the politics of memorials, see James Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven, Conn., 1994). On truth commissions, see Priscilla B. Hayner, *Unspeakable Truths: Facing the Challenge of Truth Commissions* (New York, 2002); Robert Rotberg and Dennis Thompson, eds., *Truth and Justice: The Making of Truth Commissions* (Princeton, N.J., 2000); and Tristan Anne Borer, ed., *Telling the Truths: Truth Telling and Peace Building in Post-Conflict Societies* (Notre Dame, Ind., 2006). For the UN resolution, see <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/remedy.htm>. On the Australian case, see *Bringing Them Home: Report of the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Straits Islander Children from Their Families* (Sydney, 1997); A. Dirk Moses, ed., *Genocide and Settler Society: Frontier Violence and Stolen Indigenous Children in Australian History* (New York, 2004); and Danielle Celermajer, "The Apology in Australia: Re-Covenanting the National Imaginary," in Elazar Barkan and Alexander Karn, eds., *Taking Wrongs Seriously: Apologies and Reconciliation* (Stanford, Calif., 2006). In 2008, the new Labor Party government issued an apology; see http://www.pm.gov.au/media/speech/2008/speech_0073.cfm.

reconciliation work argue that, for societies as for individuals, traumatic experiences leave lasting legacies, which if unacknowledged and untreated can severely impair present and future health.⁴

Not everyone has welcomed these developments. In the United States, criticism has come chiefly from conservatives, who decry the endless rehashing of past injuries as yet more evidence of the fraying of America, the triumph of group identity and self-victimization over national pride and self-reliance. Yet criticism has also come from the left. For historian John Torpey, for example, the current enthusiasm for “making whole what has been smashed” reflects not only the subsumption of the political into the therapeutic but also a widespread progressive paralysis brought about by the collapse of socialist and social democratic movements around the world. “When the future collapses,” Torpey writes, “the past rushes in.” Both sets of criticisms need to be taken seriously; excavating past injustice can indeed exacerbate conflict, while diverting energy from the urgent task of building a better future. Yet as the cases examined in this forum remind us, failing to confront historical injustice can also engender conflict, while destroying the ability to make any kind of future at all.⁵

When it comes to facing painful pasts, the U.S. record is distinctly contradictory, not to say hypocritical. On the one hand, no nation has been more vociferous in demanding that other nations confront their historic crimes. The American role in post-Holocaust Germany offers the obvious example, but the same propensity can be seen in our own time. In 2007, for example, the U.S. House of Representatives adopted a resolution demanding that the government of Japan “formally acknowledge, apologize, and accept historical responsibility in a clear and unequivocal manner” for the treatment of so-called “comfort women”—women and girls, chiefly Korean, who were compelled to work as sex slaves in military brothels during World War II. Later that same year, Congress entertained a resolution demanding that the government of Turkey formally acknowledge the Armenian events of 1915–1917 as “genocide.” The bill attracted more than two hundred co-sponsors but was withdrawn after Turkish authorities threatened to retaliate by cutting off American military supply lines to Iraq.⁶

⁴ See Charles Taylor et al., *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition* (Princeton, N.J., 1994). See also Nancy Fraser, “Rethinking Recognition,” *New Left Review* 3 (May–June 2000): 107–120. On the history of the trauma paradigm, see Judith Herman, *Trauma and Recovery: The Aftermath of Violence—from Domestic Abuse to Political Terror* (New York, 1992).

⁵ John Torpey, *Making Whole What Has Been Smashed: On Reparations Politics* (Cambridge, Mass., 2006), 24. (Readers of Walter Benjamin will recognize Torpey’s title from Benjamin’s meditation on the “angel of history” in “Theses on the Philosophy of History.”) See also Charles Maier, “A Surfeit of Memory? Reflections on History, Melancholy, and Denial,” *History and Memory* 5, no. 2 (1993): 13–51. For a sample of the conservative critique, see Robert Hughes, *The Culture of Complaint: The Fraying of America* (New York, 1993).

⁶ The American role in prosecuting perpetrators of the Holocaust at Nuremberg is well-known; less familiar is the U.S. role in pressuring the postwar German government to offer amends to victims. U.S. officials drafted the first model law for paying reparations to individual victims of Nazi atrocities and brokered the 1952 reparations treaty between West Germany and Israel. They also pressured Chancellor Konrad Adenauer into offering his then-unprecedented apology on behalf of the German nation. See Christian Pross, *Paying for the Past: The Struggle over Reparations for Surviving Victims of Nazi Terror* (Baltimore, 1998). On the “comfort women” case, see Alexis Dudden, *Troubled Apologies among Japan, Korea, and the United States* (New York, 2008). The abortive congressional resolution on Armenia was widely reported in the press; see, for example, “A Fight over an Ugly Past,” *Newsweek*, October 22, 2007.

On the other hand, Americans are distinctly reticent about their own country's historical wrongs. Applying the standards of the 1948 United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide—a convention written largely by Americans—the United States has been the scene of not one but two genocides, one directed against Native Americans and the other against enslaved Africans and their descendants; yet until very recently, there has been little systematic effort to face these crimes or to confront their enduring legacies. To some extent, this reticence reflects the (relative) remoteness of conquest and slavery in time, but it also reflects abiding characteristics of American culture, including deep-seated popular beliefs about individual responsibility, historical progress, and the essential rectitude of American institutions. (Imagine the public reaction if Turkey enacted legislation demanding that the United States formally acknowledge its historic treatment of Native and African Americans as genocides.) “The burden of the past” is a phrase that fairly rolls off the tongue of historians, but for most Americans—or at least most white Americans—the idea that they are somehow burdened by or accountable for offenses that occurred before they were born is not just implausible but risible.

Notwithstanding this unpromising climate, the United States in recent years has spawned a host of historical reconciliation and redress ventures. While the variety of efforts precludes easy generalization, certain patterns are apparent. Like the scholarly initiatives discussed in the forum, such ventures have typically been the work of private rather than state actors, although many have looked to the state as an ultimate source of recognition and redress. While professional historians have played conspicuous roles in many campaigns, the impetus for action has usually come from within aggrieved communities themselves, often from descendants of direct victims, demanding public recognition of the injuries inflicted on their forebears. These demands have taken various forms, sometimes asking nothing more than formal acknowledgment, but the claims that have garnered the most attention—and generated the most controversy—have involved monetary reparations, usually pursued through litigation. More than in any other nation, the historical redress debate in the United States has been waged in the language of torts.

Most of these themes can be seen in the redress campaign waged on behalf of Japanese Americans interned during World War II. So familiar are we today with the internment, which saw more than 100,000 people uprooted from their homes and consigned to government-run concentration camps, that we sometimes forget how thoroughly neglected the episode was in the decades after the war. Many internees never spoke of their experience, regarding it as embarrassing and shameful. The daughter of Fred Korematsu, whose challenge to Executive Order 9066 was rebuffed by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1944, first learned about her father's experience when she saw a reference in a college textbook; he had never mentioned it to her. That discovery was just one in a series of events that catalyzed a grassroots movement among younger Japanese Americans seeking justice on behalf of their parents and grandparents. The movement drew strength from the emerging field of Asian American studies, many of whose practitioners made the internment a focus of their research and teaching. In 1980, Congress responded to mounting popular pressure by appointing a Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians; two years later, that commission issued a report, *Personal Justice Denied*, condemning the

internment as an unwarranted, racially motivated violation of the fundamental rights of American citizens. The report paved the way for passage of the 1988 Civil Liberties Act, which provided surviving internees with monetary reparations of \$20,000 each, accompanied by a formal apology from President Ronald Reagan.⁷

Twenty years later, the Japanese American case stands as the most successful redress initiative in U.S. history. Not only was the process profoundly meaningful to many surviving internees, but it also had a substantial impact on American politics, transforming what might have been a source of festering resentment and partisan rancor into an occasion for discovery and dialogue. In the years since 1988, the history of the internment has been deeply inscribed in the national memory, appearing in textbooks, Hollywood films, and a permanent exhibition at the Smithsonian Museum of American History. In 2001, Congress appropriated funds to establish ten of the camps as national historic landmarks, "forever [to] stand as reminders that this nation failed in its most sacred duty to protect its citizens against prejudice, greed, and political expediency."⁸ Though none could have anticipated it, the redress experience would pay an unexpected dividend following the terror attacks of September 11, 2001. Even as commentators drew the inevitable parallels with Pearl Harbor, others invoked the internment, offering it as a cautionary tale of the dangers of racist overreaction. While it is difficult today to describe the Bush administration's post-9/11 policies as in any respect restrained, the fact that there was no attempt to register or round up Arab Americans is due at least in part to lessons the nation had learned facing an earlier injustice.⁹

Although it was little noted at the time, the Civil Liberties Act included a rider, introduced by Senator Jesse Helms, stating that nothing in the legislation was to be construed as offering a precedent for other historical redress claims. (Helms also offered a second rider, rejected by his colleagues, proposing to withhold payments until the Japanese government compensated families of Americans killed at Pearl Harbor.) But a precedent had clearly been set. The result was precisely what Helms feared: an explosion of historical redress claims. In the years since 1988, American courts and legislatures have entertained reparations demands from literally dozens of aggrieved groups, ranging from descendants of victims of the Armenian genocide

⁷ *Personal Justice Denied: Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians* (Washington, D.C., 1982). On the history of the redress movement, see Peter Irons, *Justice at War: The Story of the Japanese American Internment Cases* (New York, 1983); Alice Yang Murray, *Historical Memories of the Japanese American Internment and the Struggle for Redress* (Stanford, Calif., 2007); and Leslie T. Hatamiya, *Righting a Wrong: Japanese Americans and the Passage of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988* (Stanford, Calif., 1993). Some activists pursued reparations through litigation rather than legislation; their suit, *Hohri v. United States* (793 F. 2d 304, D.C. Cir., 1986), was dismissed on statute of limitations and other procedural grounds.

⁸ John Tateishi and William Yoshino, "The Japanese American Incarceration: The Journey to Redress," <http://www.abanet.org/irr/hr/spring00humanrights/tateishi.html>. On surviving internees' attitudes toward the Civil Liberties Act, see Torpey, *Making Whole What Has Been Smashed*, 78–106. On the transformation of internment camps into historic sites, see *Report to the President: Japanese-American Internment Sites Preservation* (Washington, D.C., 2001), available at http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/internment/report.htm.

⁹ The *New York Times* alone referenced the internment in more than forty articles in the final months of 2001; see, for example, "What Terror Keeps Teaching Us" (September 23), "Past Recalled for Japanese-Americans" (September 28), "Lessons: The Other War, against Intolerance" (September 28), and "On Politics: New Racial Profiling Debate Puts Legislators to the Test" (September 30). Cf. Michelle Malkin, *In Defense of Internment: The World War II Round-up and What It Means for America's War on Terror* (Washington, D.C., 2004).

pursuing unpaid insurance claims to African American farmers denied loans and other assistance by the U.S. Department of Agriculture. National apologies have proliferated. Bill Clinton offered two presidential apologies during his tenure: one to survivors of the Tuskegee “bad blood” experiment, in which the U.S. Department of Health deliberately withheld treatment from African Americans infected with syphilis in order to study the course of the unchecked disease, and the other to indigenous Hawaiians for the U.S. government’s role in the destruction of Hawaiian sovereignty. Although not mentioned in Clinton’s statement to Hawaiians, mainland Native Americans received an apology of sorts in 2000, when the head of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Kevin Gover, formally acknowledged the BIA’s role in the annihilation of Indian cultures and the “ethnic cleansing” of native lands. (The fact that Gover is himself Native American considerably reduced the gesture’s significance.) In 2005, ninety-two U.S. senators endorsed a resolution apologizing for the Senate’s decades-long obstruction of a federal anti-lynching bill. In 2008, the U.S. House of Representatives adopted a resolution apologizing to African Americans for the “injustice, cruelty, brutality and inhumanity” of slavery and Jim Crow. The Senate adopted a similar apology in 2009.¹⁰

Some of the most ambitious historical reconciliation initiatives have taken place at the state level. Between 1993 and 2003, a trio of southern states, Florida, North Carolina, and Oklahoma, convened truth commissions to investigate three of the deadliest crimes of the Jim Crow era: the 1923 Rosewood massacre, the 1898 Wilmington race riot, and the 1921 Tulsa race riot. Like the internment commission appointed by Congress, the state commissions were created in response to public pressure—pressure fanned by the publication of new historical research, and in the Rosewood case by the filing of a lawsuit by surviving victims. None escaped controversy. Critics questioned the necessity or wisdom of unearthing painful, racially divisive events. Even those who supported the commissions sometimes disagreed on further remedies. In the Tulsa case, for example, the Oklahoma legislature’s refusal to pay surviving victims compensation for property lost in the riot prompted bitter survivors to file a class-action lawsuit in federal court. But even if we acknowledge these problems, there is no disputing the impact of the commissions, which recovered events that had been almost completely erased from the historical record.¹¹

¹⁰ For an overview, see Roy L. Brooks, ed., *When Sorry Isn’t Enough: The Controversy over Apologies and Reparations for Human Injustice* (New York, 1999). On apologies, see Melissa Nobles, *The Politics of Official Apologies* (New York, 2008); Brian A. Wiener, *Sins of the Parents: The Politics of National Apologies in the United States* (Philadelphia, 2005); and Eric K. Yamamoto, *Interracial Justice: Conflict and Reconciliation in Post-Civil Rights America* (New York, 1999). On the BIA, see Rebecca Tsosie, “The BIA’s Apology to Native Americans: An Essay on Collective Memory and Collective Conscience,” in Barkan and Karn, *Taking Wrongs Seriously*, 185–212. For information on the Armenian insurance cases, see <http://www.armenianinsurancesettlementfund.com>. On black farmers’ suit against the USDA, see <http://www.bfaa-us.org/pigford-v-glickman.html>. The recent House resolution is at <http://www.govtrack.us/congress/bill.xpd?bill=hr110-194>; the Senate resolution is at <http://www.govtrack.us/congress/bill.xpd?bill=sc111-26>.

¹¹ On Rosewood, see Florida Board of Regents, *A Documented History of the Incident Which Occurred at Rosewood, Florida, in January, 1923* (Tallahassee, Fla., 1993); and Michael D’Orso, *Like Judgment Day: The Ruin and Redemption of a Town Called Rosewood* (New York, 1996). On the Wilmington case, see <http://www.ah.dcr.state.nc.us/1898-wrrc/report/report.htm>; and David S. Cecelski and Timothy Tyson, eds., *Democracy Betrayed: The Wilmington Race Riot and Its Legacy* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1998). The Tulsa race riot commission report is available at <http://www.okhistory.org/trrc/freport.htm>. See also Alfred L. Brophy, *Reconstructing the Dreamland: The Tulsa Riot of 1921—Race, Reparations, and Reconciliation*

Perhaps the most inventive deployment of the truth commission model came in Greensboro, North Carolina, where community activists, operating in defiance of the city council's white majority, launched a truth and reconciliation commission to examine events surrounding the 1979 massacre of union organizers by members of the Ku Klux Klan. The murders, committed with the alleged connivance of members of the Greensboro Police Department, had long been an open sore in the city, especially after all-white juries in two separate trials had declined to convict any of the killers. During the twentieth-anniversary commemorations, a group of Greensboro residents, inspired by the example of South Africa, conceived the idea of a local truth commission. Working with consultants from the International Center for Transitional Justice, they launched the Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Project, convening public hearings on the massacre, as well as a series of community forums and racial reconciliation workshops. The project issued its final report in 2006.¹²

Most of the Greensboro commission's recommendations have not yet been implemented; given the continuing opposition of white leaders, it is not clear that they ever will be. But the process of community dialogue engendered by the project continues today. Equally important, the example that the commission provided—of private citizens compelling a public reckoning with events that elected officials were unable or unwilling to face—has inspired action in other communities living in the shadow of historic crimes. In the southern United States alone, there are more than two dozen community reconciliation initiatives currently under way, from the Coalition to Remember the 1906 Atlanta Race Riot to the Moore's Ford Memorial Committee, a grassroots group promoting "cultural healing, racial harmony, and social justice" in the name of four African Americans lynched at a Georgia bridge in 1946. Many of these organizations have joined together to form regional networks, including Southern Truth and Reconciliation, an Atlanta-based consortium that seeks to "adapt the truth and reconciliation process" to communities scarred by lynching, and the Alliance for Truth and Racial Reconciliation, which sponsors educational and community reconciliation programs throughout the South. Most recently, several Mississippi community groups have come together to propose a state-wide truth commission to investigate the racial violence that wracked the state between 1945 and 1975.¹³

Among the organizations endorsing the latter call is the Philadelphia Coalition, an interracial community group from Philadelphia, Mississippi, scene of the most notorious crime of the civil rights era, the murders of James Chaney, Michael Schwerner, and Andrew Goodman in the summer of 1964. The group began as a forum for

(New York, 2002); and Brophy, "The Tulsa Race Riot Commission, Apology, and Reparation: Understanding the Functions and Limitations of a Historical Truth Commission," in Barkan and Karn, *Taking Wrongs Seriously*, 234–258. The lawsuit, *Alexander v. Oklahoma*, was dismissed on statute of limitations grounds; see <http://ca10.washburnlaw.edu/cases/2004/09/04-5042.htm>.

¹² On the Greensboro project, see <http://www.gtrcp.org>. The project's final report is available at <http://www.greensborotr.org>.

¹³ See <http://www.southerntruth.org>; <http://www.attr.org>; <http://www.mississippitruth.org>. See also Sherrilyn A. Ifill, *On the Courthouse Lawn: Confronting the Legacy of Lynching in the Twenty-First Century* (Boston, 2007); and Ifill, "Creating a Truth and Reconciliation Commission for Lynching," *Law and Inequality* 21, no. 2 (2003): 263–312. On Moore's Ford, see Laura Wexler, *Fire in a Canebrake: The Last Mass Lynching in America* (New York, 2003).

townspeople, black, white, and Choctaw, to share stories of their experiences before, during, and after that bloody summer. In 2004, on the fortieth anniversary of the murders, the coalition publicly called for a reopening of the case, which had never been prosecuted in state courts. A year to the day later, the man who orchestrated the killings, a local preacher and Klansman named Edgar Ray Killen, was convicted in a Philadelphia court. The coalition's statement following the verdict could serve as a charter for all the historical reconciliation initiatives discussed in this forum: "Today justice was served . . . But we have only begun our work here. These three brave young men were not murdered by a lone individual . . . We call on the State of Mississippi, all of its citizens in every county, to begin an honest investigation into history. While it will be painful, we must understand the legacy of racism that continues to divide us, and to prevent all of us from participating fully in the promise of democracy."¹⁴

LOOMING OVER THE PHILADELPHIANS' STATEMENT, and over every conversation that Americans have about race, is the question of slavery. In the United States today, slavery remains the acid test of historical reconciliation. No other aspect of the nation's past has left such a profound imprint on the present. No subject has been so befogged by myth and misunderstanding, or so difficult for Americans to discuss dispassionately. When it comes to questions of slavery, the U.S. looks very much like the divided societies discussed in this forum: societies in which people's "separate identities spring substantially—and sometimes exclusively—from contradictory accounts of the past."¹⁵

The degree to which Americans remain unreconciled about slavery is illustrated by the rancorous national debate over reparations. The idea that African Americans were or are entitled to material compensation for their centuries of enslavement has a long history, stretching from the freedmen's dream of "forty acres and a mule" after the Civil War to the Black Power era of the late 1960s, when nationalist organizations such as the Republic of New Africa and the National Black Economic Development Conference demanded billions of dollars (and five southern states, in the RNA's case) as "a beginning of the reparations due us as people who have been exploited and degraded, brutalized, killed and persecuted." The issue fell into abeyance in the 1970s, but it erupted anew in the late 1980s, thanks in part to the success of the Japanese American redress movement. In early 1989, a few months after the adoption of the Civil Liberties Act, Congressman John Conyers introduced HR 3745, calling for the appointment of a nonpartisan commission to investigate the history and legacy of American slavery and to recommend appropriate remedies. The bill was later renamed HR 40, to evoke the lost promise of forty acres, but the resolution was clearly modeled on the recent internment legislation. The response to the bill, however, could not have been more different. While the Civil Liberties Act passed with broad bipartisan support, HR 40 faced fierce resistance, including virtually unanimous opposition from white legislators. Today, twenty years later, Conyers has

¹⁴ The statement is included on the coalition's website: <http://neshobajustice.org>.

¹⁵ Charles Ingrao, "Confronting the Yugoslav Controversies: The Scholars' Initiative," this issue.

yet to muster the votes to move the bill out of committee, despite reintroducing it annually.¹⁶

Stymied in the legislature, reparations advocates turned to the courts. A series of lawsuits were filed in federal courts in the 1990s, seeking damages from the U.S. government for its role in promoting and defending slavery. All were quickly dismissed on grounds of sovereign immunity. In the early 2000s, reparations litigators tried a different tack, bringing a series of class-action claims against private corporations alleged to have profited from slavery. The cases (which were modeled on several recently settled suits against companies implicated in Nazi-era forced labor practices) also proved unavailing. Consolidated into a single case, *In re: African American Slave Descendants Litigation*, the suits were dismissed in 2004 on several grounds, including expired statutes of limitations, failure to establish standing, and the “political questions” doctrine. Subsequent re-filings and appeals were similarly dismissed.¹⁷

But if the lawsuits ended with a whimper in the courtroom, they provoked a furious racial backlash outside it. Deploying weapons honed in the Reagan-era attack on “welfare,” critics derided the suits as frivolous and self-defeating, a ploy to parlay white guilt into government coin, a “scam . . . devised by trial lawyers to keep the victim industry humming and themselves rich.” Opinion polls revealed a yawning racial gulf in popular attitudes toward the reparations issue. While more than half of black respondents agreed that they were entitled to some amends for their ancestors’ centuries of uncompensated toil, more than 95 percent of white respondents rejected the claim, often vehemently. In the long annals of American politics, one would be hard-pressed to find any issue on which white Americans exhibited such intense agreement.¹⁸

Cast in this light, the recent slavery reparations campaign would seem the very antithesis of historical reconciliation. What began as a proposal to create a national commission quickly devolved into a bitter, racially polarized battle over money. But

¹⁶ See <http://www.govtrack.us/congress/bill.xpd?bill=h110-40> for the text and current status of HR 40. On the history and politics of reparations, see Michael T. Martin and Marilyn Yaquinto, eds., *Redress for Historical Injustices in the United States: On Reparations for Slavery, Jim Crow, and Their Legacies* (Durham, N.C., 2007); Alfred L. Brophy, *Reparations: Pro and Con* (New York, 2006); and Boris I. Bittker, *The Case for Black Reparations*, 2nd ed. (Boston, 2003). For Reconstruction-era debates over land redistribution, see LaWanda Cox, “The Promise of Land for the Freedmen,” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 45, no. 2 (1958): 413–440; and Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America’s Unfinished Revolution* (New York, 1988), 124–227, 392–411. See also Mary Frances Berry, *My Face Is Black and True: Callie House and the Struggle for Ex-Slave Reparations* (New York, 2005), which examines a long-neglected ex-slave pension movement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The quotation comes from the “Black Manifesto” adopted by the Black National Economic Conference in 1969; see *New York Review of Books* 13, no. 1 (July 10, 1969).

¹⁷ *In re: African American Slave Descendants Litigation*, 2004 U.S. Dist. Lexis 872 (N.D. Ill. 2004). For the rehearing, see 375 F. Supp. 2d 721 (N.D. Ill. 2005). On the 1990s suits against the federal government, see, for example, *Cato v. United States*, 70 F. 3d 1103 (9th Cir. 1995); and *Berry v. United States*, 1994 U.S. Dist. Lexis 9665 (N.D. Cal. 1994). On the Nazi forced labor precedent, see Michael J. Bazyler, *Holocaust Justice: The Battle for Restitution in America’s Courts* (New York, 2003).

¹⁸ “The Reparations Scam,” *Providence Journal*, August 21, 2002. The most thorough poll is Michael C. Dawson and Rovana Popoff, “Reparations: Justice and Greed in Black and White,” *Du Bois Review* 1, no. 1 (2004): 47–91. Other surveys found similar results; see, for example, *USA Today*, February 22, 2002. For samples of the debate, see Raymond A. Winbush, ed., *Should America Pay? Slavery and the Raging Debate on Reparations* (New York, 2003). Often lost in the wrangling were those who supported reparations but rejected the “tort” approach; see Roy L. Brooks, *Atonement and Forgiveness: A New Model for Black Reparations* (Berkeley, Calif., 2004).

if one looks beneath the national level, to state and local initiatives, the picture grows more complicated. Prompted by the agitation over reparations, the California legislature in 2000 adopted the nation's first slavery disclosure law, requiring all insurance companies doing business in the state to inventory their historical records and disclose any policies written on the lives of slaves. The results were posted in an online registry, featuring the names of the firms, the policyholders, and, where possible, the enslaved men and women themselves—a tidy illustration of the links between slavery and American business today. In 2002, Chicago became the first of a dozen major American cities to enact a municipal disclosure ordinance, requiring all city contractors to investigate their records and disclose any historical ties to slavery. The possibilities of the ordinance were revealed a short time later, when J.P. Morgan disclosed its links to a pair of antebellum Louisiana banks that, between them, had accepted some 13,000 enslaved African Americans as collateral for loans, more than 1,000 of whom became the banks' property after the borrowers defaulted. While the terms of the ordinance required nothing beyond disclosure, the statement was accompanied by a letter from the bank's president, publicly apologizing and announcing a \$5 million college scholarship fund for black Louisianans. The bank also launched a historical website, sharing the newly uncovered records with scholars and genealogists. In effect, J.P. Morgan conducted its own corporate truth and reconciliation project.¹⁹

While J.P. Morgan acted under the spur of a municipal ordinance, a growing number of institutions have responded to the reparations ferment by voluntarily investigating their historical links with slavery. The roster includes public corporations and private families, universities, historic sites, and religious communities as diverse as the Episcopal Church and the Southern Baptist Convention. Several institutions have released public reports; a few have offered apologies or other forms of amends. One of the most thoroughgoing initiatives was undertaken in Connecticut by the *Hartford Courant*, the nation's oldest continuously published newspaper. In the course of researching a story on reparations claims against Aetna, a Hartford-based insurance company, reporters from the paper discovered that the *Courant* itself had directly profited from slavery, accepting paid advertisements for runaway slaves and upcoming slave auctions. On July 4, 2000, the paper published a front-page editorial titled "A Courant Complicity, an Old Wrong," apologizing for its role "in the terrible practice of buying and selling human beings." It also released a team of reporters to conduct a year-long investigation, culminating in a special edition on the history of slavery in Connecticut. The special edition, later expanded into a book, was distributed to schools throughout the state.²⁰

Universities have played a conspicuous role in the nation's ongoing confrontation

¹⁹ See Martin and Yaquinto, *Redress*, 519–558, for recent state and municipal resolutions. The J.P. Morgan disclosure received extensive national media coverage; see, for example, Robin Sidell, "A Historian's Quest Links J.P. Morgan to Slave Ownership," *Wall Street Journal*, May 10, 2005. At least one firm lost a major contract because of its failure to comply with Chicago's ordinance; see Fran Spielman, "Lehman Takes a Hit over Ties to Slavery; Firm Fails to Amend Disclosure Statement, Loses O'Hare Bond Job," *Chicago Sun-Times*, October 2, 2005. For the California insurance registry, see <http://www.insurance.ca.gov/0100-consumers/0300-public-programs/0200-slavery-era-insur/>.

²⁰ Anne Farrow, Joel Lang, and Jenifer Frank, *Complicity: How the North Promoted, Prolonged, and Profited from Slavery* (New York, 2005). For the original special issue, see <http://www.courant.com/news/local/northeast/hc-complicity2-sp,0,7473864.special>. Perhaps the most intimate initiative is the Coming

with its slave past. Probably the best-known example is Brown University, which appointed a Steering Committee on Slavery and Justice in 2003. The venture attracted considerable national publicity, in part because of the visibility of Brown's president, Ruth Simmons, the first African American to head an Ivy League institution. Contrary to some media speculation, the committee was not created to advance the "reparations agenda," but it was a direct outgrowth of the reparations controversy. Although Brown was never a named party in any lawsuit, it was publicly identified (along with Harvard and Yale) as a "probable target" of future litigation by reparations advocates. The university was also the site of a campus furor, ignited when a group of students, angry at a racially provocative anti-reparations advertisement in the campus newspaper, responded by stealing an entire day's press run of the paper. In appointing the steering committee a short time later, Simmons proposed to transform the controversy swirling around the university and its history into an occasion for discovery and dialogue. In her letter of charge, she instructed the committee not only to clarify the university's historical relationship to slavery and the transatlantic slave trade, but also "to organize academic events and activities that might help the nation and the Brown community think deeply, seriously, and rigorously about the questions raised" by the reparations debate. Reparations, she noted, was a highly controversial subject, "about which men and women of good will may ultimately disagree," but it was also a subject on which Brown, in light of its history, had "a special obligation and special opportunity to provide thoughtful inquiry." "Understanding our history and suggesting how the full truth of that history can be incorporated into our common traditions will not be easy," Simmons declared in a statement announcing the committee. "But then, it doesn't have to be."²¹

Brown's steering committee issued its final report in 2006. By that time, several other universities had undertaken initiatives. In 2004, the Faculty Senate of the University of Alabama adopted a slavery apology resolution, focusing in particular on the faculty's role in whipping slaves, a responsibility formally conferred on faculty members by the Board of Trustees in the 1840s in response to complaints about undergraduates "correcting" their slaves excessively. In 2005, the University of North Carolina mounted an exhibition titled "Slavery and the Making of the University," timed to coincide with the dedication of an "Unsung Founders" memorial, honoring enslaved African Americans whose labor had helped to build the school. The year 2005 also marked the commencement of Emory University's Transforming Community Project, a five-year self-study of the university's "history as it relates to race," stretching from slavery through Jim Crow right to the present. In 2007, the University

to the Table project, a group of families, white and black, united by the fact that their ancestors owned or were owned by one another; see <http://www.emu.edu/ctp/comingtothetable/>.

²¹ Ruth J. Simmons, "Slavery and Justice: We Seek to Discover the Meaning of Our Past," *Boston Globe*, April 28, 2004. For information about the steering committee's appointment and activities, including the final report and recommendations, video excerpts of sponsored events, a digital archive of historical documents, and the official university response specifying the steps that Brown plans to undertake in light of the committee's findings, see <http://www.brown.edu/slaveryjustice>. For the controversy over the advertisement, see David Horowitz, "Ten Reasons Why Reparations for Slavery Is a Bad Idea—and Racist Too," *Brown Daily Herald*, March 13, 2001; and Norman Boucher, "The War over Words," *Brown Alumni Magazine* 101, no. 5 (2001): 34–41. On Brown as a "probable target" of litigation, see Charles J. Ogletree, Jr., "Litigating the Legacy of Slavery," *New York Times*, March 31, 2002.

of Virginia Board of Visitors unanimously passed a resolution “expressing regret” for slavery, although in the absence of any historical inquiry, it remained unclear precisely what the university was apologizing for. The University of Maryland recently announced a dedicated research seminar on slavery and the university, under the direction of one of the nation’s premier slavery historians, Ira Berlin. A similar course was introduced at Harvard, taught by another distinguished historian, Sven Beckert.²²

One of the premises, or at least hopes, of the essays in this forum is that dialogue begets dialogue, that even small ventures can reverberate outward, drawing ever more people into the process of historical reconciliation. The recent flurry of institutional investigations suggests that this process may already be under way in regard to American slavery. There is other evidence as well, from the unprecedented popularity of the New York Historical Society’s “Slavery in New York” exhibition to the recent congressional authorization of a Smithsonian Museum of African American History, due to open in 2014. Slavery’s growing salience in the public consciousness is perhaps most obvious at popular historic sites, which remain, for better or worse, the single most important contributor to popular understandings of American history. A generation ago, most sites simply ignored slavery; today it is an essential interpretive element in hundreds of places. To be sure, the process has not been easy. Guides at Monticello grapple with how and whether to broach the subject of Thomas Jefferson’s relationship with Sally Hemings. The National Park Service’s decision to incorporate slavery into interpretations of Civil War battlefields offended legions of reenactors and heritage groups, who continue to insist that the conflict had nothing to do with slavery. The reenactment of a slave auction at Colonial Williamsburg offended virtually everyone. But slavery is now indelibly inscribed in the historical narratives that these and other sites purvey.²³

The challenges of unearthing the nation’s slave past were exhibited in the most literal way in a recent controversy at Philadelphia’s Independence National Historical Park, the most visited historic site in the United States. Research published in 2002 by an independent historian, Edward Lawler, Jr., established that the proposed site of the new Liberty Bell Center, on the mall opposite Independence Hall, rested atop the buried foundations of the nation’s first executive mansion, including the converted smokehouse that had served as the mansion’s slave quarters. The dis-

²² For the Alabama apology, see <http://facultysenate.ua.edu/04-05/mn042004.html>. For the UNC exhibition and memorial, see <http://www.lib.unc.edu/mss/exhibits/slavery/> and http://www.unc.edu/tour/LEVEL_2/unsung.htm. For the Emory project, see <http://transform.emory.edu>. The text of the University of Virginia resolution is at <http://www.virginia.edu/uvatoday/newsRelease.php?id=1933>. On the Maryland initiative, see Sarah Lake, “Students to Study University of Maryland’s Ties to Slavery,” *Diverse Issues in Higher Education*, February 20, 2008. On Harvard, see Alexandra Perloff-Giles, “Seminar Studies Slaves Ties,” *Harvard Crimson*, April 24–25, 2008. The slavery issue has also arisen at Yale, where a trio of graduate students, involved in a bitter unionization battle with the university, released a distinctly accusatory report about Yale’s historical ties to slavery; see <http://www.yaleslavery.org>. Members of Yale’s administration have publicly disputed some of the report’s findings, but the university has thus far declined to undertake any investigation of its own.

²³ See James O. Horton and Lois E. Horton, eds., *Slavery and Public History: The Tough Stuff of American Memory* (New York, 2006), especially Lois E. Horton, “Avoiding History: Thomas Jefferson, Sally Hemings, and the Uncomfortable Public Conversation on Slavery,” 135–150, and Dwight T. Pitcaithley, “‘A Cosmic Threat’: The National Park Service Addresses the Causes of the American Civil War,” 169–186. On the role of historic sites in shaping public understandings of the past, see Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen, *The Presence of the Past* (New York, 1998).

covery—and the initial refusal of the National Park Service to amend the center’s design, lest visitors be confused by competing narratives—touched off a bitter public battle. The dispute quickly assumed the cast of the slavery reparations controversy, with defenders of the design decrying “grievance politics,” and protesters (led by an organization calling itself the Avenging the Ancestors Coalition) accusing the Park Service of conspiring to hide “the greatest holocaust in the history of humankind.” But thanks to the intervention of public officials and several prominent historians, the opposing sides did not remain frozen in those positions. The parties eventually agreed on a revised design—a shared narrative—preserving the footprint of the executive mansion and incorporating into the site interpretation a full discussion of slavery, including details about the enslaved individuals who lived and worked there. Visitors who come to see the Liberty Bell, that conspicuously cracked icon of American freedom, now also learn about Hercules, George Washington’s enslaved chef, who was spirited to freedom by members of Philadelphia’s black community.²⁴

One of the intermediate goals of the initiatives discussed in the forum is to transform the political landscape sufficiently that public officials, who are often understandably reluctant to challenge their constituents’ “proprietary narratives,” might be enticed into taking a stand in favor of dialogue and reconciliation. Here again, recent American experience offers some guarded hope. As late as 2006, no American state had ever formally apologized for slavery. At this writing, half a dozen states have done so, and several more are considering resolutions. The U.S. House of Representatives, which refused even to consider a one-sentence apology in 1997, adopted a much more strongly worded resolution in 2008. The Senate recently followed suit. As critics have been quick to note, the apologies proffered thus far include no promises of future action—nothing about continued inquiry or possible remedies, certainly nothing about reparations. Yet the very existence of such resolutions, which a decade ago would have been laughed out of every legislature in the land, suggests a substantial change in the way many Americans understand their past. If the authors in this forum are correct, in that new understanding lies the promise, or at least the possibility, of a better future.²⁵

Time will tell whether there is anything to this historical reconciliation business, whether the initiatives described here represent the harbingers of social change or just another entry in the catalogue of historians’ folly. In the meantime, we should be modest in our expectations, as the forum’s contributors are modest. All of the authors recognize the power of traditional narratives, which underpin cherished individual and communal identities, as well as claims to various kinds of resources. They concede their limited ability to “shape public belief,” and console themselves with the possibility that “future generations” might find in their work a “foundation for recognition and reconciliation.” Yet they—and we—ought not sell the work short

²⁴ See Gary B. Nash, “For Whom Will the Liberty Bell Toll? From Controversy to Cooperation,” in Horton and Horton, *Slavery and Public History*, 75–102. Several websites feature information about the controversy, including <http://www.nps.gov/inde>, <http://www.ushistory.org/presidentshouse>, and <http://www.avengingtheancestors.com>. The history of New York’s African Burial Ground, unearthed during construction of a new federal office building in lower Manhattan, offers a similar example of racial mistrust and antagonism giving way to dialogue; see <http://www.africanburialground.gov>.

²⁵ For the text of HR 194, “Apologizing for the Enslavement and Racial Segregation of African-Americans,” see <http://www.govtrack.us/congress/bill.xpd?bill=hr110-194>.

er. To paraphrase Michael Ignatieff's observation about truth commissions, we may never achieve historical reconciliation, but we can at least "narrow the range of permissible lies." In societies as riven by history as these, that is no small achievement.²⁶

²⁶ Michael Ignatieff, "Articles of Faith," *Index on Censorship* 25, no. 5 (1996): 113.

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AHR Forum
Taylor Branch's *America in the King Years*

Introduction

Taylor Branch's three-volume series *America in the King Years* is one of the most ambitious, widely read, and highly regarded histories of the civil rights movement in the United States. Based upon extensive primary research (including many interviews with participants in the movement), wide-ranging in scope, and compellingly narrated, it is, without question, a serious and important work. For some academic historians, however, its status is problematic: it is biographical in nature, although it is not, strictly speaking, a biography; it is pitched to a non-academic readership; and its author is a journalist, not a professional historian. Indeed, the *American Historical Review* has implicitly endorsed this view: none of the three volumes was reviewed by this journal. Whether or not it qualifies as "scholarship"—our main criterion for a book's eligibility for review—*America in the King Years* undoubtedly stands as a significant achievement deserving of our attention. Thus, when the concluding volume, *At Canaan's Edge*, appeared in 2007, we decided that Branch's contribution should be the subject of an *AHR* Forum.

In the following articles, three historians of twentieth-century America take a critical look at *America in the King Years*, each from a different perspective. All three acknowledge the trilogy's importance, influence, and wide appeal, but they also argue that, in different ways, Branch's treatment misses some key elements of the civil rights movement, America during the 1960s, and Martin Luther King, Jr. himself. Michael Kazin, who has written on populism and the sixties, looks at the three volumes as an interpretation of the United States during this turbulent decade of protest and change. He lauds Branch's narrative sweep and compares him to a "modern-day Tolstoy or Hugo" who "seeks to grasp the texture of world-shaking . . . events in the nuances and contradictions of individual personalities and experiences." But he also notes that Branch's tight focus on race and racism causes him to offer a narrow analysis of the white "backlash" that so deeply characterized the period, a movement of resistance from the right that was, Kazin asserts, a reaction to a whole range of transformations and challenges, not just the civil rights gains of African Americans. Clayborne Carson, director of the Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute and the editor of King's papers, praises Branch's study as insightful, especially in its appreciation of the importance of religion and King's religious vocation to his emergence as a civil rights leader. But Carson regrets that as the trilogy progresses, King's self-identification as a preacher becomes less important; and in general, he faults Branch for increasingly relying on the testimony of others—most

tendentiously on the FBI surveillance tapes—rather than returning to the roots of King’s own spiritual worldview. Finally, Peniel E. Joseph, whose works include several books on Black Power in the United States, takes Branch to task for failing to acknowledge the importance of black militancy, both for King and the civil rights movement and for America during the 1960s. While he acknowledges the pages that Branch devotes to Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael, and other radical black leaders, he ultimately concludes that Branch underestimates the influence of this movement and marginalizes its impact. And this has ramifications for the understanding of the broader history of the period. “Despite its Dickensian sprawl,” Joseph concludes, “*America in the King Years* fails to portray this vital era in all of its confounding and messy complexity.”

Normally in an *AHR* Forum of this nature, the author of the book under consideration responds to the essays with a comment. Taylor Branch was indeed invited to participate, but, regrettably, he did not feel that he was in a position to do so.

Two other qualifications must be added. First, Michael Kazin is currently a member of the Board of Editors of the *AHR*, which would seem to violate our policy against board members’ contributing to the journal during their term of service. In this case, however, Kazin’s contribution was commissioned in 2007, long before his service to the *AHR* began. The other qualification is an acknowledgment of what is missing from this forum. Our original plan was to include an essay dealing with the role of women in the civil rights movement and Branch’s own consideration of gender in his account. As it happened, this intention proved extremely difficult to realize, despite our persistent attempts to recruit historians with expertise on this subject. For various reasons—and much to our regret—the contributions never materialized. And so, in fairness to the other contributors and in the interest of not unreasonably delaying the forum’s publication, we proceeded without an essay on this important issue.

Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Meanings of the 1960s

MICHAEL KAZIN

IN THE NEARLY THREE THOUSAND PAGES of Taylor Branch's trilogy on Martin Luther King, Jr., the most provocative words may be the five stamped on the cover of each volume: *America in the King Years*. Several excellent biographies of the black leader predate this one, and the complexity and significance of King's short life continue to inspire probing works about his politics, his oratory, and the use and abuse of his memory.¹

But as his subtitle makes clear, Branch did not spend a quarter-century writing just a biography. For him, King's fourteen years of spotlighted activism—from triumph on the buses of Montgomery, Alabama, to martyrdom on the balcony of the Lorraine Motel in Memphis, Tennessee—propelled a larger narrative: the nation's painful struggle for redemption from the sins of its racist past. In the dramatic introduction to his final volume, Branch writes: "Actors on all sides will confront persistent blind spots of violence and race . . . allies of the nonviolent movement will turn rulers and subjects into fellow citizens. Literally and figuratively, they will change the face of the country we inherit." In 1988, after Barack Obama, then a young law student, read the first volume of the trilogy, *Parting the Waters*, he told a friend who had praised the book, "Yes, it's *my* story."²

At the completion of his labors in 2006, Branch had firmly established himself as one of the leading historians of an era whose meaning is still hotly contested almost four decades after King's assassination. Both inside and outside the academy, "the Sixties"—which most historians of the U.S. view as beginning sometime in the previous decade and not ending until the early or mid-1970s—evokes a furious cacophony of arguments. The era has been described as heralding the twilight of Cold

Thanks to Gary Gerstle, Beth Horowitz, and Nelson Lichtenstein for their close, shrewd readings of this essay.

¹ Important biographical studies include David Levering Lewis, *King: A Biography*, 2nd ed. (Urbana, Ill., 1978); Stephen B. Oates, *Let the Trumpet Sound: The Life of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (New York, 1982); David J. Garrow, *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference* (New York, 1986); Stewart Burns, *To the Mountaintop: Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Sacred Mission to Save America, 1955–1968* (New York, 2004); Thomas F. Jackson, *From Civil Rights to Human Rights: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Struggle for Economic Justice* (Philadelphia, 2006). See also Michael Eric Dyson, *I May Not Get There with You: The True Martin Luther King, Jr.* (New York, 2001). For an excellent summary of sources on the man and his movement, see the website of the Martin Luther King, Jr. Papers Project, <http://mlk-kpp01.stanford.edu/index.php/kingpapers/>.

² Taylor Branch, *At Canaan's Edge: America in the King Years* (New York, 2006), xiii; David Remnick, "The President's Hero," *The New Yorker*, February 2, 2009, http://www.newyorker.com/talk/comment/2009/02/02/090202taco_talk_remnick.

War liberalism, the triumph of sexual modernism or libertinism, the dawn of a new religious awakening, the rise of a populist conservatism, the agonizing decline of the industrial city, the maturation of consumer society, the flowering of multiculturalism, a time when a language of individual and group rights trumped older notions of the common good—and more.³

Viewed in a broader context, the meaning of the Sixties extends beyond the fate of King and his movement, although it would be impossible to make sense of that era without according them a significant role. Scholars are busily crafting new interpretations of how events and social processes during the period fit into the longer history of both the United States and the world. Thus, the 1960s can be viewed as the linchpin of the momentous three-quarters of a century that began with World War I and ended with the fall of communist regimes in Eastern Europe. The age of global war, the waning of empires, polarized ideological conflict, and planned or semi-planned industrial regimes began to give way to less violent and more tolerant political cultures and a decline in statist thought and economics—and to a fraying of class and national solidarities. In the U.S., the Sixties brought the end of official racism and sexism and the rise of a contentiously multicultural society, the crisis of manufacturing and the dawning of a new economy dominated by services and information technology, and the inability of the nation's leaders and those of the USSR to hold back popular rebellions within their respective spheres of influence. Other Western nations underwent similar transitions, although not at precisely the same time. In all of them, insurgencies of ordinary citizens played a critical part, even if the actors involved were usually too busy organizing, speaking, and fighting to reflect on their roles in the big picture.⁴

True to his calling as a reporter, Branch seldom pulls away from his densely woven text to make the kind of deliberate, contextual argument that could fuel debate among habitual readers of the *AHR*. One thus has to extrude the meaning he gives to the 1960s—how King and his movement changed the face of the country—from the types of stories he tells and from those he prefers not to tell. Both his narratives and his silences are a way of interpreting a period that shows little sign of retiring into the pastness of the past.

Branch acknowledges that he has produced a partisan history, one true to the aggressive but nonviolent humanism of King himself. The trilogy is based, he writes, on “the conviction from which [the movement] was made, namely that truth requires

³ Among the sources for these interpretations are Beth Bailey and David Farber, *The Columbia Guide to America in the 1960s* (New York, 2001); and the essays in *OAH Magazine of History* 20 (October 2006). See also Godfrey Hodgson, *America in Our Time: From World War II to Nixon—What Happened and Why* (Princeton, N.J., 2005); Beth Bailey, *Sex in the Heartland* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999); Maurice Isserman and Michael Kazin, *America Divided: The Civil War of the 1960s*, 3rd ed. (New York, 2007); Thomas J. Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* (Princeton, N.J., 1996); Robert O. Self, *American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland* (Princeton, N.J., 2003); Elizabeth Cohen, *A Consumer's Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York, 2003); Mary Ann Glendon, *Rights Talk: The Impoverishment of Political Discourse* (New York, 1991); Richard Rorty, *Achieving Our Country: Leftist Thought in Twentieth-Century America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998), 74–107.

⁴ On these elements, see, for example, Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes: A History of the World, 1914–1991* (New York, 1994), 225–343; Jeremi Suri, *Power and Protest: Global Revolution and the Rise of Détente* (Cambridge, Mass., 2003). For a different synthesis and periodization, focused on “territoriality,” see Charles S. Maier, “Consigning the Twentieth Century to History: Alternative Narratives for the Modern Era,” *American Historical Review* 105, no. 3 (June 2000): 807–831.

a maximum effort to see through the eyes of strangers, foreigners, and enemies." In so doing, Branch hopes "to sustain the thesis that King's life is the best and most important metaphor for American history in the watershed postwar years."⁵

Academic historians can certainly learn a good deal from Branch's method. Like a modern-day Tolstoy or Hugo, he seeks to grasp the texture of world-shaking—or at least nation-rocking—events in the nuances and contradictions of individual personalities and experiences. For Branch as for other narrative journalists, these qualities emerge only after long interviews with main characters and their close associates. Such deep oral histories may present the past as a cluster of subjective memories, but they can also reveal social changes that scholars who focus on structures and movement organizations might miss.

For example, Branch begins his first volume with a vivid portrait of Vernon Johns, King's predecessor as pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery. Johns was a learned, eloquent man who seemed to relish confrontation. He refused to sit in the "colored" section of city buses, and he helped black women bring charges against white men who allegedly had raped them. Yet he alienated many of his middle-class parishioners by selling fish and watermelons from the back of his truck while still clothed in clerical garb. When Johns was attacked, he accused his critics of avoiding productive work; several times, he resigned his post but was persuaded to stay. In 1952, less than four years after he had arrived in town, the congregation decided to let him go.⁶

Opening his grand work with a story unfamiliar to most readers helps Branch make a valuable point. By drawing an implicit contrast between the gifted but impolitic Johns and the self-controlled, courteous King, Branch makes clear that the contingent nature of leadership styles was as vital to the emerging civil rights movement as was the determination to lead. When just a few cracks had begun to show in the fortress of Jim Crow, Johns attracted more doubters than followers. But fifteen years later, his brash approach would have been in sync with the kind of militant protest associated with such aspiring revolutionaries as Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown, a style with which King never felt comfortable.

Branch also offers a wealth of stories and details that complicate or revise conventional judgments. He was the first historian to describe at length the close working relationship that Billy Graham forged with King during the late 1950s. He is able to illustrate, with a well-chosen anecdote, the intractability of white resistance to token integration even in cities outside the Deep South: in 1966, the mayor of Baltimore, home of the pennant-winning Orioles, had to "publicly beg" bar owners in his city to serve drinks to black people during the World Series. Branch also shows how easily prominent liberals could turn in private against people whose cause they publicly championed. In 1966, President Lyndon B. Johnson told aides that "Negroes" were to blame for the Republicans' big gains in that year's midterm election, while Governor Edwin "Pat" Brown of California explained his own reelection loss to Ronald Reagan by saying that, "like it or not, the people want separation of the

⁵ Taylor Branch, *Pillar of Fire: America in the King Years, 1963–65* (New York, 1998), xiv.

⁶ Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954–63* (New York, 1988), 6–25. For a different view of Johns, see Ralph Luker, "Murder and Biblical Memory: The Legend of Vernon Johns," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 112 (2004): 372–418.

racess.” And before reading Branch, how many people knew that Malcolm X’s favorite film was *Lawrence of Arabia*, that riveting portrait of a tortured Orientalist?⁷

In its depth of research, narrative sweep, and evocative prose, *America in the King Years* resembles other big books written by gifted reporter-historians about different aspects of the Long Sixties. Neil Sheehan and David Halberstam on the Vietnam War and Anthony Lukas on the Boston busing crisis also read history through the lives of articulate individuals—whether powerful officials, activist foot soldiers, or working-class women and men who felt battered by social change. Each of these works sold well and was showered with prizes; they have probably influenced the understanding of the 1960s in the United States as much as if not more than all the scholarly works on the period.⁸

But these authors share something more profound than a method that informs and entertains. They articulate both a commitment to liberal ends and a skepticism about the possibility of realizing them. Writing when the reform wave had ebbed and the age of great dreams—for liberals, at least—had passed, they focus more on good intentions than on beneficial consequences. In different ways, imperial arrogance, racial hostility, and class inequality had all frustrated the work and the hopes of their protagonists. In the penultimate paragraph of his final volume, Branch quotes a motto by the abolitionist Theodore Parker that King made famous: “The arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends toward justice.” After so many pages of sobering detail, however, Branch’s heroes and heroines can seem more Sisyphean than prophetic. Had “the struggle itself toward the heights”—as Camus described Sisyphus’s ordeal—been satisfaction enough for King and his fellow nonviolent warriors? The minister-activist was certainly proud of what he and his compatriots had accomplished in galvanizing millions to demand changes in the nation’s laws. But he wanted to usher in a different type of social order, and it is not clear that we can imagine him happy.⁹

HOW DID “THE KING YEARS” change the United States? They certainly gave Americans a new national icon, a man whom President George W. Bush called a “second founder . . . who trusted fellow Americans to join [him] in doing the right thing.” King’s words and images are among the most recognizable features of the era—comparable only to John F. Kennedy’s first inaugural address and the photos of his assassination in Dallas. And King’s words, unlike JFK’s, are studied in countless

⁷ Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 314; Branch, *At Canaan’s Edge*, 548, 550; Branch, *Pillar of Fire*, 312. Steven P. Miller provides the most detailed account of the King-Graham connection in *Billy Graham and the Rise of the Republican South* (Philadelphia, 2009).

⁸ Neil Sheehan, *A Bright Shining Lie: John Paul Vann and America in Vietnam* (New York, 1988); David Halberstam, *The Best and the Brightest* (New York, 1972); J. Anthony Lukas, *Common Ground: A Turbulent Decade in the Lives of Three American Families* (New York, 1985). On the differences between popular and scholarly historians, and the need for each to learn from the other, see David Greenberg’s two-part article “That Barnes & Noble Dream: What’s Wrong with the David McCulloughs of History,” *Slate*, May 17 and 18, 2005, <http://www.slate.com/id/2118854/>.

⁹ Branch, *At Canaan’s Edge*, 771; Albert Camus, *The Myth of Sisyphus and Other Essays*, translated by Justin O’Brien (New York, 1991), 123. For a detailed reminder of how much reformist legislators and presidents did accomplish in that era, see G. Calvin Mackenzie and Robert Weisbrot, *The Liberal Hour: Washington and the Politics of Change in the 1960s* (New York, 2008).

elementary and secondary schools and quoted in a myriad of sermons. In a national survey conducted in 2004–2005, high school students named King the single most famous of the “famous Americans” who were never president. Prominent historians confirm his lofty reputation. In a 2006 poll conducted for the *Atlantic*, a board that included such renowned scholars as Joyce Appleby, Robert Dallek, David Kennedy, and Gordon Wood ranked King eighth among the one hundred “most influential figures in American history.” No one else closely associated with the 1960s was in the top twenty; neither JFK nor Robert Kennedy even made the list.¹⁰

Contemporary historians are notoriously wary of according famous individuals, particularly those who did not rule a powerful state, too much credit—or blame—for either causing or inspiring social and political change. Of course, King’s historical status cannot be separated from the rise and fate of his movement; the fact that his star has continued to ascend in the more than forty years since his death testifies to the unchallenged status the struggle for civil rights has achieved, at least in popular memory. The lesson of what Bayard Rustin called the “classical” decade of the movement—from the 1954 Brown case through the protests in Montgomery, Birmingham, and Selma and ending with the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965—seems to be that Americans of all races were able to face up to a historic wrong and, with mighty efforts, set it right. As Alan Wolfe wrote in a review of Branch’s second volume, “To recount the life and times of Martin Luther King, Jr. is to tell the story of how, more than 50 years after the century began, America finally became a modern society.”¹¹

Ironically, in employing the career of a celebrated preacher as a metaphor for his times, Branch contributes a vital insight that, to a confirmed secularist, may not seem “modern” at all. Through various narrative devices, he demonstrates that matters of religious faith were inextricable from issues of race and politics. The Vernon Johns overture thus signals what may be the trilogy’s most original contribution to an understanding of the American 1960s. From his book titles borrowed from Exodus, to his lengthy portraits of ministers, rabbis, and devout laypeople, to numerous quotes from devout activists and leaders, Branch strongly suggests that the image of the Sixties as a secular era is ill-founded. Almost twenty years after the initial volume of his trilogy appeared, academic historians have just begun to appreciate how central religion—as a system of beliefs, a cultural identity, a set of institutions, and a source of moral activism—was to shaping American society in that era.

The southern civil rights movement was not a full-fledged Christian revival, as David Chappell provocatively contends; the secular-minded activists who took part in the struggle—many of them Jews—would never have felt comfortable with that.

¹⁰ Bush used the term in an address to the NAACP on July 20, 2006. Quoted in Joseph Crespino, “The Civil Rights Movement, *C’Est Nous*,” *Reviews in American History* 34 (December 2006): 537. Sam Wineburg and Chauncey Monte-Sano, “‘Famous Americans’: The Changing Pantheon of American Heroes,” *Journal of American History* 94 (March 2008): 1190–1191. On the historians’ list, other figures from the 1960s were Earl Warren at #29, Lyndon Johnson at #44, Betty Friedan at #77, Ralph Nader at #96, and Richard Nixon at #99. “The Top 100: The Most Influential Figures in American History,” *Atlantic Monthly*, December 2006, 62, <http://www.theatlantic.com/doc/200612/influentials>.

¹¹ Alan Wolfe, “Climbing the Mountain,” *New York Times Book Review*, January 18, 1998, <http://www.nytimes.com/books/98/01/18/reviews/980118.18wolfe.html>. Rustin quoted in Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, “The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past,” *Journal of American History* 91 (March 2005): 1233–1263.

But the movement did set the tone for a public debate in which matters of the soul were seldom absent. In 1956, on hearing that the Supreme Court had ruled for the boycotters in Montgomery, one black activist shouted, "God Almighty has spoken from Washington, DC!" In the years to come, Americans adhering to a remarkable variety of faiths would speak with similar confidence. The swelling ranks of the spiritually aroused included Pentecostals and biblical fundamentalists, newly observant Jews, converts to Islam and Hinduism and Zen Buddhism, a bevy of "New Age" spiritualists, and Catholics, both those who applauded the liturgical and ideological reforms of the Second Vatican Council and those who detested them.¹²

The Sixties was thus a defining era in the history of American religion, and like earlier awakenings, it had a major impact on politics. Since 1976, every successful presidential candidate has made a public expression of his religious faith. Among the more telling details of recent political history is that the only two Democrats elected to the White House between 1968 and 2008 were southern governors raised in the Baptist church who could easily translate their aims into terms that resonated with the devout. Neither John F. Kennedy nor Lyndon Johnson had to meet that standard.

Unfortunately, Branch takes a blinkered approach to religion in the Sixties; he rarely mentions the motivations of churchgoing Americans who did not participate in or support the black freedom movement. That silence points to a larger flaw in his version of the King years: its reductionist analysis of those who resisted what the man and his movement tried to accomplish.¹³

In Branch's otherwise rich and intricate narrative, racism—pure, simple, and raw—appears to be the sole motivation for the large, decentralized opposition to the African American movement. Only hatred and fear of black people, he suggests, can explain J. Edgar Hoover's obsession with King's sex life, the jeering crowds that met open housing marches into white working-class neighborhoods in Chicago, and the upsurge in conservative electoral fortunes around the nation. After reading Branch's account of the size and ferociousness of the "backlash," it seems remarkable that the black freedom movement had as much success as it did.

No student of the 1960s should want to minimize the always emotional, often violent responses of many white Americans. The well-publicized nationwide effort to topple a racial order that in most respects had endured since the end of Reconstruction inevitably provoked an equally powerful counterreaction. But to begin and end the discussion about this phenomenon with racism minimizes how profoundly the black-led movement and its allies on the liberal left churned up the social terrain and thrust new, often alarming challenges before the body politic. As Winthrop Jordan commented shrewdly in 1966, "To understand people's attitudes about race, you have to understand their attitudes about everything."¹⁴

¹² Quoted in Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 193. David L. Chappell, *A Stone of Hope: Prophetic Religion and the Death of Jim Crow* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2004). For a brief survey of the changing religious landscape, see Isserman and Kazin, *America Divided*, chap. 13.

¹³ Insightful works about Christians who opposed the black freedom movement include Jane Dailey, "Sex, Segregation, and the Sacred after Brown," *Journal of American History* 91 (June 2004): 119–144; Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right* (Princeton, N.J., 2001); and Susan Friend Harding, *The Book of Jerry Falwell: Fundamentalist Language and Politics* (Princeton, N.J., 2000).

¹⁴ Quoted in Eric Foner's essay "My Life as a Historian," in Foner, *Who Owns History? Rethinking the Past in a Changing World* (New York, 2002), 10.

The backlash was just one face—although a particularly large and visible one—of a set of conservative social movements that began to have an impact on local politics before they made common cause as a New Right and became a pillar of the resurgent Republican Party in the late 1970s. There were protesters against the Supreme Court's ban on state-mandated prayer and Bible readings, business owners who organized against the union shop, and grassroots campaigners who opposed open housing ordinances, police review boards, court-ordered busing plans, and affirmative action. The timing of these movements was staggered: the opposition to open housing helped elect conservative mayors in Detroit during the late 1940s and then helped fuel the Goldwater insurgency of the early 1960s. But the religious right did not seriously engage in electoral combat until the latter half of the Carter administration. Racial antipathy animated many of these people, to be sure. But it was bundled together with other features of a worldview that valued both "traditional" communities and a moral claim that the "rights" of those who owned homes and businesses should take precedence over the kind that King's movement demanded.¹⁵

Although the beginnings of the racial backlash can be dated to clashes between white and black workers who migrated to urban areas during World War II, it gained national potency only a generation later. By the time Richard Nixon was elected president in 1968, "middle Americans" from all regions had come to believe that a liberal "elite" had failed to defeat communism in Vietnam or end poverty at home, and they resented the personal habits and rhetoric of brash young leftists, both white and black. In the perceptive words of sociologist Jonathan Rieder, "Backlash was a disorderly affair that contained democratic, populist, genteel, conspiratorial, racist, humanistic, pragmatic, and meritocratic impulses. Simply put, the middle was too diverse, the grievances it suffered too varied, to be captured in a single category." At the same time, many whites, both in the South and elsewhere, avoided the shock of integration by relocating to all-white suburbs, which they defended with tax laws, private facilities, and the language of individual rights instead of racist rhetoric. Thus, the black movement did "change the face" of the nation—but hardly as it pleased.¹⁶

Despite Branch's commanding knowledge of what King said and did, he does not quite grasp how radical were the policies and the vision that his subject advocated for the U.S. and the world. In a 2006 interview, he cited King's legacy as an inclusive and open one:

He said that . . . the movement would lift everybody, that the challenge of democracy to refine democracy and have it fair was a challenge across the board. And that's one reason why I think he's a modern founder in the sense that he refined democracy for everyone. He predicted the

¹⁵ On these movements, see Rick Perlstein, *Before the Storm: Barry Goldwater and the Unmaking of the American Consensus* (New York, 2001). On the emerging conservative conception of rights, see Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis*, 218–229.

¹⁶ Jonathan Rieder, "The Rise of the 'Silent Majority,'" in Steve Fraser and Gary Gerstle, eds., *The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order, 1930–1980* (Princeton, N.J., 1989), 254. Important works on the politics of the conservative suburbs include Kevin M. Kruse, *White Flight: Atlanta and the Making of Modern Conservatism* (Princeton, N.J., 2006); Joseph Crespino, *In Search of Another Country: Mississippi and the Conservative Counterrevolution* (Princeton, N.J., 2007); Matthew D. Lassiter, *The Silent Majority: Suburban Politics in the Sunbelt South* (Princeton, N.J., 2007); McGirr, *Suburban Warriors*; and Becky M. Nicolaides, *My Blue Heaven: Life and Politics in the Working-Class Suburbs of Los Angeles, 1920–1965* (Chicago, 2002).

movement would liberate the white South, first of all. You never heard about the sunbelt when it was segregated. It wasn't even fit for sports teams.¹⁷

"Refining" democracy is a wonderful, if elusive, concept: it evokes the purer, broader, altruistic sense of citizenship that Branch's epic both describes and encourages. Indeed, the civil rights movement proved to be what organizer/musician/scholar Bernice Johnson Reagon called the "burning" struggle: it partly spawned, partly inspired sustained activist upsurges among millions of white women, Latinos, Asians, Native Americans, gay men and lesbians, disabled people, and others who asserted their rights in the public sphere and their claim to a proud separate identity. As Nancy MacLean has demonstrated, the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which was the black movement's premier legislative achievement, also enabled many of these same people to demand and win an unprecedented degree of economic opportunity. "More than ever before," she writes, "large numbers came to appreciate that freedom is not enough: liberty and justice for all required more than abstract equality before the law . . . access to good jobs was necessary for full citizenship."¹⁸

Yet Branch's uplifting metaphor also misses the hard truth that, at least to date, King's more materialist and more audacious dream has not come to pass. In an enlightening study, Thomas Jackson explores King's long commitment to what can only be called a democratic socialist future. As a student in the early 1950s, King read *The Communist Manifesto*, Edward Bellamy's 1888 utopian novel *Looking Backward*, and pro-socialist essays written by Reinhold Niebuhr in the 1930s. Such texts, when added to his firsthand observations of the conditions faced by menial workers, persuaded him that a system that took "necessities from the masses to give luxuries to the classes" was both unjust and un-Christian.¹⁹

Over the next decade, as he rose to eminence in the civil rights movement, King forged alliances with such democratic socialist activists as Bayard Rustin, A. Philip Randolph, and Michael Harrington and backed their difficult efforts to build a durable alliance between black insurgents and the AFL-CIO. In 1963, he argued for public policies that would aid working people of all races—"a massive program by the government of special, compensatory measures." Only these, he felt, would make possible a class alliance with poor whites who were so "confused . . . by prejudice that they have supported their own oppressors."²⁰ It would take guaranteed jobs and income, he believed, to turn the United States into a decent society.

As a committed Gandhian, King also endorsed anti-imperialist movements in underdeveloped nations, and at times he viewed them as models for black people in the U.S. He opposed armed intervention abroad long before he delivered his famous 1967 speech against the war in Vietnam, which severed his relationship with President Johnson. Although King was skilled at pragmatic maneuvers, his vision for a new America was closer to the dream of Eugene Debs than to a racially tolerant version of Cold War liberalism.

¹⁷ *Meet the Press*, transcript for January 15, 2006, <http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/10822231/>.

¹⁸ Reagon quoted in Dick Cluster, ed., *They Should Have Served That Cup of Coffee: 7 Radicals Remember the 60s* (Boston, 1979), 38; Nancy MacLean, *Freedom Is Not Enough: The Opening of the American Workplace* (Cambridge, Mass., 2006), 335.

¹⁹ King quoted in Jackson, *From Civil Rights to Human Rights*, 42.

²⁰ King quoted in MacLean, *Freedom Is Not Enough*, 105.

Thus, during the King years, the charismatic Nobel Prize winner represented the most idealistic face of the American left, in both rhetoric and policy. He belonged, writes Jackson, to “an ongoing black freedom struggle which challenged racial and class inequalities in the economy and the New Deal state as much as it pursued civic equality and political citizenship.” And he articulated that challenge in terms of a morality that merged republican, contractual, and biblical themes—which he knew most of his listeners cherished.²¹

One hears this clearly in his iconic address at the Lincoln Memorial on August 28, 1963. King began by referring to the promise of the Emancipation Proclamation, signed just a century before. Next, he compared the protest marchers to bank customers who had come to Washington to cash a promissory note written by “the architects of the republic,” who guaranteed to every citizen the “unalienable Rights” mentioned in the Declaration of Independence. Only then, after urging blacks in the crowd not to lose faith in the interracial coalition, did he launch into the famous peroration about his dream of racial harmony, punctuated with lines from Amos 5, Isaiah 40, and the song “America.” Whether heard or seen, the canny, passionate address retains its emotional power, which makes it a rare performance indeed in an age saturated with visual and aural images.²²

The tragedy for King and his movement was that most white Americans were not ready to embrace his goals, although they were quite willing, especially after his death, to honor the eloquence with which he presented them. The Long 1960s was a time of unaccustomed, unprecedented prosperity for white citizens from the working and lower middle classes. Yet most were not secure enough in their jobs, their homes, or their cultural status, or in a world dominated by the Cold War, to favor the mixed neighborhoods, higher taxes, and ethic of class solidarity that King’s policies would have required. No social movement gave them reason to believe that seriously questioning the heritage of self-reliance and racial suspicion would serve their self-interest. Some unions—the United Auto Workers and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, in particular—did make an attempt to do so, but they were unwilling to adopt an insurgent stance that could jeopardize their beneficial connections with those who ran the state and major corporations. When King, at the end of his life, made economic justice his priority, he did so in the name of “poor people,” a group to which only a small minority of white wage earners still thought they belonged.²³

Republican politicians and burgeoning movements on the right took advantage of the anxieties of “middle Americans,” speaking to and for them in tones of conservative populism. In the midterm election of 1966, soon after the King-led campaign for open housing had retreated in the face of ferocious resistance from white Chicagoans, Republicans gained almost fifty seats in the House of Representatives. Most of the new GOP lawmakers were from the North. The result, while not a po-

²¹ Jackson, *From Civil Rights to Human Rights*, 363–364.

²² The speech is available, of course, on millions of websites and in thousands of publications. Strangely, Branch devotes only a page and half to it and mentions only the biblical theme; *Parting the Waters*, 881–883.

²³ On the Poor People’s Campaign, see Jackson, *From Civil Rights to Human Rights*, 329–358.

litical sea change, was enough to end the Great Society and severely weaken the social-democratic impulse at its heart.²⁴

In retrospect, the Sixties confirmed the insight of a line penned by the white radical leader Carl Oglesby midway through the decade: "Democracy is nothing if it is not dangerous." Radical democrats, of whom King was the most prominent, sparked a new era of reform and, at the same time, stirred a powerful counterreformation. The courage and brashness of the black freedom movement rendered certain forms of injustice illegitimate, in both law and public opinion, while it also boosted the fortunes of people, causes, and ways of thinking that King abhorred. For the latter, "refining democracy" meant opposing racial quotas and "punitive" taxes and electing politicians such as Ronald Reagan and Newt Gingrich who battled for "working families" against liberal "special interests." These searing contradictions of the 1960s were quite apparent to contemporaries, and they continue to inspire and restrict how Americans think about their politics and their culture.²⁵

²⁴ A still valuable study of these sentiments is Richard Sennett and Jonathan Cobb, *The Hidden Injuries of Class* (New York, 1973). See also Thomas Byrne Edsall with Mary D. Edsall, *Chain Reaction: The Impact of Race, Rights, and Taxes on American Politics* (New York, 1991); and Kenneth Cmiel, "The Politics of Civility," in David Farber, ed., *The Sixties: From Memory to History* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1994), 263–290. On the 1966 election, see Michael Barone, *Our Country: The Shaping of America from Roosevelt to Reagan* (New York, 1990), 414–415.

²⁵ Carl Oglesby, "Democracy Is Nothing If It Is Not Dangerous" (1965), <http://www.sds-1960s.org/Oglesby-democracy.htm>. On the rhetoric of conservative populism, see Michael Kazin, *The Populist Persuasion: An American History*, revised ed. (Ithaca, N.Y., 1998), 244–266.

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AHR Forum
The Biography Branch Might Have Written

CLAYBORNE CARSON

THREE YEARS AFTER CORETTA SCOTT KING named me editor of her late husband's papers, Taylor Branch published the first volume of his magnificent *America in the King Years* trilogy and became a beacon for my own scholarly endeavors.¹ Appearing soon after the initial celebration of the national holiday commemorating the birthday of Martin Luther King, Jr., *Parting the Waters* received almost unanimous acclaim and a Pulitzer Prize, confirming that King's historical stature would rise rather than wane with time. Brilliantly highlighting King's prophetic leadership while still giving due attention to the grassroots militancy that had inspired my early scholarship, Branch's achievement discouraged thoughts that my ongoing documentation of King's life would culminate in a comparable saga combining biography and bottom-up history. Branch surrounded his protagonist with dozens of deftly drawn characters, ranging from courageous local leaders to well-meaning but often complacent John F. Kennedy administration officials who would have been surprised to learn that they were living in "the King years." I was especially pleased that he featured the brash "field secretaries" of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the innovative group that grabbed my attention as an undergraduate and later became the subject of my first book.²

Branch's recognition that King was part of a social movement beyond his control was especially evident in the second and third volumes of his trilogy, as his focus shifted from King to other figures who voiced the racial discord and political rancor of the increasingly tumultuous period from 1964 to 1968. His tendentious decision to devote a major portion of *Pillar of Fire* to Malcolm X's final years strengthened my sense that Malcolm and King warranted comparative study as unorthodox religious leaders competing with limited success to provide ideological guidance for escalating grassroots freedom struggles.³ Moreover, Branch emphasized King's role as a civil rights leader, but not to the exclusion of his broader social gospel mission,

The author wishes to acknowledge the research assistance of Sarah Overton, Nanka de Vries, and Carl Saucier-Bouffard.

¹ Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954–63* (New York, 1988); Branch, *Pillar of Fire: America in the King Years, 1963–65* (New York, 1998); Branch, *At Canaan's Edge: America in the King Years, 1965–68* (New York, 2006).

² Clayborne Carson, *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981).

³ See, for example, my edition of *Malcolm X: The FBI File* (New York, 1991), and later articles such as "A 'Common Solution': Martin and Malcolm's Gulf Was Closing, but the Debate Lives On," *Emerge*, February 1998, 44–52; "Malcolm X," in John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes, eds., *American National*

displayed in his continued activism once the Selma to Montgomery March spurred passage of the landmark Voting Rights Act of 1965. *At Canaan's Edge* gave ample attention to the less widely known ventures of King's final years—the Chicago campaign and the Mississippi March of 1966, his public condemnation in 1967 of Lyndon B. Johnson's Vietnam policies, and the Poor People's Campaign of 1968. With piercing precision, Branch depicts King as beleaguered by erstwhile allies and unrelenting enemies—the mercurial Lyndon Johnson (“treating King variously to a Texas bear hug of shared dreams or a towering, wounded snit”), the craftily paranoiac J. Edgar Hoover (“Hoover's FBI was blackmailing [King] toward suicide with surveillance tapes of his private life”), the incendiary Stokely Carmichael (who “sheepishly denied reports that he had called King and Roy Wilkins ‘Uncle Toms’ in recent speeches”), as well as King's incorrigibly contentious colleagues in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (“[King] tolerated the clash of head-strong lieutenants as a necessary by-product of frontier hardship and conviction”).⁴

Yet at the end of Branch's 2,000-page narrative, I found myself wanting more—not overwrought theory and analysis, but more reflection on the single overriding question that lingers at the conclusion: Who was King, really, and how does the answer to that question help us to understand his historical significance? At the start of his project, Branch advised that he did not intend to produce a biography but instead wanted to write “a history grounded in race,” with King “at its heart” as “the best and most important metaphor for American history in the watershed postwar years.”⁵ But his detailed portrait of King transcends metaphor, and his engrossing narrative abounds with implicit biographical as well as historical insights. It is a measure of Branch's interpretive skills that his initial volume anticipated subsequent scholarship that crossed disciplinary lines to illuminate King's extraordinary intellectual and oratorical qualities and his relationship to the modern African American freedom struggle.⁶ *America in the King Years* is undoubtedly a revealing mosaic of biographical miniatures and apt anecdotes; however, it lacks the concerted exploration of identity development that distinguishes the best biographies and the sustained analysis of social and political transformation that informs the best histories. The spare comments of Branch's epilogue are frustratingly elusive, as when he observes that King's “oratory mined twin doctrines of equal souls and equal votes in

Biography (New York, 1999), 359–361; and “The Unfinished Dialogue of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X,” *Souls: A Critical Journal of Black Politics, Culture, and Society* 7, no. 1 (Winter 2005): 12–19.

⁴ Branch, *At Canaan's Edge*, 14, 197, 519, 553.

⁵ Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 13.

⁶ Lewis V. Baldwin, *There Is a Balm in Gilead: The Cultural Roots of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (Minneapolis, 1991); Michael Eric Dyson, *I May Not Get There with You: The True Martin Luther King, Jr.* (New York, 2000); Thomas F. Jackson, *From Civil Rights to Human Rights: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Struggle for Economic Justice* (Philadelphia, 2006); Troy Jackson, *Becoming King: Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Making of a National Leader* (Lexington, Ky., 2008); Richard Lischer, *The Preacher King: Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Word That Moved America* (New York, 1995); Vincent Harding, *Martin Luther King: The Inconvenient Hero* (Maryknoll, N.Y., 1996); Keith D. Miller, *Voice of Deliverance: The Language of Martin Luther King, Jr., and Its Sources* (New York, 1992); James R. Ralph, *Northern Protest: Martin Luther King, Jr., Chicago, and the Civil Rights Movement* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993); Eric K. Sundquist, *King's Dream: The Legacy of Martin Luther King's “I Have a Dream” Speech* (New Haven, Conn., 2009); Fredrik Sunnemark, *Ring Out Freedom! The Voice of Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Making of the Civil Rights Movement* (Bloomington, Ind., 2004); and Richard W. Wills, *Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Image of God* (New York, 2009).

the common ground of nonviolence, and justice refined history until its fires dimmed for a time.”⁷ While he concedes that anti-government Reaganism eventually “became the dominant idea in American politics, as a cyclical adjustment in history shifted the emphasis of patriotic language from citizenship to command, shrinking the public space,” I would appreciate a more cogent explanation of how and why the King years gave way to the Ronald Reagan years.⁸

Although my SNCC background prepared me to appreciate Branch as a social historian, my experiences as editor of King’s papers heightened my awareness of Branch’s strengths and limitations as a biographer, even if a reticent one. His trilogy was the product of prodigious archival research of the kind that informs my edition of *The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, but the anecdotes that enliven his narrative were drawn more from after-the-fact interviews (mostly his own) than from contemporaneous documents.⁹ Nonetheless, Branch understands that King’s fundamental identity derives from his roots in liberal Christian theology, and more deeply in the black Baptist church. “In the quiet recesses of my heart, I am fundamentally a clergyman, a Baptist preacher,” King once wrote. “This is my being and my heritage for I am also the son of a Baptist preacher, the grandson of a Baptist preacher and the great-grandson of a Baptist preacher.”¹⁰ The engrossing opening section of *Parting the Waters* immerses readers in the African American setting that shaped King’s religious worldview before the arrest of Rosa Parks suddenly made him a public figure. A brief history of Montgomery’s Dexter Avenue Baptist Church culminates in the tumultuous social gospel ministry of Vernon Johns, whose abrupt resignation prompted Dexter’s deacons to choose King as a less confrontational alternative. Branch’s sketch of King’s family background and religious education sets the stage for his sudden rise to prominence as the resourceful, well-connected, and superbly articulate leader of a 381-day bus boycott. Branch’s depiction of King’s formative years stands up well and is generally consistent with the portrait of King that emerges in the subsequently published volumes of *The Papers*, which include hundreds of King’s student papers and other early writings that became available to researchers after Branch’s first volume had been published.¹¹ King’s student papers must be used critically in any biographical treatment, especially given his tendency to appropriate

⁷ Branch, *At Canaan’s Edge*, 771.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 770.

⁹ In contrast, David Garrow places greater reliance on documentary sources in his Pulitzer Prize-winning *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference* (New York, 1987), resulting in a narrative that is less engaging but sometimes more factually reliable than Branch’s.

¹⁰ Martin Luther King, Jr., “The Un-Christian Christian: SCLC Looks Closely at Christianity in a Troubled Land,” *Ebony* 20 (August 1965): 76.

¹¹ *The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, vol. 1: *Called to Service, January 1929–June 1951*, edited by Clayborne Carson, Ralph E. Luker, and Penny A. Russell (Berkeley, Calif., 1992); vol. 2: *Rediscovering Precious Values, July 1951–November 1955*, edited by Clayborne Carson, Ralph E. Luker, Penny A. Russell, and Peter Holloran (Berkeley, Calif., 1995); vol. 3: *Birth of a New Age, December 1955–December 1956*, edited by Clayborne Carson, Susan Carson, Adrienne Clay, Virginia Shadron, and Kieran Taylor (Berkeley, Calif., 1997); vol. 4: *Symbol of the Movement, January 1957–December 1958*, edited by Clayborne Carson, Tenisha Armstrong, Susan Carson, and Kieran Taylor (Berkeley, Calif., 2000); vol. 5: *Threshold of a New Decade, January 1959–December 1960*, edited by Clayborne Carson, Tenisha Armstrong, Susan Carson, and Kieran Taylor (Berkeley, Calif., 2005); vol. 6: *Advocate of the Social Gospel, September 1948–March 1963*, edited by Clayborne Carson, Susan Carson, Susan Englander, Troy Jackson, and Gerald L. Smith (Berkeley, Calif., 2007).

the words of others. That being said, some of his papers are remarkably revealing—candidly tracing the development of the religious ideas that guided his public ministry. Like other scholars, Branch drew insights from “Autobiography of Religious Development,” the handwritten paper that King prepared as a twenty-one-year-old second-year student at Crozer Theological Seminary in Pennsylvania. This fourteen-page sketch previewed the basic themes of King’s public life, most notably his “anti-capitalist feelings,” spurred by the sight of “numerous people standing in bread lines”; his basic optimism about “human nature”; his rejection of religious fundamentalism as “contrary to the very nature of my being”; and his view of his own religious faith as the “largely unconscious” “gradual intaking of the noble ideals” of his family, rather than the product of a “crisis moment” of divine revelation.¹² King’s centrality in the southern mass protests of the 1950s and 1960s has often been overstated, but Branch demonstrates that King performed a crucial, inspirational role by linking the limited goals of black grassroots activists to transcendent, widely shared religious values.

Yet, while Branch provides a revealing portrait of King’s formative religious experiences and of his complex relationship with his domineering yet supportive father, the recent sixth volume of *The Papers* provides researchers with important additional documentation of King’s religious development. These materials—some of which were stored for decades after King’s death in the basement of his Atlanta home—add to the portrait that Branch and other scholars have painted of King as a proponent of the social gospel whose commitment to economic justice was informed but not diminished by his theological search for an understanding of the power, ubiquity, and resilience of evil.¹³ King has often been described as becoming increasingly radical during his final years; however, his extant writings from the pre-Montgomery period indicate that the Poor People’s Campaign marked a return to the social gospel convictions of his early ministry. One of his earliest seminary papers, written in 1948, when he was nineteen, demonstrates that he was already—seven years before the start of the Montgomery boycott—committed to a ministry based on knowing “the problems of the people that I am pastoring.” He confidently defined his pastoral mission in a way that foreshadowed the 1968 Poor People’s Campaign: “I must be concerned about unemployment, slums [*sic*], and economic insecurity. I am a profound advocate of the social gospel.”¹⁴ King was undoubtedly concerned about civil rights reform, but his overriding interest in economic justice was already evident before the era of mass civil rights activism.¹⁵ Branch draws attention to King’s close relationship with Crozer professor George W. Davis, the steel union activist’s son

¹² King, “An Autobiography of Religious Development” [12 September–22 November 1950], *King Papers*, 1: 359–363.

¹³ In 1997, Coretta Scott King made available to the King Papers Project boxes of manuscripts that had been stored in the basement of the family home in Atlanta. This collection, which was later purchased by Atlanta’s Morehouse College, included many documents concerning King’s childhood and early adulthood. Some of the autobiographical materials were also included in my edition of *The Autobiography of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (New York, 1998).

¹⁴ King, “Preaching Ministry” [14 September–24 November 1948], *King Papers*, 6: 69.

¹⁵ The early development of King’s social gospel ideas has been explored in recent studies by two of my former colleagues at the Martin Luther King, Jr. Papers Project; see Thomas F. Jackson, *From Civil Rights to Human Rights: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Struggle for Economic Justice* (Philadelphia, 2006); and Troy Jackson, *Becoming King: Martin Luther King Jr. and the Making of a National Leader* (Lexington, Ky., 2008).

who was “the embodiment of Rauschenbush’s Social Gospel” and taught almost a third of King’s seminary courses.¹⁶ He also offers a brief but perceptive account of King’s ill-fated interracial romance—“King came hard to the judgment that the price of a mixed marriage was higher than he was willing to pay.”¹⁷ But he does not mention that King, along with a black Crozer classmate and their dates, had a potentially disastrous late-night encounter with an armed New Jersey tavern owner who refused to serve alcoholic beverages to the group.¹⁸ King’s newly available papers strengthen Branch’s portrayal of him as a skeptical preacher’s son who adjusted well to Crozer’s “world of religious, moral, and historical ideas he knew he loved in a way he could not yet define, with no prior obligation to buy any of it.”¹⁹ From the earliest stages of his seminary studies, King reconciled his strong religious faith with his critical assessment of biblical texts. While accepting the likelihood “that the whale did not swallow Jonah, that Jesus was not born [of] a virgin, or that Jesus never met John the Baptist,” he still sought scriptural guidance: “What moral implications do we find growing out of the Bible? What relevance does Jesus have in 1948 A.D.?”²⁰

It is possible that Branch and King himself placed too much emphasis on the academic aspects of King’s religious development, while understating his indebtedness to African American religious influences, but it is certainly the case that theological ideas indelibly shaped his intellectual worldview. *Parting the Waters* draws attention to the crucial importance of theologian Reinhold Niebuhr in moving King from an uncritical acceptance of social gospel liberalism toward Niebuhr’s view of sin as a fundamental aspect of human nature. As he finished his seminary studies, King described himself as “leaning toward a mild neo-orthodox view of man” due to his experiences “with a vicious race problem.”²¹ Branch’s assessment of the impact of Niebuhr is both forthright—arguing that King changed “his fundamental outlook on religion”—and elusive: “Although the Niebuhr influence went to the heart of the public and private King and affected him more deeply than did any modern figure, including Gandhi, the connection between King and Niebuhr would be obscured by complicated twists of time, race, and popular imagery.”²² My own study of King’s Crozer papers suggests that while they are unquestionably a crucial source for biographical study, they are unlikely to offer definitive answers regarding the religious convictions that he brought into his public ministry. It may be the case that the most distinctive aspects of King’s intellect were his eclecticism and his lack of a coherent theology. Modern notions of historical exegesis did not completely assuage his teenage religious doubts, but he graduated from Crozer with intellectual tools that made possible his successful career as a politically engaged preacher. While distinguishing himself as a seminary student, King still questioned Baptist tenets and acknowledged that he had never experienced a crisis moment of surrender to faith. His decision

¹⁶ Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 74.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 73–90.

¹⁸ See “Statement on Behalf of Ernest Nichols, *State of New Jersey vs. Ernest Nichols*, by W. Thomas McGann,” 20 July 1950, *King Papers*, 1: 327–328.

¹⁹ Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 73.

²⁰ King, “The Weaknesses of Liberal Theology I,” 1948, *King Papers*, 6: 80.

²¹ King, “How Modern Christians Should Think of Man” [29 November 1949–15 February 1950], *ibid.*, 1: 274.

²² Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 81.

to undertake studies in personalist theology with Boston University's Edgar S. Brightman grew out of his effort to reconcile his religious convictions with his doctrinal doubts:

How I long now for that religious experience which Dr. Brightman so cogently speaks of throughout his book. It seems to be an experience, the lack of which life becomes dull and meaningless. As I reflect on the matter, however, I do remember moments that I have been awe awakened; there have been times that I have been carried out of myself by something greater than myself and to that something I gave myself. Has this great something been God? Maybe after all I have been religious for a number of years, and am now only becoming aware of it.²³

King's doctoral studies at Boston University were notable less for his theological writings than for his increasing adeptness in appropriating theological ideas to provide intellectual gloss for his sermons. Indeed, his eagerness to mine theological texts for rhetorical nuggets limited his prospects as an academic theologian and may provide a partial explanation for his tendency to plagiarize the ideas of more original theologians.²⁴ The most revealing expression of his broad vision of social justice can be found in his personal correspondence and early sermons. Because Branch was apparently unaware of King's personal correspondence with his future wife, Coretta Scott, and ignored her involvement in peace and Progressive Party activities, his account of their relationship understates its political aspects. Eager to find a spouse who shared his political views, King was willing to overlook Baptist doctrine to marry a non-Baptist. "You would not have to be immersed," he reassured his future wife. "There is no saving efficacy in water."²⁵ An early love letter he wrote to Scott that was published in the most recent volume of *The Papers* sheds light on his early attachment to radical political values. Rejecting Cold War anti-communism, the two students confided their leftist leanings to one another. "I imagine you already know that I am much more socialistic in my economic theory than capitalistic," King announced in a July 1952 letter prompted by Scott's gift to him of Edward Bellamy's socialist fantasy *Looking Backward, 2000–1887* (originally published in 1888). Asserting confidently that capitalism had "outlived its usefulness," having "brought about a system that takes necessities from the masses to give luxuries to the classes," he added that change "would be evolutionary rather than revolutionary. This, it seems to me, is the most sane and ethical way for social change to take place." Although the public expression of such thoughts would have severely damaged his subsequent career as a civil rights leader, King felt secure in expressing his dissent from Cold War orthodoxy, informing his future wife that both capitalism and com-

²³ King, "A Conception and Impression of Religion Drawn from Dr. Brightman's Book Entitled *A Philosophy of Religion*," *King Papers*, 1: 415–416.

²⁴ The significance of plagiarism in King's academic writings has been explored in numerous writings stimulated by the findings of the King Papers Project: Clayborne Carson, with Peter Holloran, Ralph E. Luker, and Penny Russell, "Martin Luther King, Jr., as Scholar: A Reexamination of His Theological Writings," *Journal of American History* 78, no. 1 (June 1991): 93–105; Carson and the staff of the King Papers Project, "The Student Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr.: A Summary Statement on Research," *ibid.*, 23–40; and Carson, "Editing Martin Luther King, Jr.: Political and Scholarly Issues," in George Bornstein and Ralph G. Williams, eds., *Palimpsest: Editorial Theory in the Humanities* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1993), 305–316.

²⁵ Coretta Scott King, *My Life with Martin Luther King, Jr.* (New York, 1969), 73.

munism were inconsistent with true Christian values. He faulted Bellamy for failing "to see that man is a sinner, and . . . he will still be a sinner until he submits his life to the Grace of God. Ultimately our problem is [a] theological one." Cautioning Scott against excessive optimism about the triumph of socialism, King observed, "It is probably true that capitalism is on its death bed, but social systems have a way of developing a long and powerful death bed breathing capacity. Remember it took feudalism more than 500 years to pass out from its death bed. Capitalism will be in America quite a few more years my dear."²⁶

King was not quite so candid in his sermons as in his letters to Scott, but the sermons he delivered while assisting his father at Ebenezer during the summer of 1953 (soon after his marriage in June) addressed racial segregation and discrimination in the context of a wide-ranging critique of modernity and of the global struggle for peace with social justice. Several of these sermons criticized "false Gods"—science, nationalism, and materialism. Sharply criticizing American chauvinism and anticommunism, King offered blunt advice: "One cannot worship this false god of nationalism and the God of Christianity at the same time."²⁷ In another sermon he prepared that summer, he insisted that international peace was the "cry that is ringing in the ears of the peoples of the world," but such peace could be achieved only when Christians "place righteousness first. So long as we place our selfish economic gains first we will never have peace. So long as the nations of the world are contesting to see which can be the most [imperialistic] we will [never] have peace. Indeed the deep rumbling of discontent in our world today on the part of the masses is [actually] a revolt against imperialism, economic exploitation, and colonialism that has been perpetuated by western civilization for all these many years."²⁸ King's expansive Christian worldview was perhaps most evident in the sermon "Communism's Challenge to Christianity," which he delivered in August 1953 and again in various forms later in his life. While rejecting communism as secularistic and materialistic, King nonetheless insisted that it was "Christianity's most formidable competitor and only serious rival." Marxian thought, he argued, should challenge Christians to express their own "passionate concern for social justice. The Christian ought always to begin with a bias in favor of a movement which protests against the unfair treatment of the poor, for surely Christianity is itself such a protest." Asking whether Karl Marx could rightly be blamed for calling religion an opiate of the masses, he averred, "When religion becomes [so] involved in a future good 'over yonder' that it forgets the present evils 'over here' it is a dry as dust religion and needs to be condemned."²⁹

Less than a year after King delivered his sermon on communism, he accepted the call to become the pastor at Dexter and began pushing gently yet consistently against the complacency of a congregation that had resisted the activism of his predecessor. He used his acceptance address as an occasion to assert his spiritual authority and to suggest the immensity of the task ahead.³⁰ He cited the same social gospel credo (Luke 4:18–19) that his father had used in 1940 to describe the "true mission of the

²⁶ *King Papers*, 6: 125.

²⁷ King, "The False God of Nationalism," *ibid.*, 6: 132.

²⁸ King, "First Things First," 2 August 1953, *ibid.*, 6: 144–145.

²⁹ King, "Communism's Challenge to Christianity," 9 August 1953, *ibid.*, 6: 148–149.

³⁰ Vernon Johns, King's sometimes abrasive predecessor at Dexter, actually focused his ministry more than did King on the economic issues that were central to social gospel Christianity.

church": "The spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and the recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised."³¹ Only twenty-five, he challenged his congregation—for the most part his seniors—to expand their vision:

It is a significant fact that I come to the pastorate of Dexter at the most crucial hour of our world's history; At a time when the flame of war might arise at any time to redden the skies of our dark and dreary world; at a time when men know all [too] well that without the proper guidance the whole of civilization can be plunged across the abyss of destruction . . . Dexter, like all other churches, must somehow lead men and women of a decadent generation to the high mountain of peace and salvation.³²

At this early stage, King's religious convictions and social values had become the unifying threads of his life. His familial relationships, deep roots in the black Baptist church, theological studies, and early experiences as a preacher help to explain how a young, oratorically gifted minister quickly became an internationally known civil rights leader. King's training and experiences as a Baptist minister informed his understanding of the far-reaching historical significance of the civil rights militancy sparked by the Supreme Court's 1954 decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*. Viewed from this biographical perspective, his speeches and writings reveal a thread of intellectual consistency linking his formative years to his subsequent public life. If King had been willing and able to write a revealing and comprehensive autobiography, his inner thoughts might have served as a counterbalance to the FBI surveillance tapes that Branch and other historians have used to penetrate his pacific public persona as he confronted urban racial violence and antiwar protests. Increasingly depicted from the perspective of his associates, political rivals, and FBI spies, Branch's King rarely finds moments for reflection during his last years. Instead, Branch's difficult-to-verify anecdotes suggest King's inner turmoil, as in his description of King's response to quarreling among his SCLC colleagues about plans for a Poor People's Campaign:

Late one night, King literally howled against the paralyzed debate. "I don't want to do this any more!" he shouted alone. "I want to go back to my little church!" He banged around and yelled, which summoned anxious friends outside his room until [Andrew] Young and [Ralph] Abernathy gently removed his whiskey and talked him to bed.³³

While such recollections are titillating, Branch is on stronger ground when he recounts those occasions when King openly voiced the inner turmoil of his final year.

³¹ *King Papers*, 1: 33–34.

³² *Ibid.*, 6: 166.

³³ Branch, *At Canaan's Edge*, 641. Branch provides no source; the proximate note lists a later FBI wiretap transcript of a conversation between King and Stanley Levison. Branch's discussion of the FBI's damaging 1964 "blackmail" tape of King at a licentious party in Washington's Willard Hotel is based on the recollections of FBI officials who heard King's "distinctive voice" saying "I'm fucking for God!" (*Pillar of Fire*, 207). Because this tape has often been referenced in writings about King, and because King associates who also heard these recordings after a compilation reel was sent to King have expressed different memories of it, biographical understanding would be greatly enhanced by the release of all FBI surveillance records and by a serious scholarly discussion, including female voices, of King's sex life. Frank discussion, rather than titillation, might generate interesting comparisons of King with Gandhi, who was more willing to talk about his sexual feelings and formative sexual experiences.

Upon the people of Dexter Avenue
 Baptist Church have called me to serve
 as ~~your~~ pastor of your historic Church. I
 have gladly accepted the call. It is with
 more than perfecting gratitude that I express
 my appreciation to you for bestowing upon me
 this great honor. I accept the pastorate
 dreadfully aware of the tremendous responsibilities
 accompanying it. ~~to~~ ^{to} Contrary to some
 shallow thinking, the responsibilities of the
 pastorate both stagger and astound the
 imagination. They take the whole man.
~~I am to you with a pastorate of~~
~~importance.~~
 It is a significant fact that I come
 to ~~the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church~~ to the pastorate
 of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church at a time when the
 four world religions, at a time when the
 flames of war might arise at any time
 to reduce the skies of our dark and
 dreary world at a time when men know
 all too well that without the proper guidance
 the whole of civilization can be plunged
 across the abysses of destruction. At a time
 when men are experiencing in disruption and
 conflict, self-destructing and meaningless, despair
 and anxiety. Today men who were but
 yesterday preaching the Church of Christ are
 now asking the Church the way to the
 paradise of peace and happiness. We must
 therefore give our generation an answer. Dexter
 like all other churches, must combine both
 men and women of a decadent generation
 to the high mountain of peace and
 salvation. We must give men and women
 who are all but on the brink of despair
 a new bent on life and joy. And that
 I will be able to lead Dexter in this

FIGURE 1: King's notes for his acceptance address at Dexter [2 May 1954]. King Papers, 6: 164.

King's sermons, especially those at Atlanta's Ebenezer Baptist Church, and his off-the-record talks to SCLC staff members provided opportunities for him to ponder the overall meaning of his life as a Christian minister who had been called unexpectedly to lead a historic freedom struggle. Branch mentions, for example, King's

explicit call for “democratic socialism” and his reference to the “inseparable triplets” “of racial injustice, poverty, and war” at a November 1967 SCLC gathering at the Penn Center in South Carolina. Also revealing was King’s subsequent reference at an SCLC gathering in February 1968 to his enthusiasm for the social gospel during his early ministry: “I read *Das Kapital* and *The Communist Manifesto* years ago when I was a student in college.” He again cited the same biblical passage his father had used almost four decades earlier. “I didn’t get my inspiration from Karl Marx. I got it from a man named Jesus, a Galilean saint who said he was anointed to heal the broken-hearted. He was anointed to deal with the problems of the poor.”³⁴ One of the more intriguing and stirring of King’s sermons was “Unfulfilled Dreams,” delivered two weeks after the SCLC talk. Speaking at Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta before church members who had known him since childhood, King linked the eternal, universal struggle between good and evil to the internal “civil war” that was “at the heart of human nature” and that served as a barrier “whenever we set out to dream our dreams and to build our temples” of peace. “I don’t know about you, but I can make a testimony,” he continued. “You don’t need to go out saying that Martin Luther King is a saint. Oh, no. I want you to know this morning that I’m a sinner like all of God’s children. But I want to be a good man. And I want to hear a voice saying to me one day, ‘I take you in and I bless you, because you tried. It is well that it was within thine heart.’”³⁵

Branch completes his epic word portrait with King’s stunning oration at Mason Temple in Memphis on the eve of his assassination. Displaying his singular awareness of the historical and global context of the modern African American freedom struggle, King inspired thousands of striking sanitation workers by assuring them that, of all the great periods in history, he would choose to live during the time of their travail, even though the world was “messed up” and the nation was “sick”: “Strangely enough, I would turn to the Almighty and say, ‘If you allow me to live just a few years in the second half of the twentieth century, I will be happy.’” He reaffirmed the prophetic global vision that had always guided his ministry:

The masses of people are rising up. And wherever they are assembled today, whether they are in Johannesburg, South Africa; Nairobi, Kenya; Accra, Ghana; New York City; Atlanta, Georgia; Jackson, Mississippi; or Memphis, Tennessee, the cry is always the same: “We want to be free.” And another reason that I’m happy to live in this period is that we have been forced to a point where we are going to have to grapple with the problems that men have been trying to grapple with through history . . . It is no longer a choice between violence and non-violence in this world; it’s nonviolence or nonexistence . . . And also in the human rights revolution, if something isn’t done and done in a hurry, to bring the colored peoples of the world out of their long years of poverty, their long years of hurt and neglect, the whole world

³⁴ Branch, *At Canaan’s Edge*, 556; King, Address at SCLC’s Ministers Leadership Training Program, Miami, February 23, 1968, quoted in *Autobiography*, ed. Carson, 351.

³⁵ King, “Unfulfilled Dreams,” in Clayborne Carson and Peter Holloran, eds., *A Knock at Midnight: Inspiration from the Great Sermons of Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.* (New York, 1998), 195, 198–199. In his perceptive introduction to this sermon, King associate and neighbor Vincent Harding comments: “Without necessarily knowing the details of his inner war, many of us had seen the evidence of that internal conflict in his face, heard it in his voice. We recognized it partly because it resembled so many of our own struggles. In that last year Martin looked more beleaguered, harassed, and desperate than I had ever seen him before, and it was clear that more than external enemies were at work” (189).

is doomed. Now I'm just happy that God has allowed me to live in this period, to see what is unfolding.³⁶

During the two decades since the publication of *Parting the Waters*, the ever-expanding library of King scholarship has grown in size and analytical sophistication. The King Papers Project—now part of the King Research and Education Institute at Stanford University—continues to expand the universe of King-related documents available to researchers. It is a measure of Branch's monumental achievement that he has produced what is still the most comprehensive account of King's life within the larger context of the African American freedom struggle. Without intending to write a definitive biography, Branch has written a history of the King years that will encourage future biographers to seek a still deeper understanding of King's evolving thoughts during his tumultuous times.

³⁶ King, "I've Been to the Mountain Top," address at the Bishop Charles J. Mason Temple, Memphis, Tennessee, April 3, 1968, http://mlk-kpp01.stanford.edu/kingweb/publications/speeches/1%27ve_been_to_the_mountaintop.pdf.

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AHR Forum
The Black Power Movement, Democracy, and
America in the King Years

PENIEL E. JOSEPH

TAYLOR BRANCH'S *AMERICA IN THE KING YEARS* stands as a singular achievement in civil rights historiography. Collectively, the trilogy covers the years 1954–1968, the time in which Martin Luther King, Jr. became a national civil rights leader and a global icon for human rights and racial justice. For Branch, King was nothing less than a heroic, race-transcending political leader who fundamentally transformed American democracy through an innovative nonviolent ethos rooted in Gandhism, the African American church, and Judeo-Christian traditions of militantly passive resistance. But *America in the King Years* is more than a conventional biography of King. The trilogy presents a panoramic portrait of postwar America during the civil rights movement's heroic age. Branch documents the activities of rural and urban black leaders, white volunteers and clergymen, and far-flung personalities engaged in political struggles away from the center of media attention. Unglamorous local leaders, obscure sharecroppers, religious scholars, street speakers, and ordinary citizens thrust into the maelstrom of the era receive varying degrees of attention throughout.¹

America in the King Years particularly revels in finely grained portraits of the presidents and powerbrokers whose iconography continues to shape the public's historical memory of this period. Figures such as John F. Kennedy, Robert F. Kennedy, and Lyndon B. Johnson loom large in the proceedings, as does King's ability to move back and forth, at times almost effortlessly, between America's political elites and its racial underclass. Branch's trilogy thus weaves together social and political history to produce a striking historical tapestry that greatly enriches contemporary understanding of the modern civil rights era.²

Professional historians have, for the most part, been relatively silent regarding

I would like to thank Yohuru Williams, Rhonda Y. Williams, Femi Vaughan, Glenda Gilmore, Jeremi Suri, Wellington Nyangoni, Tom Sugrue, Manning Marable, participants at the Long Civil Rights Movement Conference, and the anonymous readers for the *AHR* who helped to critically shape the ideas in this essay.

¹ Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954–63* (New York, 1988); Branch, *Pillar of Fire: America in the King Years, 1963–65* (New York, 1998); Branch, *At Canaan's Edge: America in the King Years, 1965–68* (New York, 2006).

² Academic historians have been reluctant to critically analyze and critique Branch's work. Charles Payne notes the compelling literary qualities of *Parting the Waters* while criticizing Branch for being at times too aggressively interpretive chronicler and in certain instances factually incorrect. "He tells a great story," writes Payne, "but not always the one that happened." Payne, *I've Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle* (Berkeley, Calif., 1995), 420.

Branch's work. David Garrow's Pulitzer Prize-winning study of King, *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference*, covers roughly the same chronology as Branch's trilogy, with the economic prose and restrained analysis of the trained social scientist. Published in 1986, two years before the first of Branch's three volumes appeared, *Bearing the Cross* remains probably the most often cited authoritative historical work on King and the modern civil rights movement. Similarly, Adam Fairclough's important 1987 study, *To Redeem the Soul of America: The Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Martin Luther King, Jr.*, is a more familiar and comfortable reference work for most scholars.³

As popular history, *America in the King Years* has achieved the kind of critical acclaim and high profile among the general public that more conventional civil rights scholarship has yet to attain. Written in page-turning prose and organized around dramatic historical scenes, it turns the civil rights era into a gripping drama that pares down world historic events to a human scale. Although King is the trilogy's main narrative anchor, Branch seeks to document the major and minor events of the civil rights era at the local, national, and international level. On this score, *America in the King Years* is perhaps the most boldly imaginative history of the postwar civil rights era ever conceived.

ON THE SUBJECT OF BLACK POWER, *America in the King Years* hews closely to the conventional script and the received historical and political wisdom that casts the movement as politically naive, largely ineffectual, and ultimately stillborn. Black Power is most often remembered as the civil rights era's ruthless twin, an evil doppelganger that provoked a white backlash, engaged in thoughtless acts of violence and rampaging sexism and misogyny, and was brought to an end by its own self-destructive rage. A wave of new historical scholarship, however, is challenging this perspective, arguing that Black Power ultimately redefined black identity and American society even as it scandalized much of the nation. These new works combine critical analysis and prodigious archival research to historicize the Black Power era and its relationship to civil rights and wider currents of postwar American society.⁴

³ David J. Garrow, *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference* (New York, 1986). Adam Fairclough criticizes *Pillar of Fire* for devoting "an inordinate amount of space to Malcolm X and the Nation of Islam"; Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul of America: The Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Martin Luther King, Jr.* (1987; repr., Athens, Ga., 2001), 410. See also Garrow's highly critical review of *At Canaan's Edge: "Journey's End,"* *Los Angeles Times*, January 15, 2006, R-4.

⁴ Peniel E. Joseph, *Waiting 'til the Midnight Hour: A Narrative History of Black Power in America* (New York, 2006); Joseph, ed., *The Black Power Movement: Rethinking the Civil Rights-Black Power Era* (New York, 2006); Komozi Woodard, *A Nation within a Nation: Amiri Baraka (LeRoi Jones) and Black Power Politics* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1999); Timothy B. Tyson, *Radio Free Dixie: Robert F. Williams and the Roots of Black Power* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1999); Scot Brown, *Fighting for US: Maulana Karenga, the US Organization, and Black Cultural Nationalism* (New York, 2003); Jeffrey O. G. Ogbar, *Black Power: Radical Politics and African American Identity* (Baltimore, 2004); James Edward Smethurst, *The Black Arts Movement: Literary Nationalism in the 1960s and 1970s* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2005); Matthew J. Countryman, *Up South: Civil Rights and Black Power in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 2005); Robert O. Self, *American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland* (Princeton, N.J., 2003); Yohuru Williams, *Black Politics/White Power: Civil Rights, Black Power, and the Black Panthers in New Haven* (New York, 2000).

Black Power transformed struggles for racial justice by altering notions of identity, citizenship, and democracy.⁵ Its practical legacies can be seen in the first generation of black urban political leaders who, thanks to the Voting Rights Act of 1965, leveraged black voting power through nationalist appeals for racial solidarity in major metropolitan centers; in the cultural impact of the black arts through poetry, the spoken word, independent schools, and dance, theater, and art; in the advent of Black Studies programs and departments at predominantly white universities across the United States; in the proliferation of black student unions on college campuses; and, finally, in a series of political conventions and conferences that crafted domestic and international agendas for racial, social, and economic justice.⁶ The sheer breadth of the movement during the late 1960s and early 1970s encompassed virtually every facet of African American political life in the United States and touched the international arena as well. Black sharecroppers in Lowndes County, Alabama, urban militants in Harlem, radical trade unionists in Detroit, Black Panthers in Oakland, California, and feminists across America all advocated a political program rooted in aspects of Black Power ideology. A broad range of students, intellectuals, poets, artists, and politicians followed suit, turning the term "Black Power" into a generational touchstone that evoked hope and anger, despair and determination.⁷

Violence is crucial to understanding the Black Power years in the United States. The political rhetoric of Malcolm X and his forceful advocacy of self-defense and physical retaliation in the face of violence against civil rights workers set the stage for the movement's complicated relationship with violence. After Malcolm's death, both Stokely Carmichael and the Black Panther Party (originally the Black Panther

⁵ Joseph, *Waiting 'til the Midnight Hour*. See also *Black Power*, Special Issue, *Magazine of History* 22, no. 3 (2008).

⁶ Joseph, *Waiting 'til the Midnight Hour*; Joseph, *The Black Power Movement*; Woodard, *A Nation within a Nation*; Winston A. Grady-Willis, *Challenging U.S. Apartheid: Atlanta and Black Struggles for Human Rights, 1960–1977* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2006); Cleveland Sellers with Robert Terrell, *The River of No Return: The Autobiography of a Black Militant and the Life and Death of SNCC*, 2nd ed. (Jackson, Miss., 1990); Joy Ann Williamson, *Black Power on Campus: The University of Illinois, 1965–75* (Urbana, Ill., 2003); Fabio Rojas, *From Black Power to Black Studies: How a Radical Social Movement Became an Academic Discipline* (Baltimore, 2007).

⁷ On the Black Panther Party, see Charles E. Jones, ed., *The Black Panther Party [Reconsidered]* (Baltimore, 1998); Kathleen Cleaver and George Katsiaficas, eds., *Liberation, Imagination, and the Black Panther Party: A New Look at the Panthers and Their Legacy* (New York, 2001); Williams, *Black Politics/White Power*; William Van DeBurg, *New Day in Babylon: The Black Power Movement and American Culture, 1965–1975* (Chicago, 1992); Ogbar, *Black Power*; Curtis J. Austin, *Up against the Wall: Violence in the Making and Unmaking of the Black Panther Party* (Fayetteville, Ark., 2006); Jama Lazerow and Yohuru Williams, eds., *In Search of the Black Panther Party: New Perspectives on a Revolutionary Movement* (Durham, N.C., 2006); Yohuru Williams and Jama Lazerow, eds., *Liberated Territory: Untold Local Perspectives on the Black Panther Party* (Durham, N.C., 2008); Joseph, *Waiting 'til the Midnight Hour*, 205–275; Paul Alkebulan, *Survival Pending Revolution: The History of the Black Panther Party* (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 2007); Jane Rhodes, *Framing the Black Panthers: The Spectacular Rise of a Black Power Icon* (New York, 2007); Donna Murch, "The Campus and the Street: Race, Migration, and the Origins of the Black Panther Party in Oakland, CA," *New Black Power History*, Special Issue, *Souls: A Critical Journal of Black Politics, Culture, and Identity* 9, no. 4 (2007): 333–345. For black feminists during this period, see Joseph, *Waiting 'til the Midnight Hour*, 271–275; Kimberly Springer, *Living for the Revolution: Black Feminist Organizations, 1968–1980* (Durham, N.C., 2005); Springer, ed., *Still Lifting, Still Climbing: African American Women's Contemporary Activism* (New York, 1999); Bettye Collier-Thomas and V. P. Franklin, eds., *Sisters in the Struggle: African American Women in the Civil Rights–Black Power Movement* (New York, 2001); Stephen Ward, "The Third World Women's Alliance: Black Feminist Radicalism and Black Power Politics," in Joseph, *The Black Power Movement*, 119–144.

Party for Self-Defense) deployed provocative rhetoric that threatened domestic racial upheavals in the face of continued economic misery and social injustice. By the late 1960s, with the proliferating civil disturbances and clashes between urban militants and law enforcement agencies, the Black Power era was to some extent contoured by violence. But while most Black Power organizations retained the right to self-defense, only a small number of groups, most notably the Black Panther Party, openly advocated proactive revolutionary violence.

Parting the Waters, the first volume of *America in the King Years*, ignores the activities of black radicals. With barely a mention of Malcolm X, Branch reinforces the notion that black radicalism did not erupt until after 1960. *America in the King Years* has been instrumental in popularizing the civil rights movement's "heroic period."⁸ Roughly comprising the decade between the Supreme Court's decision in the *Brown v. Board of Education* desegregation case on May 17, 1954, and the passage of the Voting Rights Act on August 6, 1965 (and sometimes extended to 1968, the year in which the Open Housing Act was passed and King was assassinated), this period has come to represent the high tide of nonviolent social unrest in the postwar era. Its familiar cast of characters is led by the ubiquitous King and largely precludes the appearance of black militants. Malcolm X is the single exception in this regard; usually viewed as King's polar opposite, he is presented here as a tragic figure, doomed to an untimely death that was partially of his own making.

Pillar of Fire, the second volume in the trilogy, devotes considerable attention to Malcolm X, picking up the threads of his story in April 1962 in the aftermath of a police shooting that left Los Angeles Muslim Ronald Stokes dead. Branch portrays Malcolm as an intelligent, highly adaptable leader struggling to build a movement amid growing national and sectarian violence. He offers valuable insights into the inner workings of the Nation of Islam, especially in the aftermath of Malcolm's break from the group, which resulted in his assassination on February 21, 1965.

Yet Malcolm's presence serves primarily to enrich King's stature. Branch's mostly sympathetic portrait of Malcolm views him principally as a brilliant public speaker who was angered by the inability of civil rights leaders to offer more robust solutions beyond sit-ins, marches, and boycotts. He is depicted as less a political leader than a charismatic icon who unleashed words of fire that illustrated the limits of Black Muslim orthodoxy as well as his own inability to proactively ignite the revolution he so often predicted.⁹

IF KING'S STORY HIGHLIGHTS the ultimate resilience of democracy, America during the arc of Malcolm X's political career imparts equally important lessons about issues of race, violence, poverty, and democracy that continue to resonate. Malcolm, in many ways Black Power's most enduring symbol, serves as a powerful metaphor for black activism and American democracy in the postwar era. Like most writers of this era, Branch views Malcolm as a compelling but ultimately tragic figure. Tellingly, Malcolm's grassroots political organizing, supple political instincts, and brilliant in-

⁸ Peniel E. Joseph, "Black Power's Powerful Legacy," *Chronicle Review*, July 21, 2006, B6-B8.

⁹ Branch, *Pillar of Fire*, 3-20, 78-85, 96-98, 184-186, 200-203, 251-262, 312-320, 328-329, 332, 345-349, 380-381, 384-386, 500-502, 538-540, 572-575.

tellectual analysis of race, democracy, and U.S. domestic and foreign policy recede to the background. His relationship with civil rights—era radicals is rendered invisible at the expense of a more complicated portrait of the times. Hard divisions between the groups involved have allowed the civil rights movement to be hailed as the harbinger of important democratic surges and Black Power to be portrayed as a destructive, at times blatantly misguided movement that promoted rioting over political legislation, violence over diplomacy, and racial separatism over constructive interracial engagement. Embedding civil rights and Black Power activists in their historical context alters this portrait. The two groups may have occupied distinct branches, but they are part of the same historical family tree.¹⁰

Malcolm X arrived in Harlem in 1954, the same year the Supreme Court handed down the *Brown* decision, and he quickly emerged as a powerful local leader whose appeal transcended the sectarianism of the Nation of Islam. Pushing the origins of the Black Power movement to 1954, the year Malcolm took over the Nation of Islam's Temple No. 7 in Harlem, both complicates and enriches historical understanding of the civil rights and Black Power eras. In the historical context that emerges, civil rights activists and early Black Power militants exist side by side within a political landscape bound by the constraints of the Cold War, yet simultaneously emboldened by upheavals in Africa, Latin America, and the larger Third World. Black Power, like the modern civil rights movement, emerged out of the hotbed of global political struggles that marked the postwar world.¹¹

Tapping into the lower frequencies of the postwar era provides us with glimpses of a panoramic black freedom struggle in which Black Power militancy paralleled, and at times overlapped with, the heroic period of the civil rights era. Early Black Power activists were simultaneously inspired and repulsed by the struggles for civil rights in the Deep South that riveted the nation and much of the world during the 1950s and early 1960s. Malcolm X crafted coalitions that stretched from New York to Los Angeles during the 1950s, and in the process he helped to nurture centers for radical black political activism. Advocating political self-determination, racial pride, and the relationship between African Americans and the Third World, northern

¹⁰ I refer to this new scholarship as "Black Power Studies." See Peniel E. Joseph, "Black Liberation without Apology: Reconceptualizing the Black Power Movement" and all the essays in special two-volume issues of *The Black Scholar* 31, no. 3–4 (2001) and 32, no. 1 (2002). See also Joseph, *The Black Power Movement*; and *New Black Power History*, Special Issue, *Souls: A Critical Journal of Black Politics, Culture, and Identity* 9, no. 4 (2007).

¹¹ Joseph, *Waiting 'til the Midnight Hour*, 9–34. The new scholarship on the intersection of the Cold War, black internationalism, and American democracy is equally suggestive for scholars and students of Black Power. See, for example, Gerald Horne, *Black and Red: W.E.B. Du Bois and the African American Response to the Cold War, 1944–1963* (Albany, N.Y., 1986); Brenda Gayle Plummer, *Rising Wind: Black Americans and U.S. Foreign Affairs, 1935–1960* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996); Penny M. Von Eschen, *Race against Empire: Black Americans and Anticolonialism, 1937–1957* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1997); Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005); Thomas Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001); Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton, N.J., 2000); Carol Anderson, *Eyes off the Prize: The United Nations and the African American Struggle for Human Rights, 1944–1955* (Cambridge, 2003); George White, Jr., *Holding the Line: Race, Racism, and American Foreign Policy toward Africa, 1953–1961* (Lanham, Md., 2005); Nikhil Pal Singh, *Black Is a Country: Race and the Unfinished Struggle for Democracy* (Cambridge, Mass., 2004); James H. Meriwether, *Proudly We Can Be Africans: Black Americans and Africa, 1935–1961* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2002); Kevin K. Gaines, *American Africans in Ghana: Black Expatriates and the Civil Rights Era* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2006).

black militants set out to reshape American democracy. Around this same time, NAACP activist Robert F. Williams captured international attention, engaging in a sharp dialogue with King about the merits of nonviolence versus self-defense.¹² In 1961, militants in New York City, including LeRoi Jones and Maya Angelou, staged raucous demonstrations at the United Nations to protest the murder of Patrice Lumumba, the first prime minister of the Republic of the Congo. That same year, black college students in Ohio formed what would become the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), a group that anticipated aspects of the Black Panther Party's call for an armed political revolution. In Detroit, radicals formed the Group on Advanced Leadership (GOAL), hosted Malcolm X during his frequent visits, and staged militant protests against urban renewal plans.

Taking part in demonstrations, rallies, and bruising protests that focused on bread-and-butter issues such as education, housing, and employment, early Black Power activists regarded Malcolm X as the national spokesman for an unnamed movement that both diverged from and intersected with conventional civil rights struggles.¹³ Perhaps the most striking example is the June 23, 1963, "Freedom Walk" in Detroit. Organized as a sympathy march in support of civil rights efforts in Birmingham, it featured King as the keynote speaker and local radicals such as Albert Cleage, a minister and Malcolm X ally who had helped organize the demonstration. The march was a huge success, drawing an estimated crowd of 125,000. The minister of the Central Congregational Church and an activist who participated in both conventional civil rights struggles and more confrontational tactics, Cleage shared King's belief in the social gospel. Even Malcolm X, so often situated as King's diametric opposite, critically engaged the very idea of American democracy in numerous speeches and interviews. At the founding rally for the Organization for Afro-American Unity on June 28, 1964, Malcolm went so far as to hold up the Constitution and the Bill of Rights as personifying "the essence of man-kind's hopes and good intentions."¹⁴ In truth, a generation of Black Power activists came of age and gained their first taste of organizing during the high tide of the modern civil rights movement from 1954 to 1965. Ranging from the iconic to the obscure, those activists fit outside the master narrative of our national civil rights history.¹⁵

THE DECADE AFTER THE PASSAGE of the Voting Rights Act witnessed massive, at times brutally disruptive democratic impulses that continue to defy historical explanation and pat analysis. The rawness of this political explosion was embodied in the Black Power movement. Although it was in 1966 that the cry for "Black Power" broke through the commotion of everyday politics, the sentiment behind the slogan preceded Stokely Carmichael's defiant declaration. Even before there was a group of self-identified "Black Power" activists, African American radicals—represented by

¹² Tyson, *Radio Free Dixie*, 192.

¹³ See Joseph, *Waiting 'til the Midnight Hour*, 68–94.

¹⁴ Malcolm X, *By Any Means Necessary: Speeches, Interviews and a Letter*, ed. George Breitman (New York, 1970), 40.

¹⁵ Joseph, *Waiting 'til the Midnight Hour*; Joseph, *The Black Power Movement*; Smethurst, *The Black Arts Movement*; Muhammad Ahmad, *We Will Return in the Whirlwind: Black Radical Organizations, 1960–1975* (Chicago, 2007).

the likes of Paul Robeson, Lorraine Hansberry, Malcolm X, Robert Williams, Gloria Richardson, and William Worth—were working alongside civil rights activists in the black freedom movement. While Black Power activists subscribed to different interpretations of American history, racial slavery, and economic exploitation than their civil rights counterparts, the two movements grew organically out of the same era, and simultaneously inspired, critiqued, and antagonized each other. The assassination of King, the decline of the New Left, urban rebellions, and the end of national civil rights legislation have positioned 1968 as a watershed year that saw the conclusion of the freedom struggles unofficially ignited by *Brown*.

Careful historical analysis refutes this description. For African American political activists, along with certain sectors of the New Left, the murder trial of Black Panther Party co-founder Huey P. Newton inspired new levels of organizational dedication and community activism. Carmichael's "Free Huey" speeches in Oakland and Los Angeles on February 17 and 18, 1968, galvanized support for the Panthers and helped to turn the group into an international symbol of militancy. Black radicalism grew after 1968, ushering in new waves of cultural militancy, intellectual innovation, political unity, and international awareness that transformed the first half of the 1970s into one of America's most richly tumultuous times. Black Power loomed over the nation in 1968 in ways that are still being chronicled. If anti-war demonstrations, civil rights, and student protests were unpredictable political storms that intermittently wreaked havoc on American society, Black Power was a weather pattern whose own internal dynamics impacted and shaped parallel movements for social justice.¹⁶

In short, Black Power is perhaps the least understood of the insurgent social and political movements that are most commonly associated with the 1960s. The Black Power era (1954–1975) remains a controversial and understudied period in American history, yet it is undoubtedly one of the richest periods for historical research. America's Black Power years paralleled the golden age of modern civil rights activism, a period that witnessed the rise of iconic political leaders, broadcast enduring debates over race, violence, war, and democracy, saw the publication of seminal intellectual works, and heralded the evolution of radical social movements that took place against a backdrop of epic historic events. Civil rights and Black Power share a common history, but their stories are usually told separately: whereas the civil rights movement drew from the American democratic tradition, Black Power found kinship in ideas of anti-colonialism and Third World liberation movements. Such a framework is too facile, however, since civil rights activists found hope and inspiration in international political currents and Black Power militants looked to America's sacred democratic texts (such as the Constitution and Declaration of Independence) for a way forward at home.

At Canaan's Edge, the concluding volume of *America in the King Years*, covers the years 1965–1968, which ushered in the classical phase of the Black Power era (1966–1975). Stokely Carmichael, a SNCC worker who had previously toiled in obscurity as a local organizer in the South, gained national fame after introducing the phrase "Black Power" during the Meredith March in a late spring heat wave in Greenwood,

¹⁶ Joseph, *Waiting 'til the Midnight Hour*, 205–240; Van DeBurg, *New Day in Babylon*; Ogbar, *Black Power*; Woodard, *A Nation within a Nation*.

Mississippi. Branch provides sporadic coverage of the movement, in between more elaborate investigations of Lyndon Johnson's increasing obsession with, and eventual disintegration over, the Vietnam War. This is a surprising choice of focus considering the plentiful works on Vietnam and LBJ in comparison to the relatively few authoritative works on Black Power. Branch also details aspects of Carmichael's pre-Black Power activism, most notably in a vital chapter on Lowndes County, Alabama. In rural Lowndes we are able to see Carmichael's sensitive and pragmatic side as he helped to form an independent political party for the county's black residents, the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, in 1965–1966. Adopting a black panther as its emblem, the LCFO was soon being called "the Black Panther Party" by the media—a name that would be adopted in October 1966 by the founders of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense in Oakland, and that would come to provide real and symbolic power for an entire generation.¹⁷ *At Canaan's Edge* depicts Black Power as an "extravagant death rattle," made all the more ironic in Carmichael's case because, according to Branch, he almost casually bartered away six years of heroic field work for the indulgent rhetorical fantasies of a newly crowned celebrity.¹⁸

To be fair, in his description of Carmichael's steadfast activism before the Black Power era, Branch acknowledges the militant leader's grassroots organizing efforts in ways that remain too infrequently cited by others.¹⁹ After 1966, however, Carmichael and the movement he gave a name to become caricatures in *At Canaan's Edge*, less convincing as real-life figures than as tropes to animate the declension narrative in which the late 1960s are viewed as a freefall into racial violence and disillusionment. Branch's trilogy is sometimes unfairly lumped together with the scores of other "King-centered works," but in this regard he does parrot the conventional wisdom.

A CLOSER LOOK AT CARMICHAEL'S ACTIVISM from 1966 to 1968 reveals the legacy of Black Power to be broader, deeper, and more nuanced than its portrayal in *At Canaan's Edge* suggests. While Carmichael was not the only Black Power leader of his generation, he was arguably the most important. Indeed, at the height of the movement, his activities were under surveillance by a host of local, state, and federal authorities, providing historians with an indispensable portrait of both the activist and the period that shaped him.²⁰

In 1967, Carmichael embarked on a domestic and international organizing tour that would turn him into a global icon. Black Power was a major theme in U.S. and

¹⁷ Branch, *At Canaan's Edge*, 455–479.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 494.

¹⁹ Some important exceptions are Clayborne Carson, *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981); Payne, *I've Got the Light of Freedom*; Stokely Carmichael with Ekwueme Michael Thelwell, *Ready for Revolution: The Life and Struggles of Stokely Carmichael (Kwame Ture)* (New York, 2003); Joseph, *Waiting 'til the Midnight Hour*.

²⁰ After Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael is probably the best-documented Black Power activist of his generation. In addition to countless newspaper articles in the black, radical underground, and mainstream press, Carmichael's activities are chronicled in a number of different archival sources, including an almost 20,000-page FBI file. See Peniel E. Joseph, *Stokely Carmichael and America in the 1960s* (forthcoming).

international politics that year, connecting an entire generation through expressions of combative resistance against war, racism, and poverty. During a whirlwind speaking tour of historically black colleges in the South, Carmichael tested out twin themes, touting Black Power and denouncing the Vietnam War in rapid-fire lectures that roused student bodies from Mississippi to Louisiana. Like a political candidate in an election year, he made his way to both prestigious white universities and obscure black college campuses. According to Carmichael, the black belt in higher education represented a base of untapped power, with resources and skills that could transform living conditions in some of America's poorest communities. SNCC's plans called for banning compulsory military training ("mandatory ROTC") at black colleges and encouraging student autonomy over outside speakers and curriculum reforms that would include black history and culture. "If we don't get that," said Carmichael during one speech, "we gonna disrupt the schools."²¹

At elite white universities and private colleges, Carmichael adopted a more professorial mien, giving polished, at times purposefully subdued seminars that combined world history and political philosophy as part of a larger dissection of American democracy. The lecture circuit subsidized a broad-based effort at coalescing the disparate forces committed to the local implications of Black Power. Carmichael's experience as a local organizer had made him aware of the tendency of popular leaders to view politics from on high while barely touching the sacred ground of everyday struggles. Conversely, six months as a national political leader sharpened his attention to the telescopic vision of grassroots activists as well as the heavy burdens of instant celebrity. The philosopher in him viewed Black Power as capable of bridging the gap between black people's local needs and their national ambitions.

Perhaps the individual most affected by Carmichael's passionate Vietnam deliberations was Martin Luther King, Jr. In the spring of 1967, King elegantly amplified Carmichael's seasoned anti-war rhetoric in a measured yet resolute speech that sent shock waves around the nation. His April 4 address at New York's Riverside Church lent international stature and moral clarity to the anti-war speeches that Carmichael had been steadily delivering for almost a year. At Riverside, King contrasted Carmichael's bitterness toward the failed promises of American democracy with weary hope. "The world now demands," he pleaded, "a maturity of America that we may not be able to achieve."²² King's words resound today with an authority that began to swell shortly after his Riverside speech. But, as Branch ruefully notes, at the time King found himself in the uncomfortable position of "having to fight suggestions at every stop that his Vietnam stance merely echoed the vanguard buzz of Stokely Carmichael."²³ He need not have worried. *At Canaan's Edge* highlights King's peace advocacy as a daring rejection of the status quo, even as it downplays the stridently eloquent anti-war position of Carmichael and SNCC. Like most narrators of the era, Branch posits Carmichael as more a saber-rattler than an organizer

²¹ Federal Bureau of Investigation, Kwame Ture File [hereafter FBIKT], 100-446080-471, transcript of Stokely Carmichael University of Texas Speech, April 13, 1967, 30. ROTC (the Reserve Officers' Training Corps) was a military training program for male students at U.S. colleges and universities.

²² Branch, *At Canaan's Edge*, 593.

²³ *Ibid.*, 603.

by the late 1960s.²⁴ In retrospect, both King's and Carmichael's anti-war activism drew from a deep reservoir of African American anti-colonial activity rooted in the freedom surges of the Great Depression and World War II years.²⁵

More pointedly, Branch argues that by 1967, SNCC had devolved into internal bickering and "youthful disputes as tawdry as snipes at clothes," which represented a steep decline from the glory days when "coordinated sacrifice beyond the wisdom and courage of the nation's elders" moved America closer to racial egalitarianism and equal citizenship.²⁶ In this sense, Branch contrasts the "good" Carmichael who toiled heroically in the Mississippi Delta and rural Lowndes County in the early 1960s with the "bad" Carmichael who grew increasingly intoxicated by the allure of fame associated with his Black Power rhetoric.

Dubbed the "Magnificent Barbarian" by unnamed admirers in SNCC, Carmichael engaged in political activities during the late 1960s that remain as controversial today as they are misunderstood. What Branch characterizes as Carmichael's "daredevil cry against white America" might be better described as an extension and amplification of the SNCC leader's grassroots political organizing, which dated back to his teenage years in New York City and reached new heights in the late spring of 1961, when he spent weeks in Mississippi's Parchman Farm (the state penitentiary) for participating in Freedom Rides.²⁷ By 1966, when Carmichael declared "Black Power" in the sticky humidity of a late evening in Greenwood, Mississippi, his comprehension of American politics had become broad, deep, and complex.

"We are trying to build democracy," wrote Carmichael to SNCC supporter Lorna Smith in a 1966 letter that provided intimate details of painstaking organizing efforts taking place in Lowndes County. His search for democracy in Alabama's harsh climate rested on "the human contact that we make, while suffering," where black sharecroppers held the key to remaking American society.²⁸ He elaborated these views in an archly written report of his activities in Lowndes, published in the *New Republic* that same year. Criticizing Lyndon Johnson's Great Society as "preposterous," Carmichael offered up the political struggles of the black poor in the rural South as an alternative democratic ethos. In his America, democracy was etched in the faces of the semiliterate sharecroppers who were struggling to "redefine" Great Society rhetoric as a new vision of citizenship.²⁹ His grueling efforts to dig deep into what King described as the "great wells" of democracy were not abandoned in favor of a rash call for Black Power. For Carmichael, Black Power's call for radical self-determination facilitated the prospects of genuine democracy in American territo-

²⁴ King had come out against the war as early as 1965 but was quickly pressured into silence. SNCC subsequently became one of the war's leading critics, and from June 1966 to April 1967, Carmichael emerged as the black freedom struggle's most vocal anti-war critic. See Branch, *At Canaan's Edge*, 254–255, 308–309, 591–597; Joseph, *Waiting 'til the Midnight Hour*, 179–183.

²⁵ Plummer, *Rising Wind*; Von Eschen, *Race against Empire*; Anderson, *Eyes off the Prize*; Singh, *Black Is a Country*; Jacqueline Dowd Hall, "The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past," *Journal of American History* 91, no. 4 (2005): 1233–1263.

²⁶ Branch, *At Canaan's Edge*, 606.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 608. For Carmichael's time as a Freedom Rider, see Carmichael with Thelwell, *Ready for Revolution*; Joseph, *Waiting 'til the Midnight Hour*.

²⁸ Stokely Carmichael–Lorna D. Smith Collection, 1964–1972 [hereafter SCLDS], Green Library, Stanford University, Stanford, Calif., Stokely Carmichael to Lorna D. Smith, January 15, 1966, 1–4.

²⁹ Stokely Carmichael, "Who Is Qualified?" *The New Republic*, January 8, 1966, 22.

ries as unwelcoming and closed off to the idea of black citizenship as Lowndes County.³⁰

BRANCH'S DEPICTION OF BLACK POWER as a political dead end obscured by polemical fireworks and the brooding charisma of Carmichael, Rap Brown, Huey P. Newton, and other Black Power icons makes for riveting reading at the expense of a more nuanced and comprehensive history. If his portrait of Carmichael remains uneven, his account of the era's most controversial and visible group, the Black Panther Party (BPP), is surprisingly undernourished. The Panthers emerge, like a fever dream, as a group of swaggering leather-jacket-clad militants emboldened by the bravado of the quick-witted, temperamental Huey P. Newton and the earthy Bobby Seale. Amid the growing maelstrom of anti-war protests, Black Power militancy, and urban rebellions, "Newton's instant fame spread romantic theories about revolutionary violence."³¹ At first glance, this point appears unassailable considering the rhetoric of the Panthers and an increasingly radicalized New Left. By all appearances an overnight revolutionary hero, Newton belonged to a generation of young black Americans in Oakland and across the country whose economic prospects would be worse than those of their parents. A juvenile delinquent, street hustler, and brawler, he listened to Malcolm X speak in the Bay Area, joined an early Black Power cultural group called the Afro-American Association, and attended a local community college where he taught himself to read. By the time he co-founded the BPP, he had done several stints in jail and participated in local community organizing. As a political leader, Newton possessed jarring contradictions: advocating peace yet committed to a violent political revolution; anti-drug yet a substance abuser for much of his life; identifying with the poor but enamored with wealth and glamour. His importance as a Black Power leader ultimately resonates when we examine both the organization he helped to create and, perhaps most important, the communities that for a time identified with the BPP.³²

Like Newton, the Panthers exhibited Janus-faced tendencies. One side advocated the belligerent tactics of Third World revolutionaries in a quest to overthrow the existing social, political, and economic order. As is perhaps best expressed in Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver's inimitable and purposefully bombastic speeches, the Panthers are most often remembered for a posture of self-defense that quickly drifted into full-blown advocacy of revolutionary political violence.³³ Their more compassionate face regaled against poverty, hunger, and deprivation and set out to create ad hoc programs (from free breakfasts for schoolchildren to health clinics and liberation schools) that would fundamentally transform American democracy. Rather than viewing the Panthers as antithetical to the freedom dreams envisioned by King and civil rights advocates, as critics and even some sympathizers

³⁰ Joseph, *Waiting 'til the Midnight Hour*; Peniel E. Joseph, "Revolution in Babylon: Stokely Carmichael and America in the 1960s," *New Black Power History*, Special Issue, *Souls: A Critical Journal of Black Politics, Culture, and Society* 9, no. 4 (2007): 281–301; Carmichael with Thelwell, *Ready for Revolution*.

³¹ Branch, *At Canaan's Edge*, 609.

³² Joseph, *Waiting 'til the Midnight Hour*, 207–240.

³³ *Ibid.*, 213–214, 265–267.

frequently do, it might be more useful to see them as proponents of the robust self-determination that Carmichael defined as being integral to Black Power and American democracy. The party's ten-point manifesto, issued in 1966, called, among other things, for full employment, freedom, an end to economic misery in black neighborhoods, decent housing, and comprehensive education. From their inception, the Black Panthers displayed a deft understanding of the effects of crime, violence, and unemployment on the most vulnerable segments of the African American community. Of course, the revolution they confidently predicted did not go off as planned. Internal corruption, youthful egos, substance abuse by key leaders, and an undemocratic leadership style combined with government repression to add equal portions of triumph and tragedy to the group's legacy. However, that legacy deserves, indeed demands, a rigorous historical reassessment in a work as ambitious as *America in the King Years*.

At Canaan's Edge also fails to explore the relationship between Carmichael and the Panthers. It was Carmichael's organizing in Lowndes County during 1965–1966 that provided the group (and similar organizations that in fact predated the Oakland Panthers) with their name and their militancy. Carmichael met with members of the BPP in 1967 while he was in the Bay Area mentoring neophyte local activists in an attempt to consolidate Black Power in some of America's toughest urban areas.

Carmichael's contacts in Southern California included Maulana Karenga, founder of the Organization Us (whose name literally signified "us blacks") and a prominent local black nationalist whose influence would spread among more Afrocentric Black Power activists. An early supporter of the "Free Huey Newton" movement, Karenga and the Panthers were engaged in turf wars by 1969 that would turn tragically violent.³⁴ Bald-headed, loquacious, and canny, Karenga represented Black Power's increasing cultural thrust in the Bay Area.³⁵ His offbeat brilliance, his love of African culture, and his ritualized expression of racial solidarity rubbed more urbane street toughs the wrong way. Karenga and the Organization Us also underscored the darker side of Black Power through their deep-seated, at times brutal misogyny, their reflexive promotion of violence, and a hierarchical organizational structure that promoted a cult of personality over democratic leadership practices. Overshadowed by the leather-jacketed allure of the Black Panthers, the Organization Us would endure, like jazz, through invented cultural flourishes (in style, language, and the holiday Kwanzaa) that would be adopted by generations of black Americans.³⁶

At the start of 1967, Carmichael found himself being trailed by ex-convict-turned-journalist (and future Black Panther) Eldridge Cleaver for a story in *Ramparts* magazine and mediating disputes between militants in the Bay Area eager to be considered the vanguard of California's burgeoning Black Power movement. On May 25, he headlined a fundraiser for the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense at San Francisco's Fillmore Auditorium. Loquacious urban militants denied, by dint of geography and biography, the rich experiences that propelled Carmichael's activism, the Panthers traded bravado for experience, substituting showmanship—complete

³⁴ Brown, *Fighting for US*; Joseph, *Waiting 'til the Midnight Hour*.

³⁵ Van DeBurg, *New Day in Babylon*; Brown, *Fighting for US*; Smethurst, *The Black Arts Movement*.

³⁶ Ibid.

with shotguns, pistols, and bandoliers—to publicize an embryonic anti-racist agenda that would shortly transform America. Carmichael's slow, patient, radical organizing in obscure Lowndes County gave the Bay Area group distinctly southern roots. The quest of the earlier "Black Panther Party" (as the Lowndes County Freedom Organization had been nicknamed) for radical self-determination through the vote gave the Oakland-based Panthers both their name and their *raison d'être*.³⁷ FBI agents, in coordination with the U.S. Department of Justice, shadowed these developments while meticulously documenting Carmichael's numerous speeches at colleges and universities as part of a bulky "Prosecutive Summary"—complete with affidavits—that charged the SNCC chairman with sedition.³⁸

Stokely's threat to take over Washington "lock, stock, and barrel" through black political control over the nation's capital sent FBI agents, local authorities, and journalists scurrying. The *Wall Street Journal* dutifully warned Washington of Carmichael's imminent arrival, noting that the news had "the nation's capital . . . in a sweat."³⁹ Such fears proved to be unfounded.

By July, Carmichael was touring the world. His first stop was London, where he shared the dais with radical intellectuals such as Herbert Marcuse. Carmichael proclaimed that American cities would be "populated by peoples of the Third World" who were no longer willing to tolerate cultural degradation and institutional racism. Hailed as the "Mainspring of Black Power" in the London press, he spoke to British audiences of his childhood in Trinidad when it was still under British colonial rule. Draped in African robes, he addressed meetings in Notting Hill, Brixton, and Hackney, where he pondered the continued celebrity of the royal family and described Malcolm X as his "patron saint."⁴⁰ Carmichael's penchant for quoting Jean-Paul Sartre and Albert Camus made good copy for reporters, who alternately portrayed him as a diehard nationalist whose "colour is his country" and a dedicated civil rights activist who "has spent seven of his last eight birthdays in jail."⁴¹ In London, African and Caribbean militants received him as Malcolm X's youthful heir.

As Carmichael was tossing rhetorical Molotov cocktails from Cuba, American cities were beginning to burn. Sparked by an incident of police brutality, a riot broke out in Newark, New Jersey, during the second week of July, shortly before the start of a planned Black Power conference. In the midst of the upheaval, poet LeRoi Jones received a brutal beating that furthered his resolve to promote black rule in the city.⁴² Detroit erupted in an explosion that dwarfed Newark's, accelerating predictions by Black Power activists that an urban revolution was imminent. "It was as if," wrote reporter Louis Lomax, "God himself was on the side of the organized revolutionaries."⁴³ In the *Omaha World Herald*, Lomax penned a highly speculative account that traced the origins of the Detroit riot to a group of organized Black Power militants, at least one of whom had been on the scene in Newark. Lomax's chronicle characterized looters, police officers, and bystanders as pawns in a political exper-

³⁷ FBIKT, 100-446080-298, "Stokely Carmichael," June 7, 1967, 1-6.

³⁸ FBIKT, 100-446080-489, "Stokely Carmichael: Prosecutive Summary," August 12, 1967, 1-322.

³⁹ Joseph, *Waiting 'til the Midnight Hour*, 182.

⁴⁰ FBIKT, 100-446080 (no further serial), *The Observer Review*, July 23, 1967.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Joseph, *Waiting 'til the Midnight Hour*, 183-185.

⁴³ FBIKT, 100-446080-466, *Omaha World Herald*, August 6, 1967.

iment being orchestrated by urban revolutionaries.⁴⁴ The story exaggerated the ability of Black Power to organize urban insurrection but accurately reflected the mood of politicians, law enforcement, and a large segment of Americans who correlated riots with radicals.

Hubert Geroid Brown, nicknamed "Rap" for his cogent speaking style, quickly became the media's favorite scapegoat for the riots. With his earthy sense of humor, dark sunglasses, and penchant for outrageous sound bites, Brown projected the image of a revolutionary straight from central casting. As Carmichael toured the Third World, Brown electrified partisan audiences and frightened most Americans, threatening spectacular violence and delivering quotes, such as "Violence is as American as cherry pie," that would endure long after he faded from the political scene. Brown's rhetorical somersaults at times served as a distraction from the movement's more concrete efforts to organize poor people for bread-and-butter issues such as jobs, good schools, and tenant and welfare rights in favor of cathartic polemics. During Carmichael's absence from the domestic political scene, however, Brown provided a wide range of media with what quickly became the archetypal image of the Black Power militant.⁴⁵ In this sense, his celebrity popularized a specific style of radicalism that Branch invokes as a stand-in for the entire era.

A weekend excursion with Fidel Castro in July placed Carmichael in the private company of a revolutionary icon even as elected officials in the United States were openly calling for his arrest on charges of sedition.⁴⁶ Washington-based political reporters Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, whose syndicated column was required reading inside the Beltway, alleged that SNCC represented nothing less than "Fidel Castro's arm in the United States."⁴⁷ Breathless FBI reports seemed to confirm such suspicions, with confidential informants suggesting that Carmichael was learning insurrection techniques in Cuba that he planned to use upon his return to the States.⁴⁸ Carmichael held up Cuba's revolution as a daring experiment in freedom and outraged American officials by predicting a domestic race war complete with urban guerrillas. In addition to defying the government's embargo, he spent weeks in Havana attending the Organization for Latin American Solidarity Conference, where he was feted as the leader of the black revolution. By early August, the U.S. attorney general had seen enough; he contacted the FBI, "desperately trying to obtain speeches, radio and television tapes" of Carmichael's time in Havana.⁴⁹ With Carmichael's trip to Cuba, Black Power had become a global export. Newspapers and wire services in Paris, Algeria, Vienna, Warsaw, Hanoi, and Peking carried excerpts of his radical press statements. From Cuba, Carmichael would trek to a number of

⁴⁴ Ibid., Louis Lomax, "Detroit Proved a Fertile Field for Riot Seed," *Omaha World Herald*, August 5, 1967; and Lomax, "Agitators Used Twists of Fate, Human Weakness in Rioting," *Omaha World Herald*, August 6, 1967.

⁴⁵ Joseph, *Waiting 'til the Midnight Hour*, 181–183, 186, 188–190.

⁴⁶ FBIKT, 100-446080 (further serial not recorded), Memorandum, August 4, 1967.

⁴⁷ FBIKT, 100-446080-466, "Snick—Castro's Arm in U.S.," *Omaha World Herald*, August 6, 1967.

⁴⁸ FBIKT, 100-446080 (further serial not recorded), "Student Non Violent Coordinating Committee," August 4, 1967.

⁴⁹ FBIKT, 100-446080-498, Memorandum, "Stokely Carmichael, Sedition," Deke DeLoach to Clyde Tolson, August 7, 1967, 1.

other countries, including Vietnam, Algeria, Guinea, and Tanzania, as part of a life-altering tour around the world.⁵⁰

CARMICHAEL MOVED PERMANENTLY TO AFRICA in 1969, just as the Black Power movement he had helped unleash was gaining momentum, touching virtually every facet of American life (from education to the arts, prisons to organized athletics, and welfare rights activists to black elected officials) in a process that would transform U.S. democracy. Long after the verbal polemics of Carmichael and other Black Power icons subsided, the era's legacy remains in the enduring debates over race, violence, citizenship, and democracy that it sparked. Despite its Dickensian sprawl, *America in the King Years* fails to portray this vital era in all of its confounding and messy complexity.

At Canaan's Edge presents the civil rights movement in rich, vibrant Technicolor. It has unquestionably added nuance and complexity to the historical record that scholars would do well to recognize. At times, however, the brightness of this portrait obscures as much as it reveals. Civil rights and Black Power are consistently represented as dichotomous, separate movements rooted in sharply contrasting traditions. Branch portrays Black Power activists as drawn to a pantheon of international revolutionary heroes and the corresponding flights of fantasy, while civil rights workers form bonds to an earthier and more domesticated vision rooted in traditions of American democracy. The rich tapestry and interconnections between civil rights and Black Power are ignored, for the most part, in favor of a more conventional approach to the era that argues that Black Power's defiant call for robust political self-determination accelerated the decline of the 1960s by frightening white Americans, marginalizing black moderates, and inspiring racial reactionaries in politics that fueled a backlash that thwarted both the movement's short-term goals and its long-term prospects.

In fact, the high tide of Black Power came after 1968, touching multiple aspects of American life: from labor unions and the arts, to high schools, colleges, and universities, to local and national political elections. Civil rights activists drew consistent inspiration from global political upheavals, too, just as Black Power militants found unexpected (and too often unacknowledged) strength in American democracy. The movement's impact spanned local, regional, and national borders and beyond, galvanizing political activists in the Caribbean, Europe, Africa, Latin America, and much of the rest of the world. For scholars discussing Black Power, memory too often serves as a substitute for rigorous historical analysis.

Black Power offered new words, images, and political frameworks that impacted and influenced a wide spectrum of American and global society. The movement's breadth spanned continents and crossed oceans but indelibly shaped local struggles at the grassroots level in urban and rural communities across the nation. Before contemporary discussion of multiculturalism and diversity entered America's national lexicon, Black Power promoted new definitions of citizenship, identity, and democracy that, although racially specific, inspired a variety of multiracial groups in

⁵⁰ Carmichael with Thelwell, *Ready for Revolution*; Joseph, *Waiting 'til the Midnight Hour*.

their efforts to shape a new world. In locating the roots of Black Power radicalism among groups of activists who waged political wars in the long shadow of the civil rights movement, historians will not only improve contemporary understanding of postwar American history, but, perhaps more important, allow us to reframe conventional understanding of civil rights struggles and the way in which a broad range of black activists attempted to redefine American democracy.⁵¹

⁵¹ For examples, see Tyson, *Radio Free Dixie*; Woodard, *A Nation within a Nation*; Williams, *Black Politics/White Power*; Smethurst, *The Black Arts Movement*; Joseph, *Waiting 'til the Midnight Hour*; Rod Bush, *We Are Not What We Seem: Black Nationalism and Class Struggle in the American Century* (New York, 1999); Barbara Ransby, *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement: A Radical Democratic Vision* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2003); Singh, *Black Is a Country*; Rhonda Y. Williams, *The Politics of Public Housing: Black Women's Struggles against Urban Inequality* (New York, 2004); Williams, "Black Women, Urban Politics, and Engendering Black Power," in Joseph, *The Black Power Movement*, 79–103; Lance Hill, *The Deacons for Defense: Armed Resistance and the Civil Rights Movement* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2004); Countryman, *Up South*; Premilla Nadasen, *Welfare Warriors: The Welfare Rights Movement in the United States* (New York, 2005); Christina Greene, *Our Separate Ways: Women and the Black Freedom Movement in Durham, North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2005); Felicia Kornbluh, *The Battle for Welfare Rights: Politics and Poverty in Modern America* (Philadelphia, 2007); Annelise Orleck, *Storming Caesar's Palace: How Black Mothers Fought Their Own War on Poverty* (Boston, 2006); Simon Wendt, *The Spirit and the Shotgun: Armed Resistance and the Struggle for Civil Rights* (Gainesville, Fla., 2007); Brown, *Fighting for US*; Ogbar, *Black Power*; Christopher B. Strain, *Pure Fire: Self-Defense as Activism in the Civil Rights Era* (Athens, Ga., 2005); Jeanne F. Theoharis and Komozi Woodard, eds., *Freedom North: Black Freedom Struggles outside the South, 1940–1980* (New York, 2003); Theoharis and Woodard, eds., *Groundwork: Local Black Freedom Movements in America* (New York, 2005); Kent Germany, *New Orleans after the Promises: Poverty, Citizenship, and the Search for the Great Society* (Athens, Ga., 2007); Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, *Defying Dixie: The Radical Roots of Civil Rights, 1919–1950* (New York, 2008); Thomas J. Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty: The Forgotten Struggle for Civil Rights in the North* (New York, 2008); Susan Youngblood Ashmore, *Carry It On: The War on Poverty and the Civil Rights Movement in Alabama, 1964–1972* (Athens, Ga., 2008); Devin Fergus, *Liberalism, Black Power, and the Making of American Politics, 1965–1980* (Athens, Ga., 2009); Hasan Kwame Jeffries, *Bloody Lowndes: Civil Rights and Black Power in Alabama's Black Belt* (New York, 2009).

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Featured Reviews

JAMES A. BRUNDAGE. *The Medieval Origins of the Legal Profession: Canonists, Civilians, and Courts*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2008. Pp. xvii, 607. \$49.00.

CHARLES DONAHUE, JR. *Law, Marriage, and Society in the Later Middle Ages: Arguments about Marriage in Five Courts*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. xix, 672. \$140.00.

In the United States research and teaching in canon law history really began with the founding of the Institute of Medieval Canon Law in 1955. Its founder was Stephan Kuttner, and it moved with him from Catholic University of America to Yale, Berkeley, and, after Kuttner's death, to Munich in 1988. The institute inspired a generation of American scholars, including James A. Brundage and Charles Donahue, Jr. Their recent books are the result of forty years' work on a problem that intrigued each as he began the study of canon law. These books not only represent the culmination of two fruitful courses of research but, taken together, present contrasting approaches to the historical understanding of canon law.

One area of canon law that affected modern law is the medieval church's rules regarding marriage and sexual activity. Both Brundage and Donahue have ventured into this area. The former's *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (1987) is a fundamental study, widely cited and translated. His new book has nothing to do with the subject of marriage and sex; rather he pursues a career-long interest in canon law itself, most evident in his 1995 *Medieval Canon Law*. Donahue's work, in contrast, began with Pope Alexander III's (1159–1181) decisions privileging consent of the spouses as the basis for a valid marriage, to the seeming exclusion of parental or seigniorial consent or even a public ceremony. His curiosity began literally at Kuttner's feet, and it has taken the form of numerous research papers, culminating now in this study.

Neither Brundage nor Donahue writes short books. Brundage's substantial 607 pages pale in comparison to Donahue's 672, to which must be added 304 pages available on Cambridge University Press's website (discursive notes, indexes, tables, a listing of cases). Despite shifting the mountains of detail and historiographical

material into electronic form, Donahue's book is clearly aimed at legal scholars and historians. Use of terms such as "nonage" instead of "underage," "office" and "instance" instead of "inquisitorial" and "adversarial," among others, smacks of the sort of legalese that keeps too many of our colleagues from plunging into the mysteries of law.

Still, the effort required to grasp this rich work is handsomely rewarded. Donahue's is a monumental achievement. From records of five diocesan courts (York, Ely, Paris, Cambrai, and Brussels), which cover overlapping but not coterminous periods and offer substantially different sorts of information, Donahue presents a comparative analysis of the interests of litigants and the practices of courts. Frankly, only someone plunging into those same records will truly need that level of detail, but perseverance through all the trees rewards the reader with a sense of vast and intriguing forests. Donahue reads this disparate body of evidence to elicit the larger motives and interests of the parties to a suit. He also compiles tables to categorize litigants' arguments about marriage. It is because arguments were tendentious and the law complex that extrapolating from them to the larger societal level, Donahue says, resulted in a long book.

Donahue begins on the doctrinal level, relying heavily on Tancred of Bologna's *Summa de matrimonio* (ca. 1215) and the decretals in the *Liber extra* (1234). The basics seem simple: words of consent exchanged in the present tense constituted a marriage, however merely informal; words of future tense became marriage if intercourse followed; various "vices" of consent could prevent marriage and/or result in an annulment; a valid marriage, not in violation of an impediment, was indissoluble, although judicial separation on limited grounds was possible. The second chapter establishes

his reading of cases, using four from England, where witness testimony more often survives. A case such as *Dolling c Smith* (1271), in which a woman claimed with witnesses to have been married to a man who also produced witnesses to say he was elsewhere that day, raises the problem of that "someone was clearly lying" (p. 47). Witnesses knew what to say in terms of the law's requirements. Courts could be complicit with a litigant's needs in some cases, as evidence does not always seem sufficiently compelling to explain sentences.

Donahue's successive chapters proceed court by court. While that approach remains faithful to the integrity of the evidence, over literally hundreds of pages any sense of comparative significance is too often swamped in detail. Even the index, maddeningly, is affected, so that if one seeks to find entries on a particular matter such as "separation," one is directed to look under the headings of the five diocesan courts.

The materials from York (215 cases in all, 1300–1499, most 1380–1440) seem the richest, and Donahue dedicates three chapters to them—one for a statistical overview, the others to examine the "story patterns" of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries respectively. Over three-fourths of the cases concerned enforcement of a marriage, usually revolving around informally exchanged words of consent in present tense. Plaintiffs, mostly women, were usually successful in these suits (a bit less so in the fifteenth century), and Donahue concludes that "female litigants seem to have valued marriage qua marriage more than did male litigants" (p. 79). Women's stories were often those of being wronged by a man who had reneged on his vow. Additional story types present the woman wronging a man, parties backing out of a putative marriage on grounds of a previous contract of marriage, long-term relationships, and family-arranged marriages gone awry. Some of these involved three and four parties to a suit, and the complexities of these relationships are fascinating in their own right. The court seemed to resolve doubts in favor of marriages; separations were rarely sought or granted. In the fifteenth century the court "changed its attitude" (p. 152) to certain claims and was slightly less favorably inclined toward female plaintiffs.

Donahue finds the York court geared more toward dispute resolution than law enforcement (keeping cases in litigants' hands). He also determines that arranged marriages were less frequent than one would suspect. Perhaps more controversial, certainly counterfactual, is Donahue's inference from the frequent success of the woman-wronged claim that "the reason why it plays such an important role is that many times behavior that led to the woman being wronged in the litigated cases had a happy ending in cases that were not litigated" (p. 216).

Ely provides one notary's register of cases, 1374–1381. Donahue finds little here that he did not find at York. The Ely court seems to have been a bit more proactive, but here too plaintiffs seeking confirmation of a marriage, usually from an informal exchange of consent, were largely successful. For Ely

Donahue does not set up story types but instead compares the claims of female and male plaintiffs, in instance and office cases respectively.

Donahue crosses the Channel to Paris and sees a different picture (410 cases, 1384–1387). Suits to establish marriage turned much more often on words of future consent and subsequent conduct, not always sexual, and more than a quarter of cases were for separations. Some litigants seemed simply to want a court judgment that there had been no previous spousals (*sponsalia*), freeing them to contract with another. Women brought suits claiming a betrothal followed by intercourse; men admitted the sex but contested that their words constituted a contract. The court was willing to see spousals as an impediment to a later marriage, but it was also willing to set penalties and collect fines for double spousals, intercourse outside marriage, and more. In contrast to England, these seem to have been arranged marriages that hit a snag.

The courts of Cambrai and Brussels provide richer material. Sentence books (not full proceedings) survive for 1438–1453 (Cambrai) and 1448–1459 (Brussels). Women were plaintiffs in separation and divorce cases and in alleging that sex had cemented a future promise; men were more frequently plaintiffs where sex was not at issue. Like Paris, these courts were less friendly to plaintiffs. There were four judges in all, and Donahue often rests analysis on how each operated. In these courts he finds a "movement across time toward a greater criminalization of the process of matrimonial litigation" (p. 427). These courts were also proactive, pursuing claims brought in even if plaintiffs were not so aggressive. But then these courts set fines and thus had a material interest in ferreting out behavioral details and collecting from the partners. Donahue distinguishes these cases by whether they were two- or three-party proceedings and by whether they alleged subsequent sex or not. He notes that in some cases the couple may have ventured to bed in hopes of forcing the hands of parents.

In chapter ten he discusses divorce and separation cases from all five courts, in chapter eleven cases where incest was alleged as impediment to marriage. He never really gives a reason for this shift to topical treatment. One wonders why he did not use this approach throughout, as comparative and historiographical contexts are much clearer. There were limited grounds for separation, chiefly adultery, although the courts entertained arguments about cruelty and other reasons (e.g., leprosy). Brussels and Cambrai also decreed separation on a vague incompatibility (*morum discrepantia*). In some cases couples came to court with a prearranged separation of goods, and judges there "came perilously close to, perhaps going over the line of, granting separation sentences on the basis of consent" (p. 555).

The broadest distinction between the different jurisdictions was in the number of separation cases. Donahue concludes, "although it is possible that marriages were more stable in England than they were in the Franco-Belgian region, it seems more likely that

fewer separations appear on the English court records not because fewer marriages in England broke down but because fewer cases of marital breakdown came to court" (p. 559).

This he in turn attributes to different systems of marital property. In England, beyond the coverture by which the husband subsumed the legal personality of the wife, her goods remained separate. In continental northern Europe, in contrast, acquets were community property and the wife had dower and inheritance rights on her husband's holdings. As a result, in England couples could voluntarily separate without need of a court-ordered property separation, whereas in Cambrai or Brussels not only was separation of property needed but dissolution of community liabilities had to be made clear.

The legal historian Frederick William Maitland had opined that extensive incest prohibition made all medieval marriages inherently unstable, as a relationship could surface or be alleged even after decades. Georges Duby and Jack Goody later argued that there were distinct models of marriage, clerical and lay, and the church succeeded in weakening the lay model and the strong extensive families that rested on it. Donahue rejects this idea in face of what he sees as too little church influence in the formative period of marriage law. There was only one model of marriage in his estimation. As for Maitland, Michael Sheehan and Richard Helmholz have already demonstrated that there were in fact few court cases of incest, so medieval marriages were hardly so unstable. Donahue's more extensive evidence bears them out, while he also has to admit that incest by affinity, alleged at times with the connivance of corrupt witnesses, was intended to dissolve otherwise long-standing unions. He determines that "this is not to suggest that medieval marriages were as dissoluble as marriages are today, but simply that they were not *de facto* as indissoluble as they were *de jure*" (p. 565).

Not surprisingly, Donahue arrives not at one general conclusion but at a related set of findings. In general, Franco-Belgian courts, compared to the English, handled fewer marriage formation cases, proceeded less often by adversarial initiative, moved to enforce spousals even when not followed by sexual relations, were less willing to determine that a marriage existed, and more willing to dissolve ones that did. Against these contrasts Donahue finds points of similarity: on the one hand, a common trend over time to greater reluctance to enforce a putative marriage; on the other, a shared adherence to canonical marriage rules arising from common academic legal training.

Donahue denies that inheritance differences (impartible primogeniture in England, partible inheritance on the continent) can explain judicial differences, properly noting that inheritance rules were not fixed and inflexible. Instead he attributes them to a social distinction: "the English, with their separate ownership system of marital property, winner-take-all inheritance system, abundant evidence of do-it-yourself marriages, strict attitude toward judicial separation, but also apparent do-

it-yourself system of separation, were, for the Middle Ages, an unusually individualistic people. The Franco-Belgians, with their community property, shared inheritance system, carefully planned marriages, reluctance to hold that a marriage, particularly an informal marriage, existed, and system of judicial separation that brought more cases before the courts but judged them by broader standards, were more communitarian" (p. 609). Yet those same Franco-Belgian judges indulged in rhetorical excesses indicating fears that the marital system was out of control.

He does not speculate in terms of demographic and economic trends, except to explain the slightly decreased percentages of fifteenth-century English women seeking to confirm a marriage. Might it not have been that demographic growth would make marriage formation harder and less urgent in the fifteenth century, and conversely an earlier need and ease of marriage formation spurred cases and judgments in favor of marriage?

If Donahue proceeds as a lawyer, Brundage works in the intellectual and cultural mode of the continental legal historian. In his book we find no charts or tables, no regional comparisons. We find a chronological analysis of what legal experts were like and what they did. We get not a set of conclusions on varying levels but a consistent single thesis: "professional lawyers first emerged in the courts of the medieval church" (p. 3). The unevenness of Donahue's chapters (some undoubtedly written years apart from others, as documentary base and vocabulary changed) yields in Brundage's volume to a consistent focus and style. This is attributable in part to the fact that Brundage's sources (doctrinal commentaries and procedural guides) are also more consistent.

The first several chapters provide sparkling synopses of legal procedures and the roles of legal experts during the Roman Empire, the early Middle Ages, and the beginnings of the revival of Roman law in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which is ascribed to the powerful texts that drove it: a "recovery of the juristic learning embodied in Justinian's Digest came as a powerful, almost intoxicating revelation" (p. 77). Brundage's discussion of the other key text of the legal revival, Gratian's *Decretum*, is the best lucid summary of the highly technical paleographic and legal research one is likely to find.

Throughout Brundage seeks to determine what roles were available to legal experts, what status they enjoyed, and what sense of community they shared. The development of a system of canon law courts, which arose in the wake of the same Alexander III who set the legal table for Donahue's marriage cases, brought a more diverse and complex workload, such that by 1200 only the "foolhardy" dared to go before ecclesiastical courts without legal help (though Donahue's cases reveal that some did even centuries later). Yet Brundage insists that these experts were not yet professional. Although they knew and followed procedural rules and received compensation for their services, they were not products of a systematic course of study, nor were they

formally admitted to practice in a set of courts and sworn to uphold standards of conduct. This, says Brundage, came only in the course of the first decades of the thirteenth century. Brundage is not overtly polemical in asserting this dating. He references Susan Reynolds's contrary view in favor of the twelfth century only in an early footnote. But a whole school of thought, running back to Kuttner and his many studies of Gratian, would root the profession at an earlier point than Brundage does.

Although Roman law was a richer body of law in many ways, there was no single consistent set of courts associated with it, as there was in the church. Yet the vital development, the incorporation of universities, had at least as much, if not more, to do with Roman law than canon law. The very variety of medieval courts and governing bodies may have made more urgent for teachers, students, and those who would employ them that there be a consistent course of study of the sort that could span the miles between Bologna and Paris, Oxford and Cambridge, Naples and elsewhere.

But to Brundage the central development to professional status was ethical: "Aside from clergy men, lawyers in church courts seem to have been the first occupational group in Western Christendom to require adherence to a set of specific ethical guidelines as a condition of admission to practice" (p. 284). Only later did municipal courts in Italian cities or the common law courts in England devise parallel requirements. Courts established oaths for admission to practice, rules of deference and respect toward presiding judges, limitations on fees, conflict of interest rules.

Relying heavily on William Durandus's procedural manual, *Speculum iudiciale*, Brundage considers the different roles of lawyers, judges, and notaries. In each instance he displays a knack for making clear in a few pages what so many others could not in entire articles or books. His discussion of judges raises the problem of whether they needed to justify their sentences in terms of the evidence or the rules of law, and the interesting ethical requirement that they base their judgments on what was presented in court, not on their knowledge, even when they knew matters relevant to the case.

Chapter ten is a synoptic gem on how cases proceeded in general. "Lawsuits," Brundage concedes, "often seem to have been less about getting a judicial de-

cision than they were about arriving at some arrangement that both parties would find tolerable" (p. 446). While cases took too long, or so people complained, Brundage attributes that largely to the clients, as he claims lawyers at times moved to shorten litigation even against their own economic interest in its continuance. One suspects he lets them off too easily. Not that Brundage shies away from the problems of the profession. Wealth, power, and authority were their perks; in reverse lawyers "faced pervasive distrust, suspicion, and outright hostility" (p. 477). The chorus of complaints Brundage acknowledges suggests that far from all lawyers honored their ethical pledges or were effective professionals.

Pope Clement V's devising of a summary procedure in 1306 only slightly alleviated the situation. There is one procedural feature conspicuously absent from Brundage's account, namely the court-driven inquisitorial procedure so prominent in Donahue's account of marriage litigation on the continent. In the late thirteenth century, inquisitorial procedure was taking form and moving beyond church courts into Italian municipal fora, as Massimo Vallerani has shown.

Brundage numbers the legal profession (along with universities, the papacy, the corporation, and constitutional government) among the enduring legacies of Europe's Middle Ages. The case gets a little less clear were one to look at specific lawyers (or popes, governments, or, nowadays, corporations). If Donahue gives us so many trees it is at times hard to see a forest, Brundage gives us a forest with little arboral differentiation. He also quits his account largely around 1300. One wonders what would result had he followed specific lawyers into the later centuries where survival of evidence dictates Donahue necessarily must concentrate his efforts.

To someone coming fresh to medieval canon law, Brundage's is one of the first books to confront. It is readable, at times colorful, informative, and sound. Donahue's book will be a reference work, but it is to be hoped that some of Brundage's readers will go on to pursue lines of research like Donahue's—specific cases on a related area of law from discrete places, if perhaps with more emphasis on the legal rather than geographical.

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TRISH LOUGHRAN. *The Republic in Print: Print Culture in the Age of U.S. Nation Building, 1770–1870*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2007. Pp. xxv, 537. \$45.00.

Ambitious, bold, and wonderfully imaginative, Trish Loughran's new book compels us to rethink the role of print culture in the formation of the United States and, more broadly, to consider anew the material foundations upon which a nation is built. Loughran unravels key narratives that have guided American collective

memory. Americans regard the validity and generative might of their country's foundational documents with the certainty of civil religion. The cradle of the republic was lined with printed texts, books, pamphlets, and broadsheets that sprang from a lively, participatory, and inclusive culture of print. Print, the author declares, is

"American nationalism's preferred techno-mythology" (p. 3).

Today this patriotic organizing myth of textual origin receives somewhat unlikely support from cultural theory's own preoccupation with print. One source is Benedict Anderson's now ubiquitous concept of "imagined communities," which links nationalism with a centrifugal "print capitalism" and a novel spatial/temporal consciousness emanating from mundane reading practices. Equally influential is Jürgen Habermas's idealization of the late eighteenth-century (bourgeois) "public sphere," with its critical, democratizing exchange. Then came Michael Warner's *The Republic of Letters: Publication and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century America* (1990), leaving an indelible stamp on early American studies. It portrayed a dominant "republican print ideology" whose power of abstraction emancipated anonymously published texts from the constraints of particular bodies and specific locales, dispatching discourse to float freely throughout an expansive public arena.

This book, by contrast, documents the substantial gap between the ideology and actuality of print during the founding era. It convincingly demonstrates there was, at the time, neither a consolidated national sphere nor a thriving, institutionalized print culture; instead, a hopelessly disjointed, geographically scattered and isolated plurality of audiences existed. Public exchange retained a strong oral, face-to-face dimension, and anonymous publications often could not cloak authorial identities. Although rooted in the rhetoric of the period, the view of an integrated public conversation massively populated by avid readers of seminal texts is largely a post-industrial fiction whose purpose is to grant legitimacy to the founding compacts of America as though they manifested the genius of the people rather than the political desires and the authorial ingenuity of the few.

The extended though nonintegrated "virtual" nation proved less potent and less available as a mode of attachment than locales, states, and regions. Statesmen, authors, and artists did project fantasies of a homogeneous national zone but these were future-oriented, divorced from the reality of daily life. Print was locally produced and consumed. Even documents famous for supposedly having accomplished almost spontaneous, wildfire dissemination—such as Tom Paine's *Common Sense* and the *Federalist Papers*—never received more than partial, at times haphazard circulation. Paradoxically, the success of both the American Revolution and the ratification of the Constitution, Loughran provocates, was not jeopardized by, but was rather predicated upon, the fragmentation of early American public arenas; otherwise, national—and nationalizing—schemes would have been more successfully resisted. The late 1780s federalist campaign in particular capitalized on the absence of a truly unified public debate to manufacture consent.

Only decades later, in the antebellum period, did fully networked material and cultural infrastructures

take shape, spawning webs of railroads, canals, bridges, post offices, steamships, and, importantly, steam-powered printers. Alas, the continent-wide circulation of printed matter and the collateral effect of "simultaneity" across space, which Anderson identified as the scaffolding of nationalism, failed to generate solidarity among Americans. To the contrary, simultaneity and national familiarity bred contempt, fueled the strife over slavery, and fostered sectional loyalties, culminating with the great conflagration of the Civil War. The founders' vision of a union was realized as a nightmare.

Whereas the main thrust of theorizing nations has targeted the workings of the imagination, Loughran is seeking to ground the (American) nation in the tangible reality of the physical world and the machinery of markets and institutions. One familiar theme is the creation of centralized systems of governance and circuits of communication and transportation, but more innovative aspects of her analysis address the everyday history of "bodies and things" (p. 305) and the negotiation of space at the crux of the ongoing labor nation-building requires. Ordering national space was never so momentous as in the framing of federalism to conceive the American geopolitical, to forge relations between the republic and its disjointed parts and among diverse sites, dispersed populations, and different political or administrative units. The Constitution's partisans refined a delicately balanced spatial arrangement, shrewdly exploiting geographical dislocations and endemic postcolonial fears about metropolitan control and tyranny. Thus, unbridgeable (from an eighteenth-century perspective) distance from the nation's capital vouched for the independence of the states and individual citizens but, conversely, also guaranteed that emerging federal elites would be removed from the close scrutiny of the now mistrusted common people. The Constitution thus presented a "spatial fix," a term Loughran borrows from geographer David Harvey: advancing a geographical configuration to address social and political challenges.

Spatial analysis refocuses the discussion back on print. Printed documents shaped the nation's architecture, both discursively and materially, as "things." Their reproducibility and transportability invest books with the capacity of shrinking or segmenting space. Much like print products, federalism operates as a technology or system of representation that mitigates presence and absence, communication and disarticulation. It arrived on the American scene during a multivalent crisis of representation that touched upon information and culture as well as lingering tensions between direct political participation and representative government.

Combining cultural theory with historical analysis and literary criticism, Loughran plots a dialectic between the late eighteenth-century founding moments and the mid-nineteenth-century dissolution. Discussions travel through a range of cultural artifacts from Christopher Colles's *Survey of the Roads of the United States of America* (1789) and John Trumbull's painting

the *Declaration of Independence* (1786–1820) to Solomon Northup's *Twelve Years a Slave* (1853). The first part of Loughran's book focuses on the compacts of 1776 and 1787–1788. Following an introduction, chapter two provides a spirited, myth-debunking analysis of the material history of Paine's *Common Sense*, including its contentious composition, dispersed scenes of production, and the author's precarious position as a visibly lower-class outsider. The pamphlet's circulation, the author computes, could not have exceeded 75,000 copies—though impressive, this number is much smaller than previously held. It was reprinted in thirteen towns in just six of the colonies. Chapter three charts the movement of print objects, especially the *Federalist Papers*, and bodies during the ratification of the Constitution. Even more than Paine's, Publius's publishing career constitutes a counter-example to the model of the disembodied author and the abstract public sphere. The *Federalist* essays were generated for, and largely confined to, a particular New York crowd and left only a modest trace in print elsewhere. Republican print ideology, she contends, was merely one discourse in a complex landscape where competing ideologies struggled for territorial conquests.

The second part of the book examines the spatial conditions under which early federalism achieved hegemony. Chapter four interrogates the shift from revolutionary-era veneration of the local (and promises of political participation and “actual representation”) to the federalist prescription of displaced governance. Highlighting the predominance of place in forging American identities, Loughran turns to Royall Tyler's *The Contrast: A Comedy in Five Acts* (1787). The play—often heralded as America's first comedy—has been viewed as pitting indigenous against British characters and is therefore emblematic of early nationalism. But, Loughran observes, *The Contrast*, in effect, thrives on inter-regional tension, juxtaposing New England and New York archetypes. Yet it is also a vehicle for a neo-federalist “fantasy of national homogeneity” (p. 194), anticipating that each American locality would eventually mirror the next in its class and gender divisions. Chapter five describes what Loughran terms “metro-building,” the tiered scales of governance and knowledge federalism sought to sustain around a capital designed as an intellectual center from which new federal subjects would master a privileged translocal vantage point. Her chief literary case is William Hill Brown's *The Power of Sympathy, or, The Triumph of Nature Founded on Truth* (1789). Moving through different geographical sites and scalar disparities, the novel (another American first) expresses strong anti-federalist fears but then promotes the federalist precept that mediation and distance, rather than local knowledge, facilitate proper judgment.

The third part of the book leaps to the antebellum struggles over slavery. In chapter six, Loughran follows the shift from gradual to immediate abolitionism, which she fashions as a “geographical critique” of “federalism's spatial legacy” (p. 306). The chapter pays partic-

ular attention to the American Anti-Slavery Society's (AASS) innovative 1830s campaigns that relied heavily on mass dissemination of print. With AASS centralized bureaucracy and national scope, abolition became a federalist project or federalism's “most canny, if unrecognized, antebellum other” (p. 310). In chapter seven, the story of virtual nationalism reaches its denouement when the once-truncated union “consolidated onto one tautological, self-same and (as it turns out) intolerable thing: a nation” (p. 366). The depiction of life below the Mason-Dixon Line in Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) enjoyed the almost universal dispersion *Common Sense* had failed to achieve, but, as William Wells Brown's *Clotel, or the President's Daughter* (1853) revealed, “the stakes of American identity were already less rooted in geography than in the mobile bodies of individual persons” (p. 423). Like books, runaway slaves constituted border-dissolving, speaking “objects.” The Fugitive Slave Law (1850) pioneered a new intimacy between the federal state and individuals, work that began with early federalism and would later be completed with the postwar constitutional amendments that codified the citizen as “an embodied individual, a raced and a reachable subject” (p. 441).

Some historians might not appreciate the protocols of literary criticism Loughran follows or the episodic coverage of a vast temporal arc, which leaves much historical terrain unaccounted for. Nevertheless, this book furnishes, in my view, an excellent argument for an interdisciplinary engagement that blends literary studies and political history, most compellingly through the book's approach to the politics of representation and the homologies or continuities it detects among federalism, print, and the literary production of space. As important, Loughran offers an invaluable contribution in properly historicizing the “public sphere,” a category often overburdened by normative evaluations, and in loosening the grip the too indiscriminately applied concept of “imagined communities” has had on the study of nationalism.

Her own formulation fuses the nation with the state, whose ominous capacities have unsettled generations from the Anti-Federalists to Foucault. As for nationalism, however, Loughran often reverts to Anderson's conception of an all-inclusive, rather egalitarian, and fundamentally benign phenomenon—as well as to his presuppositions about (cultural) infrastructure. Thus, the absence of simultaneity in the early republic leaves room, in her analysis, for only “rhetorical” or “virtual” nationalism. In fact, the book suggests that nationalism might not have been a feature of mid-nineteenth-century America either—regardless of consolidation. Is it, therefore, that simultaneity is (simply) a necessary rather than a sufficient condition of nationalism? Alternatively, could it be that the infrastructure of print and communication Loughran meticulously describes is not the prime engine of nationalism? After all, as partial and tentative as early republic interregional solidarity was, it was still successful in diverse ways. Perhaps conditions of disarticulation and unknowing might

be, at times, productive of an expansive (deterritorializable) sense of camaraderie. One way or another, the relationships among the nation and the state, material infrastructure and affect, and especially the public sphere (a space ostensibly organized for disagreements) and nationalism remain elusive.

Moreover, despite its theoretical reach, this book's analysis is confined to U.S. history. Several key transformations it explores, such as the rise of the modern biopolitics-practicing state, arguably took place transnationally and should not be read exclusively into the contingencies of the American past. The book tends to

reaffirm the iconic status of already iconic American texts. It perpetuates the myth of the Constitution as the ultimate progenitor of the American experience or, as Loughran puts it, "America's master-text" (p. 293). None of these criticisms, however, detract from Loughran's superb achievement. This book is inventively dialectical, unfailingly provocative, and consistently interesting. It formulates its myriad insights with an unusually rich, incisive, and occasionally playful language that is delightful to read.

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RICHARD PRICE. *Making Empire: Colonial Encounters and the Creation of Imperial Rule in Nineteenth-Century Africa*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. xxix, 371. Cloth \$99.00, paper \$36.99.

Richard Price's book attempts to bridge colonial and imperial history. It is attentive to the minutiae, the daily interactions between people, as well as to political and intellectual history unfolding transnationally. Growing up with the presence of a waning British Empire, and with the great fortune of training with one of the founding members of the Subaltern School of Indian history, Price has long had an eye for South Africa and for drawing unexpected connections across broad expanses of time and space. Throughout this book, Price offers evidence and insights that connect South Africa to India, Australia, New Zealand, and, of course, Great Britain. He reminds us just how important South Africa was, particularly in the first half of the nineteenth century, long before diamonds, gold, and the British Empire's greatest colonial war.

South Africa once occupied a central place in British imperial history. The South African or Anglo-Boer War of 1899–1902 led J. A. Hobson to write his famous *Imperialism: A Study* (1902), which influenced public opinion and generations of historians. The very same conflict informed a dramatically different theory of imperialism, one that stressed the "man on the spot" instead of the relentless expansion of capital or the dictates of narrow metropolitan interests. Along with the Egyptian crisis in the late 1870s and early 1880s, the late nineteenth-century struggle of Boer and Briton offered Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher important evidence supporting their "peripheral" theory of imperialism in *Africa and the Victorians: The Official Mind of Imperialism* (1961).

Then something quite peculiar happened. Imperial history fell out of favor, done in largely by decolonization, nationalist critiques, and the nearly global belief in the inevitability of the nation-state. Frederick Cooper recently observed that "the study of colonial empires had by the 1970s become one of the deadest of dead fields" (*Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* [2005], p. 13). In South Africa, the death

was not very pretty. Those writing about empire, specifically administration and what some historians had termed the "imperial mind," ran the risk of being accused of elitism, liberalism, and even white supremacy. Social historical writing, beginning in the 1980s and gaining momentum up to the collapse of apartheid in 1994 (after which historical writing in South Africa began a precipitous descent), was interested in recuperating an African past, not in detailing the history of proconsuls. History turned inward, away from empire and toward a reconstruction of African encounters with capital and the state.

When a resurgent and effervescent new history of empire came around, inspired by work such as Edward W. Said's *Orientalism* (1978) and more generally by the cultural turn in the humanities and interpretative social sciences, South Africa no longer had quite the cachet it once had. Historians of South Africa helped marginalize themselves by their own imagined exceptionalism. There were important exceptions. In general, however, South Asia, and particularly India, now largely dominates the new history of the British Empire, so much so that at times India comes to stand for the British Empire, not to mention other colonial societies, *in toto*.

These peculiarities say something about how fields come and go, how approaches attain authority within the academy, the organization of graduate education, and the powerful occlusions that take place in the production of historical knowledge. Today it makes little sense to supervise doctoral dissertations in, say, the history of the colonial Punjab or Tanganyika without also training students in transnational history. Yet the nation-state and the rise of area studies helped segregate historical research and writing. The past may have been far more cosmopolitan than the way historians organize their research and writing.

Price's book focuses on the Eastern Cape frontier in the first half of the nineteenth century, specifically on the encounters between the British and the Xhosa-

speaking peoples and the process by which they came under colonial rule. Today the Eastern Cape is one of the poorest areas of the country, in most respects something of a backwater. In the first half of the nineteenth century the region offered not much more than some largely inferior wool for British looms.

The region, however, was the source of near-constant headaches for the metropolitan government and for colonial officials based in Cape Town, some four hundred miles away. It is hard to exaggerate just how colorful the Eastern Cape was in this period: it was home to wars, millenarian movements, and more mission stations than perhaps any other part of Africa, not to mention a bewildering array of colorful, and very often seriously eccentric, characters. The Eastern Cape loomed large in the imperial mind as people debated topics such as progress, civilization, race and culture, and the very nature of rule and empire. Yet the centrality of the region's history is in inverse proportion to its position within the historiography of the British Empire, which, as Price makes very clear, is filled with silences. A major goal of his study is to redress the imbalance.

This is a long, well researched, and very detailed book. Two arguments, however, come through clearly. First, according to Price, Britain's African empire began in the Eastern Cape. The Xhosa were, after all, "*the first African people whom the British had to decide how to rule*" (p. 3; italics in the original). In this region, particularly between about 1834 and 1860, Price has found "the origins of Britain's African empire" (p. 192). Thus the policies of indirect rule began here, well over a half century before Sir Frederick (Lord) Lugard wrote *The Dual Mandate in Tropical Africa* (1922) based on his experiences in northern Nigeria. Moreover, the imperial mind, which Price hopes to "enter" through the telling of "stories," was formatively shaped on what appears today as a distant and largely inconsequential colonial frontier.

At one level the point seems indisputable, a simple issue of chronology, though one wonders if the search for origins is not somewhat quixotic and, moreover, in tension with an approach to imperial history that is symphonic and transnational. Price is correct that in the Eastern Cape the British were for the first time confronted with how to rule a substantial African population. However, to sustain the argument that Britain's African empire can be traced directly back to the Eastern Cape Price would have had to write a different book, one that followed the formulation and migration of policies over a broad expanse of space and time and which offered something of a genealogy of imperial thought and practice. The work in question does not attempt this history. It is, in the end, resolutely focused on the Eastern Cape and on the colonial encounter.

And thus it focuses on issues of culture, and the second argument. Price claims that the imperial mind changed over the course of the first half of the century from one that was capacious and tolerant to one that was capricious and avowedly imperialist. To get to the problem of culture, to what we might describe as the

interior construction of a colonial order, Price divides his book roughly into two parts. In the first half, Price minutely reconstructs the missionary encounter. He begins with dramatic boilerplate: "early missionaries . . . encountered a world that was harsh and alien" (p. 16). Missionaries arrived optimistic that Africans would readily convert to evangelical Christianity. This optimism initially supported what Price details as a keen interest in African society and culture. Documents from the first three or four decades of the nineteenth century contain exceptionally rich information, but while there is more material available in the later period, it offers far less information and insight. Later on missionaries had more information but seemed to know less. Their minds had, in short, closed.

This paradox is at the center of Price's narrative. Missionaries found themselves out-argued and outmaneuvered by the very people who were supposed to be docile and receptive to Christian teaching. Missionaries saved remarkably few heathen souls. "The tipping point," Price argues, came in the late 1840s, when the evangelical revival withered, missionaries grew pessimistic, and a racial discourse gained prominence within the Cape's emerging colonial culture (p. 127).

Missionaries had hoped to conduct their work free of secular authority. Almost from the beginning, however, this proved illusory. Price shows that the "closing of the missionary mind" occurred largely hand-in-hand with missionaries taking up administrative positions and, more ominously, with a general sentiment in favor of a coercive colonial state. And so the narrative leaves the missionaries behind and focuses instead on the problem of rule. The second half of the book largely mirrors the first. There is an early period of encounter by which Briton and African struggled to learn something of each other. Considerable confusion marked the era through the outbreak of war in 1834. What was the nature of Xhosa sovereignty, particularly the nature of chiefly power? How was it possible to extend influence in the absence of outright conquest? As with the missionaries, Price argues for the ability of chiefs to effectively argue their positions, often to the enormous frustration of British officials.

Rule required information. One of the most important contributions Price makes is to offer what amounts to a social history of the way information came to be produced and organized. Price shows that information emerged out of the hurly-burly process of encounter. It was not simply a process of imposition or some sort of mechanical process of state formation. Information had multiple origins, the history of its formation and regularization filled with paradox and unexpected twists and turns. Because of this, and again largely paralleling his discussion of the missionaries and their discontents, Price argues for the centrality of particular personalities, and for the importance of personal rule up through the early 1850s and the arrival of the visionary, and utterly egotistical, Sir George Grey.

By this time an earlier idea of chiefs as intermediaries

and as central players in the making of a colonial order had collapsed. Chiefs now became the central impediment. Xhosa society needed to be destroyed to be redeemed, the very opposite of indirect rule. It followed that empire, and its dark underbelly of violence, massacres, and starvation as colonial policy, might liberate Africans from themselves. So Price ends with disillusionment, with the triumph of racial intolerance, and with the destruction of Xhosa society.

This story has been told elsewhere, sometimes in considerable detail. Where this book shines is in demonstrating the intricate formation of colonial knowledge and the role of the colonized in its creation. In other respects, however, it disappoints. It is derivative, over-written, and unlikely to appeal to a broad audience. Fo-

cusing exclusively on the Xhosa, Price does not attend to issues of slavery, peonage, and abolition and its perceived failure in shaping colonial attitudes. There is very little discussion of settler pressure on the colonial administration. The story of early optimism and tolerance fading toward cynicism and racism seems fair enough, though certainly nothing new. However, it is perhaps well to recall that following the incorporation of conquered areas into the Cape Colony, propertied and male black South Africans had the vote. The erosion of the non-racial franchise and the triumph of white supremacy would come much later, after the British had left Africa's southern tip.

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MARNIA LAZREG. *Torture and the Twilight of Empire: From Algiers to Baghdad*. (Human Rights and Crimes against Humanity.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 335. \$29.95.

This book is very difficult to read, and not always for reasons the author might have intended. The significance of the subject can hardly be in doubt. Nor can the proposition that Algeria's experiences, both during the country's war of independence and more recently in the crisis of the 1990s, are eminently relevant to recent debates spawned by the "war on terror" both in the United States and globally. Marnia Lazreg's purpose is "to provoke . . . a reflection on the link between the state-sponsored human degradation that took place in Algeria in the mid-1950s under the guise of 'pacification' and the wanton abuse of prisoners at, among other places, Abu Ghraib . . . Guantánamo Bay, Afghanistan, and in the countries to which torture is outsourced" (p. 10). This book, then, might have been expected to provide a significant intervention from the perspective of an informed, comparative historical sociology into a debate that has, in the main, been singularly lacking in historical lucidity. When, during the earlier stages of the unravelling of the occupation of Iraq, the Pentagon famously screened Gillo Pontecorvo's 1965 film *The Battle of Algiers*, one was hard put to decipher what message the military thought they were deriving from this earlier episode of Middle Eastern insurgency. One might have hoped that Lazreg's work would provide a much-needed, clear and convincing exposition of the lessons of history "from Algiers to Baghdad." Such, regrettably, is not the case.

The book's principal aim, reflected in the title, is to take "torture as an analytical category and practice (that is, a conscious and rule-bound activity) through which to understand how, between 1954 and 1962, the militarized colonial state normalized terror to forestall the collapse of the empire in an age of decolonization" (p. 3). Through showing how, far from being an "epiphenomenon" of spontaneous wartime "excesses," tor-

ture "was intimately linked to colonial history and to the nature of the colonial state" (p. 3), particularly through its centrality to a wider apparatus of state terror, Lazreg also seeks to delineate the logic of "the re-emergence of torture as a tool of state terror in postindependence Algeria and the United States in Iraq and Guantanamo Bay" (p. 9).

This larger thesis, however, is never compellingly demonstrated. We are instead presented with a series of reflections on "torture's layered meanings" (p. 3) during the Algerian revolution, bookended by brief statements on the relevance of this history to the contemporary situation, first in the introduction, then in a final chapter that devotes four pages to the persistence of torture in independent Algeria, and ten to the "war on terror" and Iraq, most of which concerns the legal acrobatics of Bush White House advisors John Yoo and Alberto Gonzalez. The penultimate chapter ("Moralizing Torture") also addresses contemporary North American ethico-legal discussions, notably those of Michael Walzer, Jean Bethke Elshtain, and Michael Ignatieff, but does so by engaging their arguments in a polemical ethical and logical debate that distracts, in this context, from the properly historical ground on which a more satisfactory examination and refutation of such theorizing might have been founded.

The greater part of the book offers a thematic examination of torture as state terror in late colonial Algeria, and it is perhaps regrettable that the author (or the press) opted to frame such a study, which would have been sufficiently important and relevant in its own right, with the misleading "Algiers to Baghdad" label, upon which it fails to deliver. The argument about the counterinsurgency war in Algeria, France's "twilight of empire," is laid out over the book's first nine chapters, organized into three parts. Part one, "Imperial Politics

and Torture," traces the theoretical and practical framework on which the French army in Algeria constructed a routinized apparatus of extralegal violence—"a terror matrix with torture at its core" (p. 60)—from the premises of (counter) "revolutionary war" theory, through the "militarization of the colonial state," to psychological warfare and "pacification" as total war. Part two proposes an "Ethnography of Torture," examining the experiences of torturer and victim, with special attention to sexualized relations of power, masculinity, rape, and the experiences of women. Part three, "Ideology of Torture," shifts the focus, considering the practice of and reactions to torture and anti-subversive war generally as "channels through which imperial identity either crystallized or became destabilized" (p. 189). These three chapters seek, first, to discern the logics of justification or refusal of torture through which French soldiers managed a "refashioning of the self"; second, to examine the place of the Christian (in fact, the Catholic) Church relative to the war; and third, to examine the war as "a watershed for French intellectuals," with a focus on the divergent perspectives of Frantz Fanon, Jean-Paul Sartre, and Albert Camus.

Despite the variety of texts adduced and the theoretical arsenal deployed to scrutinize them, however, these chapters, too, ultimately fail to convince. Occasionally the facts are simply wrong: Djamilia Boupacha was arrested in 1960, not 1957 (p. 159), and rather than there having been a "resocialization of the police" by the military (p. 46), police brutality and torture were systematic in Algeria at least from 1945; torture was taught to the army at least in some cases by the police. The textual rather than institutional slant of part one, and the limited use of archives, perhaps gives too much importance to counterinsurgency doctrine and the "militarization of the colonial state" when other dynamics—late colonial developmentalism, political reform, perpetual crisis management, a convergence of civil-bureaucratic and military *étatisms*—might explain more. In any case, however, the author does not propose a political or institutional history but a series of sometimes fragile illustrative vignettes upon which a massive interpretive analysis is brought to bear, sometimes more than the evidence can sustain.

The evidence itself is drawn mainly from existing studies or published primary sources, with, despite the endnotes, relatively little sustained examination of the archives and, despite the frequent references to Algerians' agency and testimony, only a single interview with an Algerian victim of torture (Louissette Ighilahriz). It is disappointing to note that while the author substantially relies on French scholars' or journalists' work, there is little sense of recognition that her book participates in a scholarly enterprise along with such colleagues, whom Lazreg characterizes as historians "from a former colonial power" (p. 270, n. 6). This is unfair treatment especially when applied to scholars like Sylvie Thénault, whose work has in fact been instrumental in advancing progressive and critical discussion of Al-

gerian history in France, often against significant opposition. *Le Monde* writer Florence Beaugé's work is adduced several times before she is castigated for an "orgiastic" treatment of the question of rape (p. 160), and she is then misnamed as "Françoise" two pages later. Jean-Pierre Vittori's collection of testimonies is repeatedly mined for torturers' confessions but referred to in the text only as "a book that the French government initially banned" by "a journalist-historian" (p. 120). Lazreg attaches a pseudonym of her own devising to Vittori's interviewee. This is at best ungracious. And despite being unusually well-placed to conduct serious research on the long-term effects and memories of torture within Algerian society, Lazreg adduces little in the way of oral history; she assumes, instead, that whole categories of witnesses as important as Algerian rural women *en bloc*, "being generally illiterate . . . have inevitably remained silent on their painful war experiences" (p. 152). This is at best unimaginative, at worst condescending, and in any case not true.

Once assembled, the sources are strung together in an often impressionistic, intuitive reading that can be insightful but is often overwrought and insufficiently compelling. The argument throughout is episodic and epigrammatic rather than sustained and coherent. Occasionally the epigrams are striking, if debateable—"At the heart of torture is its denial" (p. 117)—but more usually the acerbic, ironic tone that runs through the book alternates with speculative flights of interpretive imagination that are not only unwarranted by the sources adduced in particular cases but actively weaken the whole. For example, the use of the originally feudal phrase "*corvée de bois*" ("firewood detail"), in Algeria a euphemism for summary execution, is surmised to indicate an "embedding [of] torture in medieval France" that "succeeds in estranging the torturer-executioner from his act" (p. 115) through a temporal "estrangement" by which a "salutary psychological distance is created between torturer-executioner and torture-execution enabling a sort of historical alter ego to nudge the existential self to the sidelines at the moment when torture or murder is committed." This might be an interesting hypothesis in historical psychology, but its explanatory force is not demonstrated here, and perhaps is not demonstrable at all.

It is hard, in fact, to avoid feeling throughout the book that psychological hypothesizing stands in too often for historical demonstration. Perhaps the most notable instance is the repeated assertion of the efficacy of torture as a tool of "mind alteration for the purpose of securing loyalty to colonial rule" (p. 61) and the mooted "creation of new men" (pp. 72–76), through which, for example, Algerian auxiliaries of the French army (*harkis*) are supposed to be products of "psychological indoctrination" (p. 120). In the particular case of *harkis*, Lazreg adduces no evidence for this argument beyond two published testimonies that give no indication of the "success" of such "reconditioning," and most of what we know about the several tens of thousands of

Algerians recruited or coerced into French service—often along local, familial, or community lines—suggests quite different, and much more banal, logics at work (security, pay, obedience to a local notable, etc.). More generally, relying on Gustave le Bon and Serge Chakotin, and reading them through the French corpus of “revolutionary war” theory developed from the Vietnamese context, Lazreg ironically attributes too unquestioned a power to the “brainwashing” effects of torture and psychological warfare. For all the Cold War propaganda about mental conditioning, especially as supposedly practiced under communism, there is, to this reader’s knowledge, little evidence that it was ever more than a fantasy. As early as 1957, a U.S. Air Force report on personnel captured and subjected to indoctrination techniques in Korea concluded that the much-feared “mental reprogramming” generally did not work. The question perhaps merits investigation, but we are given no real discussion of it. Some of the categories used to construct this “psycho-history” are also telling oversimplifications: resettlement camps are unable to suppress the “awakening [of] a latent national consciousness” (p. 59), and despite her justified exco-riation of homogenizing colonial categories like “native mentality,” the author nonetheless relies on such equally indefensible notions as “the male imaginary” (p. 124), “the French collective psyche” (p. 113), and “the French colonial mind” (p. 151). In places, such as pages 133–134, where Blaise Pascal’s idea of worship enabling faith is made the ground of torture’s role as “political redemption,” and the “French lore of the

werewolf” is adduced to explain the dehumanization/re-humanization of the tortured, or on page 162, where we are told that “inchoate subterranean desire suffuses the torture situation, investing it with a psychologically destabilizing meaning,” the analysis is closer to Roland Barthes’s *Mythologies* (1957) than to historical sociology.

What is most surprisingly absent here is any consistently convincing case for what “torture” in fact was in this particular historical case, and what it might more generally be taken to be. Torture is variously “a ritual . . . a rite of passage” (p. 133), a “weapon for fighting native culture” (p. 123), a “tool of resocialization” (pp. 123, 160), and “the source of social integration that melded the political and the military” (p. 121); its aim ranges from the ostensibly primary one, accepted as such by the author, of information-gathering, through “rallying” colonial subjects to the colonial state (p. 139) and “mind alteration” (p. 61), to the sheer exercise of violence for its own sake. Despite the graphic passages, especially on the sexualized dimensions of torture, there is little discussion of the *spectacle* of imperial violence, its role as an assertion of absolutely unaccountable power—or its expression, in the end, of the last desperate extremity of the *limits* of that power, its marking of the “twilight” of imperial rule, in Algiers or Baghdad.

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Reviews of Books

METHODS/THEORY

DAVID ELTIS and DAVID RICHARDSON, editors. *Extending the Frontiers: Essays on the New Transatlantic Slave Trade Database*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2008. Pp. xiii, 377. \$90.00.

Since the 1960s, a handful of historians have dedicated themselves to collecting numerical data about shipments of enslaved Africans across the ocean, compiling ever-larger datasets, and using increasingly sophisticated technologies to isolate variables. These efforts bore incredible bounty in 2000, when David Eltis, Stephen D. Behrendt, David Richardson, and Herbert S. Klein published *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-ROM*—a dataset of 27,233 voyages. In subsequent years, the team obtained new grants and drafted new researchers. What resulted was the launch in December 2008 of the internet-based *Voyages: The Transatlantic Slave Trade Database* (TSTD2). This remarkable website documents about 35,000 Atlantic slave ship crossings. In twelve essays, the volume under review draws conclusions from data generated from the TSTD2 and demonstrates its promise for historians conducting research on Atlantic slavery and slave trading.

Eltis and Richardson's essay begins the volume. In it, they explore the history of the slave trade database projects and detail the historiographical significance of the new dataset. Its size is staggering. It imputes information about more than ten million slaves who were embarked in African ports from the early sixteenth through the late nineteenth centuries. Data is also available about flags under which slave ships sailed, size of slave ship crews, captains' names, ship owners' names, places of slave embarkation and disembarkation, length of Atlantic voyages, slave mortality rates on ships, slaves' ages and genders, slave revolts, and much more. Since most additions to the dataset have come from Portuguese and Spanish sources, historians of Iberia and the south Atlantic will be particularly interested in the TSTD2 and in Eltis and Richardson's analysis of it. In addition, the pair shows how the site is useful for micro-studies of particular ports, broad regional surveys, and global analyses of the Atlantic over time. New data has led members of the database project team to increase their earlier estimates of the overall number of

Africans forced onto ships for the Americas. Eltis and Richardson now place that number at 12.5 million, with 10.7 million arriving.

Part one of the volume examines the origins and destinations of enslaved Africans who crossed the Atlantic. In an essay about the slave traffic to Spanish America in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, António de Almeida Mendes uses the TSTD2 in combination with sources from Lisbon and Seville to reassess the trade's "experimental" years. Many Portuguese shipping records for the period have not survived. Mendes, however, masterfully culls shipping licenses and other rarely explored material to project what has likely gone missing. He details a well-known southward shift in slave trading—Senegambia dominating the trade from 1526 to 1575 and West Central Africa after 1575. And he adds to knowledge of the early slave trade by demonstrating shifts in flows into Spanish America. Over time, Hispaniola, Caratagena, and Vera Cruz each rose and fell as the most important receivers of captives.

Brazil is the focus of other essays in part one. Daniel Barros Domingues da Silva and Eltis examine the slave trade to Pernambuco, and Alexandre Vieira Ribeiro explores the trade to Bahia. The Silva and Eltis essay is particularly important, since the trade to Pernambuco has been the least understood major branch of slave traffic in the Atlantic. Using a variety of sources to project figures where there are holes in the TSTD2 dataset, Silva and Eltis estimate that over 800,000 Africans disembarked in Pernambuco. Further, they figure that over 2,000 of the voyages that brought those slaves originated in Recife. Their findings significantly elevate estimates of the port's relative importance. Indeed, it now appears that Recife was the fifth or sixth largest organizational point for Atlantic slave trading. The number of slave ship departures organized in Recife approached that of Bristol and was larger than that of Nantes, France's leading slaving port. While the figures for Recife are impressive, data makes clear that even larger numbers of slaving voyages were organized from Bahia and Rio de Janeiro. All of this leads Manolo Florentino to emphasize in a chapter on Rio that the slave trade was much more than a metropolitan endeavor.

Also in part one are essays by Oscar Grandío Moráñez and Philip Misevich. Each is concerned with the

underresearched subject of the places of origin of African slaves carried on particular routes. In a study that has great methodological implications, Misevich shows how African names recorded in registers of captives liberated from illegal slaving vessels can be used to determine their places of origin. He focuses on ships that left the Sierra Leone coast from 1824 to 1841. Surprisingly, many slaves on the vessels hailed from places close to the ports from which they left Africa. This finding reveals much about the nature of African warfare and trade routes. Moráquez's equally compelling study is concerned with the origins of slaves in Cuba. Focusing on the period 1789 to 1865, he shows the great range of African ports that supplied the island. Using a variety of sources to determine slaves' ethnicities, he challenges scholars who argue that the Afro-Cuban population was dominated by Yorubas and suggests a larger West Central African component.

Part two of the volume explores national slave trades. In their essay, James Pritchard, Eltis, and Richardson rewrite the history of French involvement in slave trafficking. The French trade is well documented after the Treaty of Utrecht in 1714, but for earlier periods sources are few. To address this problem, the trio draws on existing data about arrivals in the French Caribbean and extrapolates from data about slave population sizes to project estimates of the French trade. Pritchard, Eltis, and Richardson conclude that in the seventeenth century "the French state missed a major opportunity to catch up and surpass their English rivals" by not rapidly developing plantation societies (p. 223). The French did, of course, make great strides in later years, but before 1714 their failure resulted from an unwillingness to take many slaves from foreign carriers. In another essay in part two, Jelmer Vos, Eltis, and Richardson use the TSTD2 to challenge widely accepted views that the Dutch were central to the early Caribbean sugar revolution. Andrea Weindl's contribution examines the efforts of northern Germany to profit from slave trading. Ultimately, German states played a small role in the trade, she argues, since they did not have the resources to support trading companies.

Part three of the volume delves into the consequences and implications of data accumulated in recent years. In his chapter, Roquinaldo Ferreira argues that the British should not be solely credited with bringing the slave trade to a slow close in the nineteenth century. Local, African factors—and particularly internal African politics—were also important. His is a pathbreaking essay in that it explores how the slave trade ended not only in Luanda but also in the understudied port of Benguela. He, too, presents new figures for the size of the illegal trade from the region. Also in part three are essays by Florentino about the slave family in Rio de Janeiro, and Eltis and Paul Lachance about demographic decline in the Caribbean.

To conclude, this is a valuable volume containing essays that rethink both major and minor branches of the Atlantic slave trade from the early sixteenth through the mid-nineteenth centuries. The contributors make

clear that the TSTD2 is at once a study that proposes conclusions based on archival evidence and a readily available tool for studies of slavery and the slave trade. Taken as a whole, the essays show how data from the TSTD2 can be used in conjunction with other sources to reveal much about metropolitan, American, and African political, social, economic, and demographic history. There should be no doubt that numerical data is unable to answer all questions about the devastation slaving brought to parts of Africa. It cannot reveal much about the pain suffered by those shipped across the ocean, by the loved ones from whom they were snatched, and by the descendants of Africans in racially divided American colonies. It is not necessarily the best source for information on the nature of African lives under enslavement. There is clearly room for—indeed, a great need for—further research using other sorts of sources, including oral histories, slave narratives, and observations of present day cultural practices. But there is no denying that numerical databases like the TSTD2 can tell us much about the past. For me, the TSTD2 is a model for how database projects should be conducted and made accessible to researchers and the public.

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ALEXEI MILLER. *The Romanov Empire and Nationalism: Essays in the Methodology of Historical Research*. Translated by SERGUEI DOBRYNIN. Budapest and New York: Central European University Press. 2008. Pp. 242. \$39.95.

Alexei Miller is one of the leading specialists in the history of the Russian Empire and its nationality questions. In this book, Miller discusses the empire's policies in relation to various nationalities from the end of the eighteenth century to the 1920s. The topics examined include the various meanings of the word "Russification"; language policies; the empire and Jews; the nationalizing ideology of Sergei Uvarov, who was minister of education under Nicholas I; the geographical limits of the Russian national territory in the imagination of imperial bureaucrats and Russian nationalist intelligentsia; and the final stages in the revolutionary era of the all-Russian idea, according to which all the present-day East Slavs formed a single Russian nation.

Miller sets forth a number of theses about the conceptual framework, focus, presuppositions, and prejudices in the study of the Russian Empire. He altogether rejects the study of the history of a nationality in the empire as national history, often perceived in isolation from other nationalities and the imperial center. Nor does he favor a more regional approach: that is, the study of the empire region-by-region (rather than nationality-by-nationality), which takes into account all the actors and forces relevant in a given region. Miller points out that "region" is a vague term that cannot be defined any more easily than "nation." He perceives a danger in the resurgence of national narratives under the disguise of the regional approach. Instead, he pro-

poses a situational approach that will shift the focus to a particular system of ethno-cultural, ethno-confessional, and interethnic relations.

In the field of language policies, Miller emphasizes the lack of unity and consistency in the actions of imperial politicians who often differed in their aims and orientations. The political orientation that was adopted differed from region to region, and the government sometimes supported one local language over another, often in cooperation with local nationalists. In addition, the government promoted the use of the Cyrillic as opposed to the Latin script among many minorities. The Bolshevik Revolution made possible the "free competition" between Latin and Cyrillic scripts in the 1920s, in which neither one gained a clear advantage over the other.

Miller argues convincingly that Russian national territory as perceived by most Russian nationalists and imperial bureaucrats covered an area smaller than the whole empire but larger than the traditional area of Muscovy before Peter the Great. In the western regions, all the territories inhabited by East Slavs were considered Russian, whereas in the Volga region, the openness to the non-Slavic element was emphasized. Sometimes the mental national territory stretched over the border into Austria-Hungary to include East Galicia, present-day western Ukraine.

All the chapters that deal with specific topics contain valuable studies of imperial policies. However, the methodological promise given in the beginning of the book is not kept. Miller's "situational approach" turns out to be a study of the attitude of the actors of the imperial center toward the various questions presented to them by situations in borderlands. The experiences of the non-Russian borderland peoples rarely enter into the study, mainly as interesting examples of imperial loyalty and willingness to assimilate that undermine the stereotypes of non-Russian national historical mythologies. Miller criticizes national narratives for their failure to pay close attention to the motivations of imperial authorities and to the conflicting opinions among the highest echelons of the imperial bureaucracy (p. 68). However, this danger goes both ways: the aims of a national movement can be perceived as unitary when they are far from being so.

At times this book's focus and viewpoint change, giving an impression of an apology for the government's policies. To cite just one example, Miller provides statistical information on the statutes and directives concerning Jews only for the period 1859–1869: of the sixty-nine acts mentioned, forty-seven expanded Jewish rights, three made the situation of Jews worse, and nineteen had an explanatory character (p. 116). A similar analysis is lacking for the period 1882–1892, when a number of important discriminatory rules against Jews were decreed. To be sure, Miller does not deny the fact that Jews and many other ethnic groups in the empire were oppressed, but he wants to challenge the per-

ception of the entire history of imperial Jewish policy as a story of oppression (p. 127). In this, I agree.

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GEORGE AKITA. *Evaluating Evidence: A Positivist Approach to Reading Sources on Modern Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2008. Pp. xv, 267. \$58.00.

George Akita candidly declares at the outset of this book that he is biased against models and theories in historiography (pp. 3, 6) and that he admits an "inadequacy in handling subjects on that level of abstraction" (p. 3). Moreover, his choice to describe this project as "positivism" was suggested by a reader of the manuscript for the press (p. 164). There is no discussion here of R. G. Collingwood, E. H. Carr, or other luminaries of historiography on positivism, and no mention of Auguste Comte. Rather, Akita's "positivist method" turns out to be a point emphasized by Carr nearly fifty years ago: historians should seek to avoid bias by framing questions of their data in an open-ended manner and remaining open to alternative interpretations in order "to refine and revise one's views and conclusions in the face of compelling evidence" (pp. 4–5). So, for all his enthusiasm about a "positivist approach" to sources, Akita's concern is simply accurate scholarship—a goal with which any historian should concur.

In practice, however, Akita somehow neglects a crucial point reiterated by Carr and others for so long now that this reader assumed it was constitutive of professional work: historical facts are not "pure" but are always selected for the historian's purpose at hand. By proceeding as if he had never acknowledged this point and, at the same time, by so denigrating theory in historiography as to refuse to encumber his book with a thesis regarding positivism or evidence or sources, Akita demonstrates that facts are only corrective and that his work of "discovering facts" can only comment upon the conclusions of others. Accordingly, he has produced a book so focused on details and so lacking a cohesive argument that integrates positivism, evidence, and "Japanese studies" that it remains a set of three loosely connected efforts, each of interest to very specific audiences.

First of these is the use of facts to enhance the accuracy of scholarship, addressed in chapters one through three. Akita's focus is the painstaking work of transcribing Japanese primary and archival sources from their cursive calligraphy into a printed and published form. Based on his personal involvement in this work for four decades, Akita points out a range of pitfalls in using handwritten memoranda, reports, letters, and diaries from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The work of some Japanese historians suffers from their use of erroneous transcriptions of materials left to posterity by Japanese leaders at the time. Moreover, some of those very leaders edited their letters and diaries in order to alter their personal records for future historians. Akita's comments on two figures central to

the history of the period—Yamagata Aritomo and Hara Kei—will be of interest to students of political history, and his recommendation that we mind the primary archival sources is wise.

A second effort in the book is to condemn “theory” in Japanese studies. Akita especially targets scholarship informed by Marxism and scholars who not only criticized modernization theory in the 1960s but have continued to denigrate others’ work on the grounds of what Akita feels are ideological motives. On one hand, Akita’s “positivist approach” would presumably remain neutral; on the other, much of this condemnation is personal and has the unseemly quality of settling old scores. The freshest work here is Akita’s critique of Herbert P. Bix, winner of the Pulitzer Prize in 2001 for his *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan*. Akita offers his own reading of facts in order to refute Bix’s charge that the emperor was responsible for military affairs during World War II. But contrary to the “positivist approach” that he recommends, Akita has pre-selected his facts with a deliberate interpretation in mind. This is what historians do.

The third effort in the book—the long chapter four—is a review of “Anglophone scholarship” on modern Japanese history over the past decade. Although a compelling survey, it is grounded in a peculiar misconception. According to Akita, those whom he denigrates as “theorists” have long insisted that Japanese historians in the United States forego details and documents in order to address questions of broad concern to persons in the United States. The alternative “positivist approach” would embrace “particularism,” such that positivist scholars would study Japanese history in detail. Akita’s survey is thus meant to demonstrate that younger scholars—including myself—have turned away from “theory” when we treat Japanese history in its details. Akita seems confident that the “theorists” are in retreat. Given that my own work has been informed by *Begriffsgeschichte* and the “Cambridge school” of the history of political thought, I must disagree. This survey, nonetheless, may interest students of modern Japanese history.

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COMPARATIVE/WORLD

RICHARD L. KAGAN and PHILIP D. MORGAN, editors. *Atlantic Diasporas: Jews, Conversos, and Crypto-Jews in the Age of Mercantilism, 1500–1800*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2009. Pp. xvii, 307. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$30.00.

This excellent volume includes ten essays on the role of Jews and crypto-Jews in the Atlantic between 1500 and 1800. These essays are of varying length and scope from a wide range of junior and senior scholars from America and Western Europe. The book is nicely produced, well organized, and user friendly, and includes an index.

It is also self-reflective, and many essays reference other contributions to the volume. The brief preface by the editors and the epilogue from the pen of Natalie Zemon Davis summarize the essays in the volume, while also setting a broader context and suggesting intriguing scholarly directions, particularly related to the fluidity of early modern society.

Consciously combining scholarship on port Jews and Atlantic history, the volume is broadly conceived and comparative, focusing on Old and New World experiences. The protagonists presented throughout were Jews, crypto-Jews, and New Christians who played important and diverse roles in the economic and cultural development of the Atlantic basin. The first two essays, by Jonathan Israel and Adam Sutcliffe, provide a broad context. The next four essays—by Wim Klooster, Holly Snyder, Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert, and Francesca Trivellato—deal with aspects of mercantilism. The last four essays—by Bruno Feitler, Aviva Ben-Ur, Peter Mark and José da Silva Horta, and Ronnie Perelis—explore various notions of Jewish identity and religion.

In the opening essay, Israel provides a broad and instructive overview of the development (and decline) of the Sephardic and converso commercial networks in the early modern Atlantic. Sutcliffe continues the discussion, emphasizing both particularistic and universalistic tendencies within the Sephardic diaspora, and attempting to pull what he presents as a somewhat reticent Jewish historical tradition into a constructive dialogue with the vibrant and growing field of Atlantic history. For Sutcliffe, as for Israel, questions of early modern Jewish identity are complex and need to be understood in various contexts and settings.

In the second section, Klooster presents five Sephardic entrepreneurs as he examines the “founders” of the Jewish settlements in Dutch America in the middle of the seventeenth century. While providing details about the political and demographic connections between European and New World contexts, this essay offers details about some significant individual personalities. Snyder shifts the focus to Jewish merchants in the English markets, pointing out the challenges that such Jews faced in negotiating imperial boundaries and religious policies. Jewish merchants in this context are seen as representative of broader transformations in the market economy of the British American colonies, for example in the focus on and development of specific commodities. While Jewish merchants needed to be responsive to market changes and consumer demand they simultaneously remained outsiders, lacking certain political power and influence. In a strong and comparative essay, Studnicki-Gizbert turns to a more internal analysis of the Portuguese nation, comparing it with other trade diasporas and examining the relationship between culture and trade within the Portuguese community (which he points out included Jews, Marranos, New Christians, and Catholics), with particular emphasis on family and community networks. Rounding out the second section is an essay by Trivellato that continues the comparative approach but challenges the no-

tion "that cooperation was an inherent feature of merchant communities and trading diasporas" (pp. 99–100). Drawing from a theoretical base informed by diaspora studies and rational choice theory, Trivellato asserts that trust could be conditional and contextual and that it was actually the level of networks of information exchange that facilitated cooperation.

Taken together, the essays in part two reveal a nuanced picture of a remarkably variable mercantile field of endeavor. The Jewish and crypto-Jewish networks traditionally seen as cohesive and homogenous were in fact diverse and highly influenced by local conditions and broader political developments. The networks crafted and utilized by these Jews were equally complicated, suggesting that we would be better served by utilizing the notion of social capital and social networks than the more traditional language of communities. But what can be said of the religious and cultural aspects of these various diasporic Jews? In part three the volume turns precisely to a discussion of identity and religion.

Feitler examines the Jews and New Christians in Dutch Brazil, with particular attention to the two official communities in Recife and Mauritania; importantly he gives attention to populations in the smaller informal and unofficial settlements as well. He notes the fluctuating identity that drew from both Judaism and Iberianism, and he details the multifaceted relationships between Jews and Christians in these areas. An important insight developed in this essay is that the Portuguese nation was never monolithic; it included a wide range of Jews and Catholics, and the integration, or lack thereof, of members of these groups was profoundly evident in daily interaction and responses to political turmoil. Ben-Uri also considers issues of religious identity but adds the fascinating situation of relations (especially marriage) between the Sephardic Jews in Suriname and people with African origins, especially women (particularly significant considering that the large majority of the Jewish community was male) often in low social or even servile positions. Ben-Uri concludes that membership in the Jewish community extended to Jews, converts, and individuals who were "neither completely gentile nor completely Jewish" (p. 165).

The essay by Mark and da Silva Horta turns east, to Senegal, and considers the experiences of Sephardic merchants in a land under Muslim rule, with particular attention to theological discussion and polemics between Jews and Catholics residing there. Although the subjects under discussion were rather small in number, the authors find Jewish identity, in this context as in others examined in the volume, to have been quite fluid. In the final essay, Perelis explores the literary construction of crypto-Jewish identity in the 1644 *Relación* of Antonio de Montezinos. In his quest to uncover the religious identity of the Indians, Perelis claims, Montezinos reveals some important aspects of his own identity. Montezinos's writing about the Indians and his incarceration (compare the recent work of Miriam Bodian in this regard) led to increasing identification with his pro-

tagonists and sense of Jewishness, "identified in this context as the persecuted, the messianic, and the hidden" (p. 205).

This group of essays raises provocative questions about Jewish identity and religious belief and practice. Although the essays do not generally reflect on the limitations of size and scope of the "communities" they explore or, more typically, the individual stories they narrate, taken together they contribute to our understanding of a fragmented and diverse early modern Jewry. They raise important questions regarding Jewish identity, religious practice, and broader social interaction between Jews and non-Jews. The essays provide both synthesis of the rich recent scholarship on a range of themes, while also offering new insights through fresh and intriguing research. The volume adds to a growing body of work that will be valuable to both Jewish and more general early modern history and that will be useful for students and scholars.

DEAN PHILLIP BELL

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BARRY ARON VANN. *In Search of Ulster-Scots Land: The Birth and Geotheological Imagings of a Transatlantic People, 1603–1703*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 2008. Pp. ix, 252. \$39.95.

What the Mediterranean Sea was for Fernand Braudel and the Atlantic Ocean has been for a host of contemporary scholars, the north Irish Sea is for Barry Aron Vann. In the early modern world, bodies of water provided the most effective means of moving people, ideas, and institutions throughout large areas and defining the cultural space of distinct and important regions. Vann's Ulster-Scots Land emerged in the seventeenth century as Scots Calvinists moved readily throughout southwestern Scotland and eastern Ulster. In the process, Puritan divines created among themselves and their congregants an imagined community of shared beliefs, rituals, and enemies.

The plantation of Ulster in the early seventeenth century first engaged Scottish landlords and their dependents in colonizing Ireland for the interest of English security during a series of European struggles between Protestant and Catholic powers. But it was the politics of religious conflict in the 1630s, the English Civil Wars, and the Stuart Restoration that welded leaders of the Scottish Kirk into a community embracing the northern borders of the Irish Sea. Imbued with the fervor of Knoxian Calvinism, English Puritanism, the Scottish Confession of Faith, the National Covenant, an Old Testament sense of the Scots as God's chosen people, and a vision of Ireland as a New Canaan, Presbyterian ministers crossed and recrossed this sea in the service of salvation and sacred destiny. The result was not only the creation of an "Irish Sea culture area" (p. 11) but also the forging of the Ulster Scots as a providential people. Vann's familiarity with the sources for Presbyterian theology, the history of the Kirk, and the culture of Puritanism make for a strong argument about the

historical integrity and regional coherence of an Ulster-Scots Land and an identity for Ulster Scots more closely associated with the "geotheological imagings" of this land than with any sense of Scottish, Irish, English, or British nationhood.

That Vann would employ such a term as "geotheology" (p. 7), however, points to problems with his approach. Defining what amounts to jargon as "aspects of place linked to worship and the divine" (p. 7), he limits his discussion of an Irish Sea culture area to the thought and action of a small number of Presbyterian ministers. There is little else but theology and collective opposition to English episcopacy defining their imagined community. Left out are the lives of farmers, artisans, merchants, and many other women and men who composed their congregations. Nor is much attention paid to cultural diversity in the north of Ireland during the seventeenth century as German pietists, French Huguenots, or Welsh and English settlers moved into the same region for purposes similar to those of the Ulster Scots. Absent entirely are native Irish who intermingled with the occupiers in varying degrees of social and economic status even in the densest areas of Protestant settlement. A focus on the Scots may indeed be a ploy in the cultural politics of Northern Ireland today in which the assertion of Ulster-Scots identities has more to do with ideology and religious posturing than with history or evidence.

As Vann shifts attention from the Ulster-Scots Land in the seventeenth century to the American Bible Belt today, his argument moves from theological esoterica to pop culture banality. His thesis about space, place, theology, and imagined communities of true believers wholly collapses when he situates the Irish Sea culture area as the seedbed of religious evangelicalism and political conservatism in the mountain South of Appalachia and the Ozarks. Although the Scots Irish might have seen migration in the eighteenth century as the fulfillment of a providential history, to suggest that belief in the sovereignty of God, the pervasiveness of sin, and the primacy of salvation in early modern Calvinism explains the work ethic and the right-wing patriotism of the upland South today is to exploit cultural essentialism to the point of incredulity and to stamp the region with a cultural homogeneity that belies the diversity of its history. Here Vann abandons his careful and detailed approach to constructing an Irish Sea culture area out of its religious sources for an argument based on a few country music songs by Hank Williams Jr. and quotations from his own earlier work on the South's Celtic heritage. It was Rowland T. Berthoff who long ago parted the Celtic mist overspreading the South in the work of Grady McWhiney and his collaborators. It is a pity to see it once again enshroud and obscure an otherwise useful and insightful account of the Atlantic migration experience.

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ROBERT J. ALDERSON, JR. *This Bright Era of Happy Revolutions: French Consul Michel-Ange-Bernard Mangourit and International Republicanism in Charleston, 1792–1794*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 2008. Pp. xiii, 273. \$39.95.

Michel-Ange-Bernard Mangourit inspired Robert R. Palmer to produce a 1952 article that was an early elaboration of the Atlantic paradigm. Frederick Jackson Turner edited Mangourit's correspondence in 1904; this remains a main source for Robert J. Alderson, Jr.'s book, together with French diplomatic archives and the South Carolina press. Given the continuing interest in a renewed Atlantic paradigm, as well as in the political culture of the 1790s, the story of the consul's stay in Charleston is worth telling in detail.

The first thirty pages provide the reader with background information on the United States, France, Saint-Domingue, and South Carolina in the age of revolution. Such brevity induces some confusion about French slavery, as in "the Girondins had abolished slavery in France but had not emancipated slaves in French possessions" by 1793 (p. 10). But slavery did not exist in France (although colonial slaves brought to France raised a legal problem in the *ancien régime*) and the Girondins' goal was rather the civil equality of free mulattoes in the colonies. Alderson's use of the term "émigrés" is also disconcerting as the word refers to people who fled France for political reasons: they cannot be assimilated with the Saint-Domingue refugees then flocking to Charleston (p. 41).

Edmund Genet, the French minister to the United States, entrusted Mangourit with invading Spanish Louisiana and Florida to liberate those territories from Spanish control. The Girondins envisioned an "international republicanism" (p. 80) to be led by the French together with the Americans. Alderson explains clearly why so many Americans (and Franco-Americans) supported, and then rejected, these initiatives by describing the various individuals and political associations involved as well as their interactions. While Mangourit fought to coalesce the local French community around republican societies, pro-French republicans formed their own groups and pro-British federalists their own clubs. All used the press to make "appeals to the populace" (p. 76). Alderson illustrates the political crisis of the 1790s through an analysis of local newspapers, political speeches, and toasts. Ordinary "backwoodsmen" (p. 90) also vented their social frustration in the charged atmosphere. Republican support for France went together with a belief in popular sovereignty and a rejection of any aristocratic bent in the new American rulers, while critics of the republican societies questioned their legitimacy.

As news of the liberation of slaves in Saint-Domingue spread in the fall of 1793, South Carolina authorities feared contagion and a rumored slave revolt. To Alderson, both "the Haitian example," and "transatlantic movements" (the American and French Revolutions) had an influence on "black republicanism" (p. 109). Ex-

panding "international republicanism" was difficult; the crews of French privateers proved restive, and local self-interest dominated the projected invasions of East Florida and Louisiana. Motivations ranged from commercial rivalry with British firms based there and personal landed interest in the region, to a desire to strike at the Spanish and their Indian allies. Mangourit planned the political structure of post-invasion Florida as a pro-French republic where proslavery radicals from the South would gather, even though he personally found the institution repellent. By the fall of 1793, the secret expedition to Florida was being investigated by the South Carolina legislature. Preparations by French, pro-French, and American adventurers continued until Mangourit's replacement arrived.

The book is organized mainly according to topics (privateers, slave revolts, etc.), and following the chronology is thus made difficult. A more sensitive question is Alderson's handling of his theoretical framework. Jürgen Habermas's "public sphere" (though appropriate) is omnipresent in the book and dominates political analysis ("oppositional public sphere," p. 5; "radical public sphere," pp. 7, 40; "moderate Enlightenment sphere," p. 38; the "transatlantic sphere," p. 43; etc.). It is even personified as in "the conservative and public spheres made appeals to the populace" (pp. 74, 150). By contrast Alderson omits the "Atlantic" or "French Atlantic" debate. Neither Bernard Bailyn nor Cécile Vidal are to be found in the bibliography, and the preface offers no historiographical discussion.

Alderson convincingly portrays "international republicanism" in the 1790s. He shows the ideological links and common goals of republicans in both countries, and yet their insuperable differences. As regards "popular sovereignty," he sometimes yields to the temptation consisting in pitting the "good" American Revolution against the "bad and violent" others: "The case of France and Haiti confirm that the Founding Fathers were right in their fears of a radical form of popular sovereignty" (p. 183). For those who want a spirited narrative of the actions of Mangourit as well as of the debate and the projects around him and his nation in the mid-1790s in South Carolina and Georgia, this book provides it.

MARIE-JEANNE ROSSIGNOL
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DAVID N. LIVINGSTONE. *Adam's Ancestors: Race, Religion, and the Politics of Human Origins*. (Medicine, Science, and Religion in Historical Context.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2008. Pp. x, 301. \$35.00.

Adam and Eve pose a problem, both for the scientist, for whom the mythology is untenable, and for the theologian, who is not only challenged by science but is also forced to grapple with cryptic biblical references to a shadowy population in a "land of Nod" just "east of Eden" (Gen. 4:16), with whom Cain started his own family. If Adam and Eve were the first humans, who were these other people? Were they "people" at all?

For those who accepted the authority of Genesis, as most people in the Western world did until the twentieth century, these questions were troubling. As discoveries by explorers and scientists alike came into conflict with orthodox readings of the creation narrative, a strategy for absorbing new discoveries involved hypothesizing a world of "pre-Adamites," whose descendants inhabited corners of the globe that Europeans had only begun to confront by the High Renaissance. David N. Livingstone devotes this book to exploring pre-Adamites in the Western imagination.

The breadth of Livingstone's scholarship is impressive, as is his analysis of the shifting uses to which the pre-Adamite hypothesis has been put. Early threats to the Adamic heritage of the human race centered around competing pagan narratives, popular tales of monstrous but humanlike races, and the earliest European encounters with Asia and Africa. But the first sustained theorist of pre-Adamites was the seventeenth-century French lawyer, Isaac La Peyrère, whose Jewish ancestry and Calvinist leanings might have rendered him sufficiently suspect to Pope Alexander VII even before the 1655 publication of the former's "monumentally heretical treatise" (p. 26), *Prae-Adamitae (Men before Adam)*. An expert on Greenland, La Peyrère argued that the island's native inhabitants could not have descended from Europeans and were, instead, of pre-Adamic stock. Despite his willingness to challenge the church's authority to dictate the terms of the biblical narrative's interpretation, La Peyrère still sheltered his argument in an exegesis of St. Paul's Letter to the Romans. Yet the damage had already been done. His work was popularized as successfully by his critics as by his few co-conspirators, and a new "heresy" was born.

For Protestants, pre-Adamism's threat to biblical inerrancy posed the greatest challenge, while for Catholics, it was the threat it posed to the doctrine of original sin, upon which the church's sacramental system rested. In both cases, pre-Adamism, which relied on its own biblical source material buttressed by a host of discoveries around the globe proving inconvenient to orthodoxy, assured that theologians would be forced to wrestle with the doctrine's implications for centuries to come. Livingstone's strength rests in his nuanced readings of pre-Adamism's many manifestations. Most often, pre-Adamism was brought to the service of polygenism (the thesis that human beings had sprung from multiple origins), creating an ideal vehicle for promoting racially based social hierarchies. But even in the hands of monogenic pre-Adamists, like nineteenth-century Christian apologists St. George Jackson Mivart and Alexander Winchell, the formation of social hierarchies abounded. Pre-Adamism in all its stripes became a method of social mapping, capable of being utilized by egalitarian nineteenth-century abolitionists and contemporary white supremacists alike.

Livingstone makes clear that there was no "one-size-fits-all" form of pre-Adamism. The idea, which began as an artifact of an intellectual environment in which free thinking and skepticism were on the rise, over time

found itself more commonly associated with conservative (sometimes reactionary) Christian theologies, utilized to preserve biblical authority rather than call it into question. As the mythological universe in which the earliest pre-Adamists theorized gave way to archaeological evidence and the discovery of DNA, resorting to tales of Adam was confined to those bent upon maintaining the Bible as the touchstone for truth regarding human origins. What did not change, however, was the inextricability of the pre-Adamite idea from the cultural politics of the day.

Although concern with pre-Adamism has rested largely on the margins of public discourse, Livingstone has succeeded in showing how this idea reveals a great deal about the center of public discourse. He has taken the work of scholars like Richard Popkin and, more recently, Colin Kidd and has steered their material in important new directions, while contributing substantially to the field of Western intellectual and cultural history. The book is rich in detail, revels in marvelously obscure figures, and brings long forgotten characters to life. It is ideal for graduate students and professional scholars and a must for those interested in the politics of racial and ethnic identity, as well as the history of biblical exegesis.

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GREGORY RADICK. *The Simian Tongue: The Long Debate about Animal Language*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 577. \$45.00.

This is a major new book in the history of science that explores the historical attempts to come to terms with the evolutionary origins of language. Its novelty lies in its framing, which relies on what Gregory Radick terms the "primate playback experiment." Originally conceived by the American Richard Garner in 1890, the primate playback experiment took advantage of the new recording technology pioneered by Thomas Edison—the phonograph—first to record and then to play back monkey and ape vocalizations to groups of simians. Such experiments, it was thought, could test prevailing theories about the nature of monkey and ape communication to determine, what, if any, relationship this had to communication in animals in general and in humans in particular. Garner designed his experiments to challenge the view that only humans had the capacity for language, postulating instead that all animals had some form of language. In a post-Darwinian world, proof of animal language could therefore shed light not just on speech in animals, but could also reveal much about the distinction, if it existed at all, between human and animal. The "simian tongue," Garner's term for the vocalized communication in apes and monkeys, thus informs the title of Radick's book.

Widely publicized in the 1890s, the primate playback experiment became the stuff of popular lore. This was especially the case after Richard Garner's celebrated adventures in the French Congo in the mid-1890s. Out-

fitted with a wire cage to contain him in the jungles, Garner's plan was to experiment with recordings of simian calls and observe their effects on native populations of chimpanzees and gorillas. Things did not quite work out as anticipated, however, thanks to a bizarre series of mishaps, misadventures, and the kind of intrigue worthy of a pulp novel, all of which culminated in one of the most publicized scandals in science at the turn of the century. By the end, Garner's fame or, more accurately, notoriety, as the "monkey man" reached near mythic stature, but his critical experimental methods were abandoned for some seventy years. They were resurrected by the British ornithologist-turned-primate behaviorist Peter Marler and his postdoctoral associates Robert Seyfarth and Dorothy Cheney, who were interested in the social behavior of vervet monkeys. Performing a series of experiments at their field site in Amboseli, Kenya, beginning in the late 1970s, the team provided stunning evidence that vervet monkeys not only responded to taped alarm calls, but that their responses varied in an adaptive fashion dependent on the predator. Widely publicized, the results of the Amboseli vervet monkey playback experiments, first published in 1980, made headline news and fueled a growing interest in the playback methodology.

Radick traces the complex history of this "playback method," its rise and fall, and then its resurrection in a lively and engaging manner for much of this book. The most vivid portion centers on Garner's African debacle, where Radick engages in some deft detective work to discern what really happened, eventually exonerating him of charges of fraud. The last few chapters are especially noteworthy for breaking new ground with the recent history of animal behavior and language studies. All of this makes for a fine book on a long and convoluted history of an important scientific debate, but what really sets it apart from most other histories of science is Radick's larger aim of engaging nearly all the genres that have occupied historians of science for the last thirty years or so. As a result, we not only have a book framed or undergirded by the fate of a crucial methodology that exploited new recording technologies, we also have a skillful historical weaving of the relevant disciplines like anthropology, comparative psychology, and animal behavior or ethology and research schools or schools of thought, led by charismatic personalities, along with their institutional and national settings. We have an exhaustive philosophical discussion of background language theories, beginning with the work of the nineteenth-century Sanskrit scholar F. Max Müller and ending with a technical explication of more recent studies of primate language. Radick explores conventional sources like publications, diaries, and correspondence but also includes newsprint, magazine, and other ephemera, eliminating the elite/popular view of science. Finally, we have a cast of characters that contains, in addition to the colorful Garner, major historical figures like Franz Boas, Robert Yerkes, and Noam Chomsky, alongside Koko, Washoe, Nim Chimpsky (Chomsky's simian namesake), and the other

animals who played vital roles in the history of language. What emerges in the end is a richly contextualized history that would have been unthinkable, let alone undoable, for a preceding generation of historians of science. In short, this is an important book whose comprehensive scope should set the standard for future histories of science.

VASSILIKI BETTY SMOCOVITIS
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DAVID BOYD HAYCOCK. *Mortal Coil: A Short History of Living Longer*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 308. \$30.00.

The idea of the Struldbruggs, who were immortal, captivated Jonathan Swift's Gulliver. How wonderful it would be to live forever! But the reality was less appealing; the Struldbruggs simply got older and older, with all of the debilities of age and no prospect of release. Despite this cautionary tale, as David Boyd Haycock relates, the search for longer life has had a long history. Haycock's sprightly account focuses on the period from the seventeenth century to the present and largely, although not exclusively, on Great Britain. Within these confines, he has unearthed a wealth of individuals, ranging from the famous and learned to some who could charitably be called crackpots, who not only speculated about the prolongation of life but also prescribed the steps to achieve it. Lack of trying is not the reason that we still cannot reach the length of life enjoyed by the biblical patriarchs; Methuselah lived 969 years or, according to a revised calculation of the biblical year, maybe only 240.

Haycock begins with Francis Bacon's detailed *History Naturall and Experimentall of Life and Death, or of the Prolongation of Life* (1638; first published in Latin in 1623). This little-known work summarizes remarkably well Bacon's larger program of reform in natural philosophy and its applications to daily life. The prolongation of life lay at the heart of Bacon's "Great Instauration," and Haycock demonstrates its connections to the greater enterprise of the new science of the seventeenth century. René Descartes believed he might live 500 years, and Robert Boyle and his fellow "chymists" sought a chemical key to life. In the eighteenth century, Nicolas de Condorcet borrowed Bacon's optimism to declare that the progress of reason would inevitably lead to longer life.

Bacon and Descartes also argued for practical measures, particularly in the realm of diet, as a means to ward off aging. This line of thought went back to the ancients and reached an apogee in the mid-sixteenth century with Luigi Cornaro's wildly popular *Discorsi della vita sobria* (*Discourses on the Sober Life*), first published in 1558 and continuously in print for over two centuries. Cornaro lived to be nearly one hundred years old, and many physicians after him repeated his advice to be abstemious in food and drink, even the grossly

obese George Cheyne, whose advice books had a zealous following in the eighteenth century.

Yet the optimism of Condorcet and the German physician Christian Wilhelm Hufeland (author of the influential *Art of Prolonging the Life of Man* [1797]) met its match in the early nineteenth-century pessimism of Thomas Malthus and Mary Shelley. Malthus argued that human progress had its limits, and Shelley's Doctor Frankenstein expressed the downside of scientific hubris. As Haycock relates, nineteenth-century discussions about lifespan were less speculative and, mostly, less expansive. As actuarial calculations became more precise, the wilder claims about human longevity became increasingly untenable, and historical research into parish records demolished the longstanding claims of extraordinary lifespan of the seventeenth-century Englishman Thomas Parr, who had supposedly lived to 152, as well as more recent cases.

By the end of the nineteenth century, however, evolutionary theory as well as new discoveries in physiology, such as the existence of hormones, revived scientific interest in lengthening life. The Darwinian Edwin Ray Lankester speculated that natural selection could lead to a superior race of humans, but that this was not inevitable. Eugenics, a term coined by Charles Darwin's nephew Francis Galton, suggested that hereditary longevity could play a role in the creation of a super-race based on selective breeding. While the negative consequences of eugenic ideas are well known, Haycock reminds us that many men of science supported its claims in the early years of the twentieth century.

The great advances in scientific knowledge of the human body in the period between 1880 and 1920 led to some notorious attempts at prolongation of life. Haycock's sympathetic account of the Russian microbiologist Ilya Metchnikoff's attempt to find the causes of cellular death is followed by a decidedly less sympathetic account of the numerous attempts at hormonal rejuvenation. Another Russian, Serge Voronoff, led the pack of physicians whose therapies included testicular grafting and injection of animal hormones (Arthur Conan Doyle's "The Adventure of the Creeping Man" [1923] and Dorothy Sayers's novel *The Unpleasantness at the Bellona Club* [1928] both refer to hormone therapy). Surprisingly, the Nobel-prize-winning surgeon Alexis Carrel was involved in all of these activities and in eugenics as well.

In his final chapter, Haycock describes more recent efforts to prolong life, many of these involving genetics but others harking back to Cornaro's advice to live abstemiously. Given the fact that he spent the previous 200 pages chronicling human folly, Haycock's concluding optimism that we may indeed find a way of greatly extending our lifespan seems unfounded. But he has managed to produce a very entertaining yet scholarly look at the past that, incidentally, also tells a lot about the history of biological thought.

ANITA GUERRINI
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VIRGINIA SMITH. *Clean: A History of Personal Hygiene and Purity*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. viii, 457. \$30.00.

Who wants to read a book about being clean? Anyone interested in history of the body, of medicine, of public health, social history, or health fads, to name a few. In her survey of cleanliness, hygiene, and purity, Virginia Smith covers a lot of ground. An expansion of her dissertation both physically and temporally, her study examines grooming, exercise, diet, religion, and the social implications of the same from ancient Egypt to the present.

The scope of this book could be daunting to the casual reader, moving as it does from bodily cleaning on the cellular level to sewage removal and eighteen-seat latrines, from philosophical behavior to the religiously inspired. Smith's writing jumps across time seamlessly, even if the connections are not always obvious. I do not doubt that there are differences between social classes when it comes to keeping clean and grooming, but are there differences between Western and Eastern cultures? In this examination, the focus is firmly a European one, making global assertions hard to substantiate.

The book is organized chronologically, with the exception of the first chapter, which examines the nitty-gritty of being clean: how we do it (consciously and unconsciously), how animals do it, the (health) perils that will befall us if we do not. It is here, in the chapter on biophysicality, that Smith first distinguishes between internal and external purity, a concept that will become increasingly important in the last two chapters (on the late nineteenth into the twenty-first centuries). Concepts and grooming habits—cosmetics, hygiene, and public baths—are entrées into the examination of Egyptian, Greek, and Roman cultures, respectively. In the book's early chapters, grooming is a means of social interaction as well as a barrier to disease. The Greek concept of hygiene, for example, "had emerged as a specialized medical discipline that attempted to control every aspect of the human environment—air, diet, sleep, work, exercise, the evacuations, passions of the mind—and to incorporate them into a 'sanitary' or wholesome way of life" (pp. 14–15). The people, institutions, and important ideas one would expect to see in discussions of health during this time—Galen of Pergamum, Asclepiades of Bithynia, Aulus Cornelius Celsus, and Ovid—are present and accounted for.

Shifting to early Christianity, cleanliness becomes more of an individual concern than a public (or public health) one. The chapter on asceticism focuses on self-denial and a lack of concern for the body while paradoxically viewing the body as a holy vessel. The rise of the hospital (voluntarily taking care of others' sick bodies) segues into an examination of "medieval morals." Money made a difference, with increasing cleanliness (and healthiness) in the wealthier families. The decline in the use of cosmetics emphasized natural cleanliness and health, the latter increasingly obvious as syphilis

visibly disfigures faces. The challenge of Protestant, Methodist, and Anglican religious splits from the Roman Catholic Church played out in private as well as public spaces. The reformers who believed the body to be a "temple of the soul" were particularly invested in a physical appearance—drab dress, a simple diet, a modest gait, and a quiet demeanor—that did nothing to call attention to one's being. This connection between religion and cleanliness, spanning three chapters, provides food for thought.

The final three chapters are much more contemporary, examining "civil cleanliness" such as the installation of public sewage systems (the Chadwick report), domestic manuals on health for home consumption (William Buchan's *Domestic Medicine* [1769]), and scientific, rational, or humanist philosophic trends under discussion (e.g., *Naturphilosophie*). As the population expanded, there seem to have been fewer checks on its growth, and more opportunities for pestilence, or at least the perennial pests of lice, nits, and other parasites. Fads, or trends, in health care that impacted one's state of cleanliness are discussed, including the water cure (hydropathy), botanic medicine (Thompsonianism), vegetarianism (internal cleanliness), and postwar product developments such as nylon that led to preventative care (toothbrush bristles), disguised as a better way to clean one's mouth.

The strength of this book—its vast temporal scope—might also be its biggest weakness. Each chapter, ably referenced, including citations to British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) television productions, could easily be expanded into a book-length treatment of "clean" in period *x*. The historiography on cleanliness and hygiene is, as Smith notes, somewhat sparse, but recent books on cosmetics, soap, and public health do exist; they just are not cited. This could be the difference between writing for, and about, the American versus the British context, highlighted by the book's focus, in the end, on the British case, even as many of the 1960s and 1970s examples seem uniquely American.

Reading this book makes one acutely conscious of how much we do, privately, that benefits our, and everyone else's, health. It also serves to put some of our grooming rituals in context. From depilation to cosmetics, bathing to diet, so very much of what we do is about keeping clean.

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JAMES VERNON. *Hunger: A Modern History*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 369. \$29.95.

The African famine crises of the 1980s brought forth a public outcry about inequalities in international society and spawned high-profile events to raise relief money and to focus public awareness. Twenty years later we still have hunger, and we still have what Nobel laureate Amartya Sen characterized as a crisis of entitlements.

There is enough food worldwide, but it is not always in the right places, and there is not always enough public or institutional goodwill to ensure its equitable distribution. International agencies offer formal mechanisms to address the problem, but they have not solved it. For James Vernon, the modern specter of hunger, with its focus on inequalities of distribution and entitlements, has its historical roots in the last 150–200 years of British history. He establishes three phases in that history: the divine, whereby plenty and want were all part of God's master plan; the moral, which suggests that the hungry failed to learn the virtues of work in order to feed themselves; and the social, which recognizes the collective responsibility of humankind to acknowledge that the hungry are the victims and not the perpetrators of failures in political and economic systems in order to effect a just distribution of resources. The moral certainty of Thomas Malthus and others that those who faced starvation were lazy and morally inadequate, and therefore needed the discomfort of hunger to learn the virtues of work is more or less the starting point of this book. All three phases can be traced through imperial British history, which *inter alia* identifies one of the characteristics of the underdeveloped and the colonized—hunger—but also identifies some of the solutions.

Beyond the introduction, the first two chapters explore a neo-Malthusian view of the nineteenth-century British Empire, in which hunger first attracted humanitarian sympathy but then became a source of political protest. The internationalization of journalism and the relatively new science of the camera were important features of this phase. Whether through reports of remote events, such as the Crimean War, the Irish potato famine, periodic famines in India, or descriptions of the run-down, overcrowded, disease-ridden, and poorly sanitized areas of working-class misery in British towns and cities, the message of hunger and undernourishment was brought to a wider, more caring, and politicized audience. Colonial misrule could no longer be hidden from view, and at home the declining fortunes of the British economy saw the emergence of the hunger march as one of many high-profile political weapons of common choice.

Chapters four and five explore developments in late nineteenth-century invention and science that brought about a greater understanding of nutrition and allowed politics to apply practical solutions to “govern” hunger. Yet establishing that man required about 3,500 calories per day did not stop Seebohm Rowntree and Charles Booth, in their investigations of York and London, respectively, from concluding that there was still a long way to go before hunger, or rather malnutrition and the diseases that resulted from it, could be eradicated from the richest country in the world. In the decades prior to World War I, the social science method of investigation and analysis emerged, but there was nothing like that war and its aftermath to instill yet more rigor into the rapidly developing nutritional sciences of physiology, biophysics, and biochemistry. Simultaneously came at-

tempts to internationalize the problem of hunger. In this context, John Boyd Orr is a mighty but, in some respects, failed figure. As first director-general in 1945 of the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), Orr's effort to set up a world food agency that would tackle precisely the issues of ownership and distribution that Sen later identified was unable to break through the selfish, inward-looking stance of international politics in the postwar world.

Chapters six and seven discuss the flowering of some social science investigations and suggest that science alone could not solve the problem of the inequitable distribution of income and opportunity. Political and social intervention through social welfare, as well as self-help, furthered the growth of the welfare state in Great Britain after 1945. The penultimate chapter reviews the role played by people and political movements in attempts to democratize welfare mechanisms against the backdrop of failures to put into effect an equitable distribution of entitlements. The book is rounded off by a conclusion that explains why the story ends in the 1940s, not at the moment when modern concerns about resource distribution came to an international head, but rather at a time when British influence over that distribution and therefore over entitlements was clearly at an end. This book is a welcome approach to the history of hunger, nutrition, and food through the particular lens of British history, precisely because of its originality.

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LISA KELLER. *Triumph of Order: Democracy and Public Space in New York and London*. (Columbia History of Urban Life.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2009. Pp. xvii, 338. \$45.00.

Lisa Keller offers a flawed study on an important topic. After 1850, she argues, London and New York City successfully walked the line between freedom and order, helping them rise to the status of the world's leading cities. Keller's prologue contrasts ancient Greek democracy and Roman order, moving quickly to the nineteenth century. For both England and the United States, she examines legal issues regarding free speech and public assembly and the authority that governments did or did not have to control them. English common law and traditions of common land use, according to Keller, created significant differences between England and the United States. Over time, population growth, emerging mass transportation, and the changing urban landscape contributed to the attractions and challenges of city living. These challenges were met by the creation of city-wide police forces, which Keller insists were not adopted in response to crime or to protect the ruling class. Instead, “[t]he mandate for the city to grow and prosper propelled the formation of the police” (p. 51). Whose mandate, or how it was instrumental in the origins of centralized policing, is not clarified.

The book's central sections begin with a discussion of

the 1833 riot at Coldbath Fields in London, which provided Scotland Yard with an early experience of crowd control. Keller examines incidents involving the Chartists, the Sunday Trading Bill controversy (1855), and clashes of the unemployed, trade unionists, and socialists with police on Black Monday (February 1886) and Bloody Sunday (November 1887). Keller's coverage of "the Empire City" begins with a food riot in 1837. The number, type, and violence of New York's protests and increasing ethnic and class divisions significantly challenged local and state authorities, although Keller says little about the interaction of New York State and the city. Eventually, the city fathers recognized that Gotham (as Keller sometimes calls it) needed "a permanent and reliable police force" (p. 155). Keller presents the New York City Draft Riots of 1863 and disputes over Tompkins Square as a place for public protest as analogous to the protests over London's Trafalgar Square. Also included is an account of the lengthy conflicts over building National Guard armories for the state militia. Keller interprets city opposition to them as a rejection of the military: "When it came to preserving order, New York relied on its police, bureaucracy, and laws to keep the peace" (p. 199). Finally, in "The Regulated City," Keller summarizes how city authorities tackled other aspects of urban life, including traffic control, street lighting, sanitation, prostitution, and unruly children. Ultimately, London proved more tolerant of free speech and mass protest than New York. Central Park has never had an equivalent to Hyde Park's Speakers' Corner. But by 1900, both cities managed liberty and order in ways that helped make democracy possible.

Keller ends with "The Triumph of Order." She skims over some of the public order issues of the twentieth century, including the efforts of New Yorkers to use Union Square for protests from the 1930s to 1960s. In our time, Keller finds that free expression still lives in London and New York; the police are still "the guardian[s] of that freedom" (p. 238). But the power of the police, symbolized by the 2005 Serious Organized Crime and Police Act in Great Britain and post-9/11 restrictions in the United States, is on the rise. Keller warns us that freedom can still be lost.

Unfortunately, much of the evidence offered by Keller is based on inadequate research and leads her to unsupported generalizations. London's Bow Street Runners were not a private police force (p. 255, n. 85). Keller makes virtually no reference to the police offices modeled on Bow Street. The Home Office used special constables to help keep public order decades before the Chartists. Keller's insistence that the nineteenth century is the key period glosses over recent histories of earlier developments. This is a shame, because they could support her argument. The British "negotiated" the limits of authority with the Wilkites in the 1760s, members of the London Corresponding Society (tried and acquitted of sedition in 1794), and parish vestries in the 1820s. Keller's characterization of the relationship between local and central government in London

is simplistic (even if one leaves out the City of London, as she does). Parish government in London was standardized and democratized after John Cam Hobhouse's Vestry Act of 1831, but Keller pays little attention to what local authorities did to create and maintain urban order. Decentralized authority was not always ineffective. She also seems to take the police at their own evaluation. Keller argues because the 1894 New York City police ordinances required its officers to preserve the public peace and prevent crime, "[t]his reflected the reality in these decades" (p. 213). In London, with little supporting evidence, she asserts, "the police stemmed violence and reduced property crime" (p. 51). Surely there was more to it than that.

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ADAM M. McKEOWN. *Melancholy Order: Asian Migration and the Globalization of Borders*. (Columbia Studies in International and Global History.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 450. \$32.50.

Weaving through studies of migration, law, bureaucracy, international statecraft, and philosophy, this book steers an ambitious course across a broadly conceived mapping of the global replication of the American system of border control from the mid-eighteenth through the twentieth centuries. Adam M. McKeown builds upon the pioneering scholarship of Erika Lee in *At America's Gates: Chinese Immigration during the Exclusion Era, 1882–1943* (2003), Mae M. Ngai in *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (2004), and other Asian American historians to elucidate how ideologies of race and inequality, individual rights, and national sovereignty that were developed through the passage and enforcement of the U.S. Chinese Exclusion Act came to set the standards for restrictions on immigration globally.

McKeown provides a longer and broader context for the U.S. Congress's 1882 decision to bestow lesser rights of entry, legal protection, and citizenship on Chinese due to their perceived racial inferiority. He traces competing voices in a largely European conversation that weighed the rights of individuals, free intercourse, and conceptions of sovereignty and that tipped in favor of protecting national interests through heightened regimes of restriction. American experiments in enforcing the Chinese exclusion laws—including an expanding and increasingly discriminatory array of strategies to address persistent illegal immigration and its burgeoning complications—evolved into the institutional foundations of border enforcement around the world as practiced today. Almost concurrently with the United States, nations emerging from the white settler frontiers of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa engaged in parallel conclusions regarding the need to safeguard against "unfree" Asian labor, although they chose different legal and administrative tools to achieve these goals. In contrast to the high costs and many failings of the U.S. exclusion laws and their un-

enforceability, Australian literacy tests efficiently granted almost complete autonomy to bureaucrats to determine entry rights under laws that superficially appeared egalitarian.

Girding the rise of restriction were anxieties about separating the civilized from the uncivilized parts of the world, an alignment that racially pitted European and other white states against the influx of indentured Asian laborers from India and China. Although the move toward restriction emanated from predominantly white states, McKeown demonstrates that Asian migrations, particularly across northwestern Asia, were comparable to that of Europeans throughout the world in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Discourse prioritized the protection of “free” migration, particularly following the abolition of the African slave trade. However, definitions of “unfree” were vague and easily muddled by contract labor practices. The emergence of Japan as a global power challenged the rise of this divided world and underscored the often contradictory relationship between immigration restriction and international relations. Japan was duly angered by the insult of the 1924 Immigration Act when the United States departed from the face-saving Gentlemen’s Agreement of 1907, which allowed the Japanese government to prevent the emigration of laborers, to prohibit the entry of “aliens ineligible for citizenship,” a category including Japanese among other Asians. As McKeown explains, however, during the early twentieth century, Chinese, Japanese, and Indians—the last as filtered through the writings of Mohandas K. Gandhi—largely agreed that sovereign nations had the right to restrict immigration and expressed concerns primarily on behalf of merchants, diplomats, intellectuals, and other elites whose mobility posed fewer threats.

In the face of the mounting, nationalism-fueled protection of sovereign rights, few protested the increasing curtailment of the individual’s freedom of international movement. The imposition of bureaucratic controls and identity documents assumed its own expanding and implacable logic, as American immigration restrictions required acquiescence from other governments wishing their citizens to be able to enter the United States. McKeown argues that sovereign authority even came to derive in part from a nation’s ability to control border movements. The insistence of these disciplinary regimes on their own categories, rules, and labels—with little regard for the fluid and contingent realities of those seeking to immigrate—became the norm by the mid-twentieth century.

McKeown appends some useful information in the conclusion about the origin of his title, which was derived from writings by Franz Kafka and Michel Foucault. Here he also describes his personal encounters with immigration regimes, particularly the erasure of individual identity and reality by the documentation required of his Chinese wife and even higher orders restricting the migration of his transnationally adopted daughter. These details humanize the broad tale that McKeown narrates and lend poignancy to what is oth-

erwise a highly structured overview of laws, philosophies, mass movements, and bureaucracies.

In such an ambitious undertaking, the sloppy copyediting permeating the text is a disappointment. This volume is nonetheless an insightful and deeply engaged excavation of international methods of constraint and identification that have attained naturalized status today.

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GEORGE STEINMETZ. *The Devil’s Handwriting: Precoloniality and the German Colonial State in Qingdao, Samoa, and Southwest Africa*. (Chicago Studies in Practices of Meaning.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2007. Pp. xxviii, 640. Cloth \$90.00, paper \$33.00.

This imposing volume contains such a wealth of content and analysis that its title cannot do it justice. Indeed, George Steinmetz offers several pages explaining the meaning of the phrase “devil’s handwriting.” The expression refers to the myriad ethnographic representations—encompassing everything from scientific tracts to popular plays from Marco Polo onward—that the author contends informed Germans’ beliefs about and encounters with the native populations of Qingdao, China, German Samoa, and Southwest Africa (contemporary Namibia). The book is divided into three sections, each corresponding to one of these colonial settings. Within each section, Steinmetz first catalogues and interprets a multiplicity of influential ethnographic writings about the local indigenous populations, then traces how these precolonial ideas laid the foundation for German colonial administrators’ subsequent treatment of subject peoples. The study uses regional comparisons to explain how and why German officials engaged in genocide against the natives of Southwest Africa but used far less violence in Samoa or China. The author’s herculean efforts to summarize such vast empirical evidence are impressive, and the book would be worth reading for its apt synthesis of the diffuse history of German colonialism alone. But the work is not only intended as a bible for scholars of German ethnography, race, genocide, or colonialism. Indeed, Steinmetz outlines an ambitious array of goals for the book that go well beyond its pioneering narrative structure, including “theoretical, historical, interpretive/explanatory, interdisciplinary, and political” aims (p. xx). The book’s extensive preface and introduction lay out the author’s approach and will be read with interest across many disciplines.

In seeking to interpret ethnographic ideas and their influence on native policies, the author postulates a series of mechanisms through which popular ideas come to inform colonial relations. (The present tense is appropriate since Steinmetz contends that the same processes continue to shape contemporary imperial interventions, such as the U.S. occupation of Iraq since 2003.) In their most basic form, the study relies on three

distinct levels of analysis: the discursive content of ethnographic writings, the social setting in the colonies where these ideas had their impact, and the psychological influence of ethnographic ideas, especially on colonial administrators.

Steinmetz first provides a rich, fruitful discursive analysis, a wonderful complement to Susanne Zantop's work. In the second analytical layer, the author bases his approach to social dynamics in the German colonies on Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social capital. He perceives an inevitable competition between colonial officials of different class origins, educational attainments, and ranks. Here, Steinmetz argues that individual colonial administrators deploy opposing interpretations of ethnographic knowledge as they vie among themselves for recognition of their expertise in indigenous cultures. The considerable historiography that has established the ascendancy of the educated middle class (*Bildungsbürgertum*) versus the declining power of the German aristocracy makes Steinmetz's theory especially persuasive for understanding the dynamics of the German Empire. Steinmetz attributes the vacillations between successive colonial administrations in Southwest Africa toward the various indigenous ethnic groups to posturing between colonial officials of aristocratic and middle-class origins. Indeed, the model could be extended further, toward understanding power relations among missionaries, settlers, and other influential figures who also helped to shape colonial policies.

If the author ascribes the German colonial administration's violent suppression and eventual genocide of the Ovaherero in part to the predominant discursive demonization of black Africans, he stresses that these ideas only gained weight within the specific context of German officials' rivalries. In Steinmetz's account, a pattern of German violence toward Africans emerges in Southwest Africa; but German racism, in itself, was not sufficient cause for the extermination of the Ovaherero. Indeed, he contends that social and psychological factors played necessary roles as well in precipitating the genocide.

Most intriguing of all are the author's efforts to probe the psychological level of colonial rule. He enlists Lacanian theory in explicating how colonial administrators read themselves into the prevalent ethnographic ideas and Homi K. Bhabha's theory of mimicry to explore how German administrators drew idiosyncratic conclusions about the capacity for "civilization" within each distinct ethnic group. Thus the author comes to interpret General Lothar von Trotha's central role in the genocide against the Ovaherero as symptomatic not only of his need to assert his authority against other officials but also of his self-identification with their reputation for bestiality. Conversely, Steinmetz contends that Governor Wilhelm Solf viewed Samoan culture as pacific and worthy of preservation.

In addition to the three primary layers of analysis, Steinmetz further nuances his study through discussion of other causal factors, including the crucial role that

colonized populations played in shaping imperial relations, as well as economic and political considerations. Thus, although the work's interpretive framework inevitably stresses the historical centrality of a few key administrators, the underlying narrative offers a complex, fascinating account of colonialism in action.

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GERALD HORNE. *The End of Empires: African Americans and India*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 2008. Pp. 266. \$54.50.

Recognition of India's influence on the philosophical foundation, strategy, and tactics of the U.S. civil rights movement is now commonplace, but only in recent years have scholars begun to move past the classic phase of African American insurgency to examine the deeper history of the relationships cultivated between Indian and African American activists. In a richly detailed overview, Gerald Horne takes the narrative back to the nineteenth century when Indian sailors settled in black New England maritime communities. He traces the lineage of several noted African American historical figures to Indian ancestors. Horne's primary chronological focus, however, is the first part of the twentieth century, culminating with India's independence in 1947.

This monograph juxtaposes two imperial orders: the British Empire and the regime of white supremacy in the United States. While Horne accepts the thesis that the "Cold War imperative" helped create the conditions for the dissolution of segregation, he also adds a new argument to the debate. He suggests that the end of Jim Crow was inseparable from the breakdown of British power. Both required as a precondition the racial subjection of African and Asian peoples. In turn, this subjugation provided the grounds for common understanding among the oppressed and a basis for cooperation. Subsequently, Indian independence ushered in a global era of collapsing colonial authority and a concomitant challenge from newly energized African Americans in pursuit of full citizenship rights.

Indian dissatisfaction with colonialism and black dissidence intersect in this account early in the twentieth century. Muslim missionaries from India reintroduced Islam to African descendants in the United States, thus providing a cultural and religious alternative to the dominant racial Christianity and paving the way for such future organizations as the Nation of Islam. Members of the Indian revolutionary Ghadar Movement during the World War I era had the sympathies of other anti-imperialists, including Marcus Garvey and W. E. B. Du Bois. The author describes an intricate network that linked the foes of British rule from Dublin to Chennai (Madras) and anti-racist black critics in North America. India's appeal among African Americans was not limited to black nationalists. It also included committed Christians interested in Gandhism, socialists and communists, and the NAACP's integra-

tionist stalwarts. A sense of collective suffering under colonial and white supremacist rule united these disparate elements. However, the era of African American-Indian collaboration ended soon after 1947, Horne argues, as blacks accepted the official Cold War vilification of India as a Soviet ally.

Horne makes his case through extensive research in American, Indian, and British archives and manuscript collections and an exhaustive study of secondary sources. The book forms part of this prolific author's expanding oeuvre. It shares with his other works a focus on international activism as a strategy that blacks have historically employed to address their oppression in the United States and debunks the idea that African American pursuits abroad were only rhetorical, or that they met with no positive response from other peoples of color.

A pervasive theme in much of Horne's scholarship provides a context for this book. Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905 deeply impressed subject peoples and racial minorities by demonstrating that an Asian power could compete with the West on its own terms. Reverberations of the Russo-Japanese War also reached the critics of racial hierarchy in the United States. In the years preceding World War II, Japanese “fifth column” agents made furtive gestures to African Americans while courting anticolonial politicians and national liberation groups in Asia. This plan was premised on the global defeat of white supremacy and colonialism under Japanese direction. Horne alludes six times to a figurative “V shaped formation,” evoking fighter plane positions, in which Japan would lead Indians and African Americans in attacking Western imperialism. At war's end, Tokyo's admirers would discover that its plans for emancipating people of color envisaged the substitution of Japanese hegemony for that of the white powers and that its leaders subscribed to a doctrine of Japanese racial superiority.

Therein lies a problem. The tendency throughout to simplify complex relationships sometimes leads Horne to write in essentialist terms about a Japan innocent of ulterior motives, a unified India, and an undifferentiated black America. To his credit, he pulls back from the chasm, acknowledging the existence of color prejudice in India, the failure of Japanese designs, and the diversity and fractiousness of Indian—and African American—politics. Horne suggests that insurgents' energy and commitment overrode these obstacles during the first half of the twentieth century.

Horne's book is part of a growing body of literature that reinserts popular struggles into the narrative of world history. Richly documented, engagingly written, and attractively presented, this work helps to erase some of the arbitrary boundaries between subfields and provides a fresh look at the past.

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BARBARA J. KEYS. *Globalizing Sport: National Rivalry and International Community in the 1930s*. (Harvard Historical Studies, number 152.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2006. Pp. xi, 274. \$49.95.

In the wake of the spectacle that was Beijing 2008, one would be hard-pressed to remember an era when the global magnitude of the Olympic Games—and its athletes—did not matter. The world's sports fans digest national heroes such as Jamaican Usain Bolt and American Michael Phelps with a transnational sensibility, one that speaks directly to Beijing's theme of “One World One Dream.”

The historical roots of this transnational cheering section in the midst of one of the world's most nationalistic spectacles can be found, Barbara J. Keys argues persuasively, in the 1930s, the era that saw the debut of soccer's World Cup and the first wave of commercialization for the modern Olympics. Her history of the development of sports in this period demonstrates not only how sport serves as a fruitful place to understand the workings of international relationships, but how sport served in a critical capacity in the very development of these relationships during the first part of the twentieth century. Keys, then, is not a historian who positions sports as a symbolic arena within which to understand global affairs; rather, she argues for sport to be considered within the history of international relations writ large and for sports officials, rather than policy makers and diplomats, to be the key players.

The 1930s, a time when world war was both of recent memory and impending, has traditionally been marked by historians as a period of extreme nationalism, ruled by the personalities of demagogues and the tides of economic despair. Keys fully understands the importance of the nation to internationalism and demonstrates how international sporting competition is able to arbitrate between national and transnational characteristics. With a particular focus on how the United States, the Soviet Union, and Nazi Germany each implemented sports programs to strengthen their international status and to represent the ideological workings of their governments (democracy, communism, and fascism, respectively), Keys shows off an impressively compelling breadth of research, making use of international sporting organization archives from each of those countries, as well as from Switzerland, with a particular focus on the International Olympic Committee's extensive resources in Lausanne. Indeed, her research itself was an act of international relations.

Keys uses her various international locales to ascertain how countries engaged in international sporting competitions—the Olympics, the World Cup, and so on—in order to put forward their own nationalist agendas, yet with a transnational bent. She characterizes the Los Angeles Olympic Games in 1932, for example, as a marketing coup for both Hollywood and Coca-Cola, an argument that the book's photograph of Duke Kahanamoku, Amelia Earhart, Paavo Nurmi, Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., and Arthur Jonath practically makes for

her. The oft-written-about "Nazi Olympics" in Berlin in 1936, infused with Adolf Hitler's politics of supremacy, seem to constitute a continuation, rather than an aberration, after Keys unpacks these details of 1932, finding startling similarities between American and German attempts to shape the Olympic Games in accordance with national agendas. Her exploration of Joseph Stalin's use of soccer, with the World Cup making its debut in 1930, in building Soviet foundations rounds out the argument nicely.

Some might worry that Keys overstates her compelling argument. Whatever commercial strides Coca-Cola took, for example, in the 1932 Olympic Games do not compare to how Los Angeles profited as host in 1984. Yet this should not detract from her focus on this important era. Her exciting and finely researched work does not merely serve as a contribution to the history of sport. Hers is, without question, a sports history that transcends sport, making an important, soundly argued, and well-written contribution to the history of international and diplomatic relations.

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PIERRE BIRNBAUM. *Geography of Hope: Exile, the Enlightenment, Disassimilation*. Translated by CHARLOTTE MANDELL. (Stanford Studies in Jewish History and Culture.) Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2008. Pp. 479. \$65.00.

Given the plethora of recent sociological studies on the Jews and Judaism in America—from quantitative analyses to more theoretical studies—there is a common quip among some Jewish Studies scholars that "sociology has become the new theology" of American Judaism. In his new book (lucidly translated from the French by Charlotte Mandell), Pierre Birnbaum offers a deeply informed and creative assessment of the impact of Jewishness on the social sciences and the social scientific impact on modern Jewishness. His thesis exhibits the extent to which the "Jewishness" of alienated Jewish social theorists played a significant role in the formation of modern theories of society and culture. Birnbaum's thesis cuts two ways: first, that some of the more influential social scientists of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries—from Karl Marx to Émile Durkheim, Georg Simmel, Isaiah Berlin, and Hannah Arendt—developed their theories of class conflict, post-Enlightenment social theory, liberalism, and pluralism in tension with their own alienated and assimilated Jewish identities coupled with an inability, or unwillingness, to abandon that identity totally and an inability, or unwillingness, to own it fully. The case is hardest to make with Marx but even there, Birnbaum argues, Marx's "Jewish question" is fraught with an anxiety that hardly exhibits the clean break it ostensibly advocates (one example is Marx's complex relationship with his once-disciple Moses Hess). Alternatively, these social theorists directly, albeit not always consciously, confront modern Judaism's struggle to come to terms

with the end of "religion" as the anchor of modern Jewish identity through their theories of social formation.

The lineup of thinkers in this volume illustrates the creativity and trajectory of the project. There are chapters on Marx, Durkheim, Simmel, Raymond Aron, Arendt, Berlin, Michael Walzer, and Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi. These chapters also contain sustained discussions of Hess, Robert E. Park (a disciple of Simmel and important University of Chicago sociologist of minority cultures in America), Horace Kallen, Salo Wittmayer Baron, and Charles Taylor. What we have here is a trajectory from the heady theories of early to mid-twentieth-century Western Europe (Arendt, Simmel, and Berlin serve as crucial bridge figures) to the more pragmatic theories of North America, with America providing a better social and cultural setting to implement these ideas than Europe (taking us all the way back to Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* [1835]).

In short, Birnbaum offers a fascinating rendering of the last hundred years of Jewish self-fashioning in the diaspora founded on what one might call the reversal of Jewish modernity. Here we move *from* assimilation to disassimilation, or the struggle for diaspora Jews to find their way home without actually wanting to go "home" (both literally and metaphorically). This is perhaps best captured by Yerushalmi when he writes, "it is simultaneously possible to be ideologically in exile and existentially at home" (p. 355). Birnbaum suggests that the dominant theoretical models of social theory honed in Europe, from communism to liberalism, become templates of diaspora Jewry's struggle in the United States to come to terms with itself in a world where, coupled with but in no way centered around Israel, Jewish exile has, as Walzer argues, "come to an end." And this struggle helps produce, among other things, American cultural pluralism and subsequently multiculturalism.

In some way, two civilizations are pitted against one another; not the tired dichotomy of Israel versus diaspora but contemporary France with its commitment to Enlightenment ideas of universalism and contemporary America with its commitment to pluralism and multiculturalism. There is, of course, the third (and here almost silent) wheel, the state of Israel, that becomes either the dismal failure of the modern Jewish project (Arendt) or, at best, a partner in a much wider discourse of diasporic Jewish self-fashioning (in Berlin, Walzer, and Yerushalmi). Zionism is not the solution for any of these thinkers but at most one piece of a decidedly diasporic puzzle. In fact, implied here is that it may be the United States, and not Israel, that provides the most fertile soil for a model of Jewishness in a post-religious age.

The book frames the trajectory of alienation and disassimilation from the most alienated (i.e., converted) Jew, Marx, to the most overly "Jewish," yet still alienated, self-proclaimed "Jewish historian," Yerushalmi. Yerushalmi's work on the Marrano Jew—medieval, modern, and, by implication, contemporary—is, in ef-

fect, the very product of Jewish success in America, where, following his teacher Baron, he offers us a vision of diasporic disassimilation both in his work and in his life (Yerushalmi unabashedly and unapologetically combines the two). The cultural pluralism of Kallen and what became in Simmel's view the Jew as "marginal man," even in pluralistic America, gave way to the multiculturalism of Walzer's optimistic and even comfortable conclusion of a "local" pluralism where dual identities are not only tolerated but celebrated, bringing us back, perhaps, to Supreme Justice Louis Brandeis's quip that "being a good Zionist *is* being a good American."

Thankfully, Birnbaum does not allow us to bask too easily in the self-congratulatory triumphalism of a position that ostensibly claims finally to have solved the "Jewish question." Arendt serves in some way as the critic of all this celebration of "local" pluralism—from Johann Gottfried Herder to Berlin and Walzer—by holding on to a European sense of universality even as she believes that such universalism can best be implemented on the pluralistic soil of America. Her critique of Israel, most pointedly albeit not exclusively in *Eichmann in Jerusalem* (1963), offers a sobering note to the ostensibly diasporic paradise of "dual allegiance" in Walzer's liberalism. In my view, Birnbaum is too critical of Arendt, too unsympathetic to her critique of Israel and Zionism, too taken by the success of disassimilation without a price. Birnbaum may be just a bit too convinced by the American context of multiculturalism and thus marginalizes Arendt's sobering critique of a particularism that can too easily become insular and tribalistic.

One important criticism of the press and not the author is that this thick volume, replete with complex discussions of many figures, has no index nor bibliography. This is, in my estimation, lamentable, as this volume is not only a masterful study but an essential tool for research.

Aside from my minor quibble with Birnbaum's reading of Arendt, this work is a magisterial history of social theory and Jewish identity, one that exhibits the creative juices of Jewish contributors to Western civilization who simultaneously challenge the conventions of Jewish self-fashioning in a post-emancipated world. It is the beginning, perhaps, of a new canon, making social theory, if not the new "theology of Judaism," a crucial component too often ignored by those interested in the angst-ridden nexus of Western civilization and modern Jewish identity.

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A. JAMES GREGOR. *Marxism, Fascism, and Totalitarianism: Chapters in the Intellectual History of Radicalism*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2009. Pp. xii, 402. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$24.95.

A. James Gregor no doubt welcomed the collapse of the Soviet empire, but he is distressed by one of its consequences: the waning of anticommunism as a force in American life, in scholarly life especially. Over the past two decades, he worries, researchers have discarded a "concern for a generic totalitarianism," which had encompassed both fascist and communist forms, thus allowing "Marxism, in all its variants, to recede into history." Although he mentions only one book (Mark Neocleous's *Fascism* [1997]), Gregor invokes "a spate of monographs" that view "fascism alone" as the "cause of the mass murders that darkened the history of the twentieth century" and interpret genocidal Nazism as "paradigmatic of the class of 'fascisms.'" The distressing outcome: "Marxism and its variants have been accorded a distinctive moral superiority" (pp. 18–19).

Gregor, a political scientist much published on Italian fascism, aims to put "classical Marxism" back on the totalitarian hook. Well, sort of classical Marxism. Much analytical slippage occurs in Gregor's key word, variants. Contrary to his desire to show that fascist and Stalinist totalitarianisms have their roots in Karl Marx's thought, he states that his analysis "attempts to fill in some of the intellectual space that separates classical Marxism from its revolutionary variants, and the totalitarian forms to which those variants ultimately committed themselves" (p. 12, emphasis added).

Things can become unstable, such as when, on a single page (p. 160), Gregor proposes that fascism should be understood "as a variant of Marxism" and that we need to understand how fascism evolved "out of the *uncertainties* of classical Marxism" (emphasis added). "Radicalism," the variant of Marxism that constitutes the bee in Gregor's bonnet, formed in Europe following the death of Friedrich Engels in 1895, arising from the "uncertainties" in the theory that he and Marx had bequeathed to their followers: unresolved epistemological problems around matters of consciousness—agency, will, and ethics—in the making of revolution. The uncertainties made heterodoxies inevitable, and Gregor traces them in chapters devoted to Ludwig Woltman, Georges Sorel, Vladimir Lenin, and Benito Mussolini.

Gregor writes on these matters as if he were the first to have done so, often citing only his own books when one anticipates references to George Lichtheim, Maurice Merleau-Ponty, James Miller, or Jack Roth (on Sorel). Gregor praises Ze'ev Sternhell's work but does not engage with it. Neither Antonio Gramsci nor Georg Lukács appears at all. The subsequent two chapters, on nationalism and on revolutionary syndicalism, are central in Gregor's account; the fascist variant of Marxism emerges, via Mussolini, from those two domains, coming to fruition in World War I, to which Gregor devotes the final three chapters. The second half of the book suggests that *Nationalism* might be added, after *Marxism*, to the book's title.

But, the revolutionary radicalism born of the *fin-de-siècle* syndicalist moment and world war also led to a variant of Marxism that Gregor has simply erased, that

of what one practitioner, Paul Mattick, called (in 1946) "Anti-Bolshevik Communism," known also as council communism. It runs from Otto Rühle, Anton Pannekoek, Herman Gorter, and the followers of Amadeo Bordiga in the 1920s, to the Situationists and the French circle *Socialisme ou Barbarie* in the 1950s and 1960s. From Gregor, one would not know that the twentieth century included radical revolutionary Marxists for whom, as Mattick put it, the struggle against fascism began in the early 1920s with the *Rätekommunisten* and their struggles against Bolshevism.

While, in his introduction, Gregor presents his work as a twenty-first-century account of a twentieth-century phenomenon, totalitarianism, his framework seems untouched by the new century. Today, discussions of totalitarianism might consider the alliance, based on a shared panic in the face of homosexuality, that was formed in the 1920s and lasted through 1945 among Soviet communism, German and Italian fascisms, much of the International Left, and the liberal, industrialized democracies and constructed the peculiar, transnational totalitarian institution called "the closet."

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TRACY C. DAVIS. *Stages of Emergency: Cold War Nuclear Civil Defense*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2007. Pp. xvi, 439. \$24.95.

It is not easy to take nuclear civil defense campaigns seriously these days. Few who have seen footage of government "duck-and-cover" exercises from the 1950s have been able to resist the conclusion—drilled home in the darkly comic 1982 documentary film *The Atomic Café*—that civil defense was anything other than a sham, an absurd response to the prospect of total annihilation in the age of the bomb. Scholarly accounts generally underline this double sense of the devious and the ridiculous, condemning civil defense programs for exploiting nuclear fears to enlist popular support for dubious national security agendas and to manufacture consent for an American way of life defined by consumerism and political conformity. In her book, Tracy C. Davis does not revise these conclusions so much as enhance our understanding of *how* civil defense programs shaped values and behaviors. Moreover, she offers a welcome comparative perspective, also studying civil defense in Canada and the United Kingdom. Examining a range of responses—from the distribution of hundreds of millions of pamphlets to the involvement of Boy Scouts in survival games, from trial residencies in underground shelters to mass urban evacuations—Davis presents a detailed, nicely illustrated account of the vast government programs and civilian exercises through which Western nations prepared for nuclear conflagration.

This book is packed with information, but Davis cautions that it is "not a history of civil defense but a historical treatment of how problems were investigated through theatrical techniques and rehearsal methodol-

ogies" (p. 4). Blending social history, literary theory, and performance studies, the author is particularly interested in how civil defense activities habituated civilians, especially in the United States, to the expectation that nuclear war was survivable and winnable so long as civilians trusted their governments and performed scripted roles. Readers of Guy Oakes's *The Imaginary War: Civil Defense and American Cold War Culture* (1994) will already know that civil defense maneuvers were conducted in the language of theater. Adapting approaches from war games, officials and civilians simulated post-attack scenarios—burying the dead, feeding and sheltering refugees, and so forth—in order to prepare (or "rehearse") for nuclear war, but also to provide psychological assurance to populations learning to live with the knowledge that the world as they knew it could end at any time.

In the second chapter Davis fleshes out her theoretical approach, and it is here that it becomes clear why civil defense is a topic of such interest to her as a professor of the performing arts. Drawing on studies of performance and rehearsal, Davis argues that civil defense exercises made use of a box of theatrical tricks to sustain the illusion that simulations were realistic. Her argument is complex, and one can debate the definitions of rehearsal and theatricality deployed here, but it offers an intriguing analysis of how officials were able to construct a selective but "consensual" understanding of Cold War "realities." Although she does not use the term, Davis essentially argues that civil defense enactments were performing ideological work: not by persuading citizens of the intellectual merit of dominant policies, but by imprinting normative behaviors on the bodies of those millions of actors who participated in civilian exercises. This, she argues, is why civilians failed to question the sense or sanity of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's promise to repel Soviet aggression with a "massive thermonuclear response," even when scientific evidence suggested that no society could survive the ensuing "nuclear winter."

Davis argues that we are still operating within the horizon of early national security assumptions, screening out threats to security from closer to home such as "poverty, racism, lack of medical access, crumbling urban infrastructure, and the crisis in public education" (p. 334). In the aftermath of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, the United States embarked on what the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* described as a new "silly season for civil defense," wherein citizens observed perplexing security protocols at U.S. airports and the Department for Homeland Security recommended duct tape as a part of any home's survival kit for terrorist attacks. These responses, according to Davis, are "vestigial legacies of arcane beliefs, bygone fears, and vigilance without a clear reference point" (p. 2).

At the end of the book, Davis asks, "Will there ever be a rehearsal—and at last a performance—of peace? Would that be the ultimate breach in the—as yet—unbroken tradition?" (p. 337) It is a poignant and thought-provoking question, but it runs the risk of overstating

the monolithic nature of American security sentiments and certainly does little to explain how dissent happens. What about the rehearsals for peace that already *have* been imprinted upon many in the Western world: civil rights marches, anti-war demonstrations, environmental activism? Still, Davis's book is a welcome addition to the history of civil defense, one that provides a fruitful analytical framework through which to make sense of the politics of security, past and present.

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YINGHONG CHENG. *Creating the "New Man": From Enlightenment Ideals to Socialist Realities*. (Perspectives on the Global Past.) Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2009. Pp. x, 265. \$60.00.

In this book, Yinghong Cheng compares the efforts of revolutionary leaders in the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, and Cuba to transform popular ethics according to Marxist-Leninist ideals. The "new man" they hoped to create had collectivist values, worked selflessly for the public good, was disciplined and enthusiastic in his labor, was involved in politics, and was committed to building an egalitarian communist society. Readers who are intimately familiar with the first decades of communist power in the Soviet Union, China, or Cuba may find little new in the chapter on the country of their expertise, but they should nevertheless find this systematic comparison of the three intriguing. Cheng's comparative endeavor is highly worthwhile and enriches our understanding of the initial "heroic" post-revolutionary decades in each of these countries.

Cheng grew up in China during the Mao Zedong era, and China serves as his pivot in examining both the Soviet Union and Cuba. For the latter two countries, his sources are exclusively in English or Chinese, and he relies largely on secondary works together with key memoirs, literary works, and political statements. Nevertheless, the experience and knowledge he gained in China have given him an acute perspective from which to view the Soviet Union and Cuba. Students of Soviet history will appreciate how Soviet political and ideological inventions were reinterpreted and redeployed in China, while students of Cuban history will be interested in the perspectives of Chinese diplomats and visitors to the island in the early 1960s.

Cheng follows a similar trajectory in the chapters about the Soviet Union, China, and Cuba. He starts with a quick overview of domestic precursors of the communist "new man" project among politically oriented intellectuals, including revolutionary populists in Russia and nationalists in China and Cuba (although similar projects initiated by Sun Yat-sen and prominent rural reformers in Republican China are curiously missing). He then assembles passages that illuminate the thinking of key communist leaders in each country (V. I. Lenin, Leon Trotsky, and Joseph Stalin in the Soviet Union, Mao Zedong and Liu Shaoqi in China,

and Fidel Castro and Che Guevara in Cuba). In subsequent sections, he examines in turn educational institutions (focusing on moral and ideological content and socializing practices), the promotion of revolutionary and labor models (including both individuals and collective endeavors), and efforts to motivate labor through moral rather than material incentives. He closes each chapter with a short account of the demise of the "new man" project in each country. Within this thematic organization, he weaves narratives of revolutionary advances and retreats. This is not an easy task, and in some cases historic context and development get shortchanged, but Cheng's efforts to drive home his themes are largely successful. The chapters are well written, make good use of exemplary data, and are based on a solid grasp of history.

Cheng shows that China and Cuba did not simply borrow Soviet practices and institutions but reinvented many of them on their own. By the time Chinese and Cuban revolutionaries triumphed and embarked on projects of human transformation, Soviet authorities had largely abandoned theirs and were counseling social moderation, conventional educational policies, meritocratic hierarchies, and material incentives. Nevertheless, inspired by Marxist-Leninist ideology, Mao, Castro, and Guevara rejected this counsel and pursued more radical goals, creating dilemmas similar to those encountered earlier by their Soviet forerunners. Cheng's account reinforces depictions of these revolutionary leaders as voluntarist and utopian visionaries; they are hardly economic determinists (in the fashion of some academic Marxists), or pragmatic, cynical politicians.

Cheng's analysis is guided by the totalitarian narrative, and the intellectual influences of Isaiah Berlin and Eric Hoffer are particularly evident. The communist endeavor is treated as the culmination of a progression that began with the Enlightenment and proceeded through France to Russia, and social-psychological themes from mass society variants of totalitarian theory are manifest throughout the text. Satisfied with this framework, Cheng does not explore, or even mention, other analytical strategies, which have, for instance, placed communist projects in the same theoretical context as millenarian and other types of revolutionary movements. Like other works in the totalitarian tradition, Cheng's account is pervasively dark and sometimes overly simple. Literacy campaigns and movements to expand basic education, for instance, are treated almost exclusively as instruments of indoctrination (although literacy itself was a goal central to communist efforts to enlighten workers and peasants and eliminate class differences). The Red Guard movement during the Cultural Revolution in China, a complex phenomenon born of Mao's efforts to cultivate subversive mentalities among postrevolutionary youth (including an aversion to the authority of communist officials), is treated largely as a violent manifestation of extreme communist socialization.

Cheng begins this book by asking to what extent hu-

man nature can be shaped by new circumstances. He ends it with two strong and simple conclusions. First, despite the high-minded goals of its architects, the communist "new man" project was a fundamentally malignant effort to impose the ideals of the few on the many. Second, the project was doomed to failure. A more nuanced analysis is possible. All states create social institutions that shape ideas and practices within their borders, and strong states with transformative agendas often have great influence. The revolutionary states in the Soviet Union, China, and Cuba belong in this category, and in each country their attempts to create a collectivist ethic had a tremendous impact, even if it fell short of their implausible goals. In conducting interviews with individuals who lived in Mao-era China, I have been struck by how many stress the power of the collectivist ethic of that period (whether they look back with nostalgia or aversion or both).

The three main chapters of Cheng's book all remain at a distance from the ordinary people who were the objects of the transformative efforts he describes. We are told about ideas and models, but not much about how these were received, interpreted, and employed by the masses (except that the leaders were often disappointed by the results and ultimately the efforts were abandoned). A number of other scholars have endeavored to do this with some success (including Anita Chan and Susan Shirk in the Chinese case), but clearly there is more room for investigating the extent to which circumstances altered by communist revolutions changed popular ethics.

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SERGEY RADCHENKO. *Two Suns in the Heavens: The Sino-Soviet Struggle for Supremacy, 1962–1967*. (Cold War International History Project Series.) Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center. 2009. Pp. xvii, 315. \$65.00.

Four chapters covering the pivotal years of the breakup of the alliance make up the heart of this book: the Sino-Soviet "interaction" during the Cuban Missile Crisis and the simultaneously occurring Sino-Indian war; the "ideological" conflict and Nikita Khrushchev's fall; the 1965 "debate" over Vietnam; and the "bitter" relations during the early stages of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

As befitting this controversial subject, Sergey Radchenko offers some new interpretations and much new detail. The author's general thesis is that Soviet leaders genuinely sought to repair the breach in relations that Mao Zedong had instigated and were perplexed by the Chinese leader's persistent refusal to come back into the fold. He concludes, "the intrinsic inequality of the Sino-Soviet alliance . . . brought it to ruin" (p. 206).

The author's methodology is essentially content analysis, rather than policy analysis. That is, the author's technique is to analyze and comment on his data, rather than to use the data to piece together and analyze pol-

icy. Indeed, aside from general platitudes that the Soviet objectives were simply peace and friendship and all military measures were taken in self-defense, there is no discussion of Soviet strategy or policy toward China, India, Vietnam, Cuba, or Outer Mongolia.

The reasons why Moscow decided as part of its policy to put missiles into Cuba, pay the weapons bill for the war in Vietnam, supply India with the weapons to pursue a forward policy toward China, prod China into intervening in Vietnam, and deploy close to half a million troops along the Chinese border and Outer Mongolia are not discussed, except as commentary on the views of contemporary (usually Russian) observers.

While acknowledging that some authors see a connection between Khrushchev's policy vacillation toward China during the Sino-Indian border conflict and the Cuban Missile Crisis, the author denies any connection, arguing that "Khrushchev offered olive branches to Beijing even before the flare-up in Cuba" (p. 25). However, Khrushchev's vacillation is indisputable, and the explanation for it seems to lie in the moment when the Soviet leader realized that his Cuban adventure would fail, sometime between October 11 and 13, 1962, based on the evidence proffered.

Although claiming otherwise, the author provides suggestive new evidence for the view that Khrushchev's fall was a direct function of the Soviet leader's failure to repair the breach with the Chinese. It also seems to this reviewer and seemed to Zhou Enlai at the time that the Soviets were urging the pro-Soviet faction in the Chinese leadership to emulate their Soviet colleagues in overthrowing Mao the way they had overthrown Khrushchev. This was General Rodion Malinovskii's remark to Zhōu that "we will not allow any Maos or Khrushchevs to put obstacles in our way" (p. 133). Such an outcome would allow, as Aleksei Kosygin put it, "to cross out the dark times and restore the former friendship" (p. 125).

On the conflict in Vietnam, Radchenko claims that Moscow's preference was for a "peaceful settlement" of the conflict, but that the Chinese "encouraged it." The Soviet provision of weapons to Hanoi is acknowledged, but explained away as done simply to be "competitive with China for influence in Hanoi," to "score points," or simply as a "point of pride" (p. 141). But, one cannot have it both ways. The provision of weapons to enable Hanoi to prosecute the war was not the way to secure a peaceful settlement.

In the discussion of the Sino-Soviet "debate" in 1965, the author expresses disappointment in Mao's refusal to accede to Soviet proposals for "united action," without informing the reader that by united action Moscow meant to prod China into conflict with the United States, as Joseph Stalin had done in Korea in 1950 (pp. 146–147).

In discussing the Soviet decision to mount a major buildup on the Chinese border beginning in early 1967, Radchenko presents it as a purely defensive response to Chinese forces "amassing" on their side of the border (pp. 184, 190). Evidence for the Chinese buildup comes,

however, from Soviet sources as part of a general war scare, in which the Russians claimed that China was preparing to invade Siberia.

In fact, in the course of 1967 fully one half of China's main-force military units were broken down and deployed to China's provinces to maintain order during what was the most volatile phase of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. With China on the verge of civil war, the view that Mao was preparing to invade the Soviet Union is particularly dubious.

A final point: while this book is a valuable addition to the literature on the subject of the Sino-Soviet dispute, the author frames it as the central aspect of their mutual relations. It seems to this reviewer, however, that each state's policy toward the other was essentially derivative. Washington, in other words, was the elephant in the middle of the room, and the Sino-Soviet struggle is best understood in that larger context, especially the growing U.S. involvement in Vietnam. Soviet policy toward China and Vietnam was a function of its strategy toward the United States, its major adversary. For Mao, too, the struggle with the Soviets was a function of his general strategy to shift position within the bipolar world of that time, which raises the question posed in the subtitle: was it a struggle for supremacy or independence?

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ANDREA BENVENUTI. *Anglo-Australian Relations and the "Turn to Europe," 1961–1972*. (Studies in History New Series.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press, for the Royal Historical Society. 2008. Pp. xiv, 215. \$95.00.

Andrea Benvenuti's clearly stated aim is to understand the processes whereby Australia's relationship with Britain in the 1960s was transformed—from one informed by deeply cherished notions of a common culture and ethnicity, to something more akin to Australia's dealing with other "foreign" states. It is a diplomatic history, focusing on the crucial period from 1960 to 1973. It was during these years that British governments made successive applications for membership to the European Economic Community (EEC), and began a protracted withdrawal of Britain's military commitment from Southeast Asia. Benvenuti argues that it was primarily the effects of this broader "turn to Europe" on the part of Britain, rather than any specific agency or impetus peculiar to Australia, that determined the nature and the pattern of change.

This is well-worn territory. In recent years, at least two monographs (including one of my own, to declare any bias) and any number of articles have trawled through these same archival holdings. Benvenuti's claim to originality is that his study is "the first comprehensive" treatment of the problem—by which he means that it "is not restricted to one specific aspect or crisis in the relationship in the 1960s" (p. 7). He emphasizes the "cumulative effect of four perceived crises"—the three EEC membership applications and the

withdrawal from East of Suez—as the collective harbingers of change, rather than the impact of any "one specific crisis" (p. 8). In short, he challenges the "partial explanation" (pp. 11–12) of other scholars, by implying throughout that they have missed the wood for the trees.

And Benvenuti is indeed the first to tell this story in monograph form through the prism of these four interlocking crises. As such, the book is a most worthy contribution, and will be a handy reference point for students. But there are interpretative problems inherent in his very claim to originality. By emphasizing the fundamentally cumulative agencies at work, he robs himself of the capacity to evaluate the specific impact of any one of his four key events. If "none of these factors individually caused lasting damage" (p. 186), he is obliged to downplay their impact individually in a way that can seem contrived.

The Macmillan government's EEC membership bid of 1961–1963 is the most obvious case in point. Any number of Benvenuti's sources (and occasionally his own commentary) suggest that the *initial* shock of Britain turning its back and joining a protectionist Europe really did have the capacity to cause "lasting damage." As he himself notes, after Charles de Gaulle's veto in January 1963 "the clock could not be turned back as far as Anglo-Australian relations were concerned" (p. 187), and Canberra was henceforth under "no illusion that after the 1961–3 bid Britain would be drawn further into the European orbit" (p. 45). But drawing any conclusions from this "specific crisis" risks undermining one of the core premises of the book.

Conversely, Benvenuti finds it difficult to say anything in particular about the impact of Britain's subsequent EEC membership bids. He suggests rather vaguely that Wilson's failed bid in 1967 "left Canberra under no illusion that Britain was committed to join the EEC" (p. 190). But this surely was the lesson of 1963—in what ways did this contribute to the "cumulative" effect? Other sources also indicate that the writing was on the wall for the East of Suez decision by the mid-1960s, prompting both parties to approach the matter with an entirely new mindset.

Above all there is no attempt to gauge public perceptions of these serial shocks as a way of ascertaining their wider influence. One of the few sources cited that does not emanate from the archives points to the "lasting damage" of the earlier Macmillan EEC bid—namely John Crawford, quoted in a major public lecture in 1962: "our psychology has been changed. We will never be the same as we were before" (p. 40). My own inclination is to pay closer heed to these perceptions of contemporaries. As the *Australian* editorialized in its inaugural edition on July 15, 1964: "The burning desire of Mother to leave us to our own affairs was a shock. It was a salutary shock. For it helped to make us understand that now, as never before in our short history, we stand alone." This is not to deny the possibility of aftershocks, but it is the work of the historian to evaluate the relative importance of competing agencies as

means of understanding the underlying processes at work. Benvenuti abdicates this role in his attempt to find a place in the sun.

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AVIVA CHOMSKY. *Linked Labor Histories: New England, Colombia, and the Making of a Global Working Class*. (American Encounters/Global Interactions.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2008. Pp. xiii, 397. Cloth \$84.95, paper \$23.95.

Aviva Chomsky argues for an "alternative" perspective on globalization, one that "assumes that economic integration . . . is the *cause* of the regional inequalities that characterize the world today." Over the last one hundred years capitalist manufacturers have relied upon "immigration and capital flight" (de-industrialization) to ensure their profits. For Chomsky "economic integration . . . is a method that capital has used to create and control cheap sources of labor" (p. 304). Globalization can therefore best be understood by the study of "linked labor histories": in her case, a comparative analysis of labor in New England and Colombia. Chomsky thus meshes dependency analysis and comparative labor history with a sharp critique of globalization.

This book is a work of advocacy. Each chapter contains a testimonial or document that offers insight into the behavior of labor activists or suggests how history might have evolved if forces of capital and labor had been aligned differently. Chomsky is especially critical of workers or unions who pursued conciliatory relations with capital in defense of parochial or nationalist stances. "Cross border" solidarity and action are central to her call for "a deeper discussion of advocacy regarding the nature and causes of global inequality" (p. 304), a prerequisite to an equitable global society.

Three themes permeate Chomsky's study: migration, labor-management collaboration, and global economic restructuring. The book focuses first on New England and then on Colombia. The analysis of New England parallels its textile history. The first chapter centers on "efficiencies" within the Draper company, and especially how the Draper loom reveals struggles within the textile industry; a second chapter centers on labor collaborationism within the Naumkeag Steam Cotton Company in the interwar years; the third focuses on capital flight and the Tectron Company in the U.S. South, Puerto Rico, Asia, Colombia, and Central America in the years after World War II; and the fourth chapter focuses on the complex role of Latino/a workers within New England's remaining textile mills.

Chomsky examines different industries for her analysis of Colombia. Chapter five, on the Urubá banana zone in the 1980s and 1990s, links labor mobilizations, paramilitary violence, and a complicit neoliberal state. Chapter six analyzes the linkages between U.S. multinational corporations, the AFL-CIO, and the U.S. government within the neoliberal project. "Where does your coal come from?" forces readers to consider the

origins of New England's coal in the Guajira peninsula and the horrific violence and environmental damage that production for the global market has caused.

An impressive range of research sustains this book. Contemporary labor newspapers, articles, interviews, and extensive secondary sources inform the analysis of each chapter. Chomsky's deep contextualization produces a complex, multifaceted work that prevents facile capsulization. Typical is the masterful interweaving of the three themes in the first chapter, which includes a detailed history of the Draper family, its industrial empire, and how the Draper looms empowered the company in its struggles with its laborers. Chomsky is at her best in the micro-analysis of the laboring communities of Hopedale and Milford, the ethnic and class divisions of the communities, and the struggles of radical laborers in a 1913 strike. The use of the Draper loom in the textile industry of Medellín, Colombia, illustrates Draper's "race to the bottom" in pursuit of lower labor costs and higher productive efficiencies. The recruitment in the 1960s of Colombian textile workers familiar with the repair and function of the loom illustrates the multiple linkages that help to explain the inequities embedded in globalization. Finally, the role of Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) activists in the 1913 strike allows the author to situate Nicola Sacco within the anarchist labor community of Milford, where he acquired the political convictions that would lead to his death in 1927.

Chomsky's analysis of labor activism and violence in Colombia illustrates the strengths and possible criticisms of her work. Her detailed analysis of rival unions and paramilitary organizations is based on meticulous research that traces the intricacies of personal and strategic schisms. Chomsky asserts that the tragic levels of violence in the Urubá banana zone "depict one possible future for all of us" and that "violence and repression are an integral part of the economic model of globalization" (p. 188). Readers with different ideological perspectives might question this assertion, suggesting instead that Colombia's violent history can be better explained by internal rather than external processes.

Some readers might be critical of the advocacy that permeates Chomsky's book. The ambitious linkage of Colombia's and New England's labor histories is sustained by her understanding of the nature of capitalism. Her approach is thought-provoking and reminiscent of the work of Charles W. Bergquist, though with much greater attention to the struggles of local activists. This book merits a close reading and, one hopes, will inspire others to undertake similar studies.

DAVID SOWELL
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JAMES C. RILEY. *Low Income, Social Growth, and Good Health: A History of Twelve Countries*. (California/Milbank Books on Health and the Public.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, with Milbank Memorial Fund. 2008. Pp. xvi, 229. \$45.00.

For many years, the formula for development went as follows: if you want to reduce poverty in a poor country, you need to make the country as a whole rich; to become rich, the country must mimic the paths and policies of the average rich country; and mimicking the average rich country means protecting private property rights, liberalizing trade, deregulating markets to make it easy for entrepreneurs to start businesses, and other such "market-friendly" measures. Anyone who has been watching over the past ten years has watched this consensus collapse utterly, and in its place now is only confusion. Some still think liberalization is the answer and call for "trade not aid." Some want micro-credit. Some want more local studies and more experiments. And some have thrown their hands up in despair at the whole project of development.

Out of this confusion and tragedy, however, new ideas are emerging, and one of the most promising trends is that scholars from outside the discipline of economics have become interested in the question. Historian James C. Riley begins his new book by throwing the orthodox formula out the window. Through brief case studies of twelve poor countries, Riley shows that it is possible to improve health and reduce mortality in a poor country without attempting to make the country rich—to make the lives of the poor better without necessarily making them less poor. This argument is a reprise of the 1980s debate over "social development," which was spurred by observations of decreasing infant mortality in very poor places, such as the state of Kerala in India. Riley wants to argue that we have no clue how to make the poor less poor, but that we do have some understanding of how to make them healthier. The main lesson that emerges from his historical overview is that reductions in mortality follow control of three kinds of diseases—malaria, tuberculosis, and fecal diseases—and one of the best ways of getting rid of these diseases is to educate the population about health issues, particularly prevention: "The important thing in public health is not the technical knowledge and skill of the experts. . . . It is instead the participation of ordinary people in the effort" (p. 173).

Riley's reasons for investigating this topic are convincing, but his investigation itself less so. The book seeks to teach us two things: how did these twelve countries improve the health of their respective populations, and how can we repeat their success elsewhere? On both counts the answers are unsatisfying. At five to ten pages each, Riley's case studies cannot give a convincing explanation of the health transition in any country, and the tangle of factors that played a role (quarantines, mosquito control, antibiotics, primary health care facilities, sanitation, vaccination) in no way leads to a confident conclusion about local participation or any other factor being the key. And it is not possible to draw lessons for other countries from these brief snapshots, because Riley has chosen to study only the successful cases. Thus, he argues that public health campaigns are crucial, because each of the twelve countries he studied had some sort of public health campaign. But many

poor countries have tried to implement public health campaigns with not much to show for it. Riley's conclusions are optimistic because he ignores all these negative cases, and a reader is none the wiser about when public health campaigns succeed or why they fail. Riley criticizes the scholarship on economic development for not being able to provide reliable lessons that would translate to other contexts. But he cannot do so either. As it turns out, drawing reliable conclusions is difficult even if we shift the focus from aggregate economic wealth to mortality and morbidity.

Still, while Riley's conclusions are not convincing, the approach he has outlined—examine the reasons for better health in some low-income countries—remains promising. What is important about this book is that it reminds us that other models of development are possible, including models of development that demand fewer natural resources. This book is a useful overview for anyone looking for an introduction to those other models of development, as an alternative to throwing one's hands up in despair.

MONICA PRASAD

Northwestern University [All reviewers of books by Indiana University faculty are selected with the advice of the Board of Editors.]

ASIA

WAI-YEE LI, *The Readability of the Past in Early Chinese Historiography*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 253.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center. 2007. Pp. xii, 449. \$49.50.

Early Chinese historiography, according to Wai-yee Li, involved collections of diverse oral and written exegetical texts originally produced to explain the more cryptic *Chunqiu*, or "Spring and Autumn Annals" by court scribes. The "anxiety" of trying to explain historical events in order to reveal a higher moral or even supernatural order is what catapulted mere "scribes" into "historians." Reaching back in time from her more recent studies of Han period historiography to understand better the sources of these texts, Li focuses on the *Zuozhuan*, most likely the earliest exegetical tradition (*zhuan*) that used written texts and one that covers events from 722–468 B.C.E., when the supremacy of the Zhou way was slowly collapsing into chaos.

Li interweaves an interrogation of traditional Chinese historiography with her own close readings of long passages that she has translated. Combining through contradictory and "competing lessons" (the title of her first chapter), Li sifts through the layers of records and commentary, ones that reveal different regional approaches as well as later, probably Confucian (but at times proto-legalist), attempts to impose (unsuccessfully) an idealized Zhou moral system of awards and punishments. The need by later Han historians to personalize this process of a moral man in an immoral world enhanced the legend that a single author, a Mr. Zuo, was responsible for the *zhuan*. In fact, Li shows not only that Mr.

Zuo was possibly a myth but also that the text itself was likely still being worked on through the early Han period.

The earliest layers of the *Zuozhuan* reveal an obsession with reading historical events—limited to records of local courts, such as those of Qin, Jin, Qi, Zheng, Lu, and Chu—as if they were portents or as if they were the causal results of earlier signs or “beginnings.” In chapter two—“Signs and Causality”—Li shows that a “beginning” event could be as small as a transgression in dress, an instance of deceptive behavior, or even an excessive fondness for women, music, or cranes. The retrospective reading of these signs by the author(s) suggests that the search for a cause in the web of past events was analogous to acts of divination. Indeed, the interpretation of hexagrams, supernatural omens, dreams, musical performances, recitations of well-known odes or historical precedents, physical gestures, and so forth were key talents of the ministers, whose own interpretations of events were embedded in the *Zuozhuan* narratives (and in the subject of chapter three, “The Reading of Signs”). The futility and tension felt by the reader as these interpretations were repeatedly ignored by the rulers becomes the Han historians’ lament.

The ministers could use their interpretations of the divine network of numinous signs to regain control over the symbolic system and delegate the appropriate human response, usually behavior modification on the part of the ruler. Often forced to negotiate directly with spirits and demons, the ministers (and hence the author(s) of the *zhuan*) could use divination as a time to re-narrate and rationalize events to support a particular viewpoint or sense of order. Li dates the addition of this type of organizing device to the last fifty to sixty years of the entire period covered by the *Zuozhuan*, i.e., the late fifth century B.C.E.

In chapter four, “The Manipulation of Signs,” Li includes case studies of ministerial interpretation, particularly those involving battle strategies and the rise and fall of hegemonies, such as those in Jin and Qi and those attempted by Chu. Li argues that the Jin discourse emphasized cunning, whereas Qi discourse appealed for ritual propriety and social order. The Chu, on the other hand, despite their fluency in Zhou songs and other “signs,” were interested more in raw power than in presenting an acceptable ritual aesthetic. The dubious morality of warfare and the obvious dissent into chaos reflected in the last third of the *Zuozhuan* results in the “anxiety” felt by court scribes, as discussed in chapter five, “The Anxiety of Interpretation.” The book ends with a discussion on the symbol of the unicorn and the role of Confucius as the “noble man” who attempted to create order out of chaos.

This book is densely textured and assumes a basic knowledge of early Chinese texts. What is missing from Li’s discussion is a broader exploration of secondary scholarship concerning pre-Han China, with more than the occasional nod to other scholars not just of the *Zuozhuan* but of the larger context of texts and material

culture. This would avoid such unfortunate gaffs as the use of evidence from the early Neolithic site of Banpo to elucidate burial rites and, given the abundance of texts excavated from tombs in the past two decades, add immeasurably to any discussion of how texts are formed.

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THOMAS DAVID DUBOIS. *The Sacred Village: Social Change and Religious Life in Rural North China*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 275. \$41.76.

Thomas David DuBois’s excellent volume offers a signal contribution to our knowledge of the anthropology and local history of popular religious groups often referred to as “sectarian.” More specifically, DuBois examines groups such as the *Taishang men*, the *Tiandi men*, and the *Zailijiao* in Cang county in southeast Hebei, where he carried out fieldwork between 1997 and 2002, when all of these groups were experiencing an important revival. DuBois also consulted Japanese ethnographies (as well as the work of some Chinese researchers) from the 1930s and 1940s and a variety of sources on the late imperial predecessors of these groups under the Ming and Qing dynasties, allowing him to construct a larger framework to interpret the rich findings from his fieldwork.

DuBois makes a persuasive case that these groups should be viewed as part and parcel of local society and local culture and not as dissident outsiders. In other words, these “sects” have been a fixture of the North China religious landscape for centuries, and they have been largely accepted as such, despite their nominal, official status as “heterodox.” Both the *Taishang men* and the *Tiandi men* share the cosmology and symbols of the White Lotus tradition, but both have come to constitute the core of village religiosity and morality: sect leaders serve as village moral exemplars and officiate at important ritual occasions such as funerals or annual festivals and ceremonies, including prayers for rain, blessings, and exorcisms. DuBois also illustrates that, if his sectarian groups were ever marginal outsiders, they are no longer stigmatized as such by local society and have not been for some time. Instead, the author underlines “the ability of these groups to function quietly as stable local institutions,” noting that “[u]nless somehow drawn into political intrigue, such groups remained beyond the interest of most government investigators and appear only tangentially in historical records. Yet, evidence demonstrates that the practice of such groups remained very close to the needs of everyday life” (pp. 155–156). Additionally, since the sects were not closed groups of “true believers” who emphasized their separateness from non-sectarian life, villagers in villages where such groups had established an important presence were free to decide their individual level of association with sectarian morality and votive activity. Nor

were sect members secret or isolated from non-members.

The sectarian leaders appearing in DuBois's volume enjoy the status of community leaders, respected for their knowledge and moral rectitude; from the perspective of local society they represent orthodoxy, not heterodoxy. This is why some such groups survived the widespread suppression of popular religious groups (*huidaomen*) in the early 1950s, and why they have managed to re-establish themselves—if not without some difficulty due to the loss of ritual specialists—in the post-Cultural Revolution period. Savvy local cadres (like savvy magistrates under the imperial order) realize that, except during moments of intense political pressure, management of rural society is much easier if carried out with the cooperation of village leaders who command the respect of village members. Even the *Yiguandao*—a group much maligned by Chinese authorities, largely for having sided with the Japanese and/or the Nationalists during the Sino-Japanese War—might well have been woven into this fabric had not its members' political activities earned them the opprobrium of the state, which succeeded in labelling the group as heterodox and dangerous.

In sum, DuBois's book is an excellent and timely study, contributing to our historical understanding of the sectarian tradition as well as illustrating the revival of such traditions in contemporary China. The book is well written and highly readable. Professors of upper-level undergraduate courses in modern and contemporary Chinese history might well consider adopting it for classroom use.

DAVID OWNBY
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CONSTANTINE NOMIKOS VAPORIS. *Tour of Duty: Samurai, Military Service in Edo, and the Culture of Early Modern Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 318. \$50.00.

Building on his previous study of early modern Japan's nationally managed road system (*Breaking Barriers: Travel and the State in Early Modern Japan* [1995]), Constantine Nomikos Vaporis provides a detailed, often engaging analysis of the strongest day-to-day mechanism for shogunal control of Japan's 260-odd early modern *daimyo* (feudal lords): the system of alternate attendance and compulsory periodic residence in Edo (modern Tokyo). While the first *daimyo* volunteered hostages after Tokugawa Ieyasu's victory at Sekigahara (1600), Vaporis emphasizes that it was not until the mid-seventeenth century that alternate attendance and scheduled *daimyo* residence in Edo were ordered as systematic mechanisms of control rooted in the *daimyo*'s military obligations. The system's initial military cast continued to shape procedures and forms even as practices were transformed and as *daimyo* adapted to them over the two-and-a-half centuries of Tokugawa hegemony.

One of Vaporis's major contributions lies in convey-

ing the degree to which alternate attendance, *daimyo* reaction to it, and its broader impact on Japanese society changed over time. Institutional arrangements were dynamic, and changes largely eviscerated the initial martial function of attendance in Edo—serving guard duty for the shogun—and transformed this function into a social and cultural parade of rank, status, and proximity to the shogun for all to see. Vaporis argues further that, apart from their importance as a means of economic and military control, alternate attendance and Edo residence were lynchpins in the creation of a national culture, incorporating innovations from the provinces, digesting them, and then transmitting them back to the provinces. This process was abetted by the ample opportunities *daimyo* and retainer alike enjoyed to observe and learn the material cultures of the regions through which they passed as they traveled between Edo and the provinces.

Vaporis's focus is primarily on Tosa, but he liberally supplements this material with evidence from other parts of Japan. The breadth of issues explored compels the use of sources beyond Tosa and also the use of a very diverse array of sources other than the historian's traditional textual documents. While the first chapters focus heavily on the institutional structure of alternate attendance, the latter chapters turn to alternate attendance as a lived experience, one acted out on the road and within the urban space of Edo. (Even in manuscript form, documentation sufficient to address these far-reaching concerns does not survive in the collections for any single domain.) To analyze *daimyo* processions, life in the Edo compounds, and their layout, Vaporis draws heavily on samurai diaries and picture scrolls; he relies extensively on the results of archeological excavations of the Tokyo area, especially in exploring the layout and material culture of Edo residences. The text is generously illustrated with more than two dozen black-and-white reproductions from picture scrolls.

While some of Vaporis's conclusions will strike some as logical corollaries of their own understanding of alternate residence, one of the important strengths of this book lies in its very rich detail. At the institutional level, this encompasses changes in the legal structure within which *daimyo* and their retainers operated; at the personal, individual level, it provides readers with a strong sense of the daily life of retainers in Edo and their living circumstances. Quite apart from its significant scholarly merits, this work provides many, many engaging episodes with which to enliven classroom presentations.

While stressing shogunal control of *daimyo* and the movements of their chief retainers, Vaporis recognizes this authority as an exercise over the person of the *daimyo*, linked directly to personal military obligations; in so doing, he evokes a feudal, not bureaucratic, model of Tokugawa control. Even in Edo, the boundary between shogunal and *daimyo* authority was muddy. Vaporis relates a number of incidents in which shogunal administration made surprising concessions to *daimyo* authority within and around their Edo compounds, and *daimyo* did not always accede to shogunal wishes. Fur-

ther, shogunal prohibitions on the sale of Edo residential lands granted to *daimyo* were circumvented easily by exercise of polite fictions, just as rural residents evaded restrictions on the sale of land. As a result, *daimyo* actively adjusted their Edo lands to suit different purposes at different times during the era rather than simply resting in their original residences.

In his interpretive emphasis on the details of the movement of people, goods, and cultural artifacts/practices and in the examples of how individuals adjusted to life on the road and in Edo, Vaporis moves beyond Toshio George Tsukahira's monumental study, *Feudal Control in Tokugawa Japan: The Sankin Kotai System* (1966). Vaporis's descriptions of the life and activity of samurai, who comprised about half the population of Edo, complement studies of Edo commoner life that appear in James L. McClain, John M. Merriman, and Ugawa Kaoru's *Edo and Paris: Urban Life and the State in the Early Modern Era* (1994) and elsewhere.

Teachers of World, East Asian, and Japanese history as well as Japanese historians will benefit from this well-done study.

PHILIP C. BROWN
Ohio State University

NAMHEE LEE. *The Making of Minjung: Democracy and the Politics of Representation in South Korea*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 349. \$39.95.

Sometimes ideas do matter, and this is illustrated by Namhee Lee's wonderful book. Lee has set herself the very large task of explaining the genesis and evolution of the concept of the *minjung* as well as of articulating how the students and intellectuals responsible for this came together, formed alliances with other social groups, and ultimately became the driving force for South Korea's transition from an authoritarian military regime to a parliamentary democracy. The meaning of her subtitle does not particularly abstract the issues dealt with in this book. Democracy, a key goal for *minjung* activists, fits well into her frame, but "the politics of representation," while constituting a key portion of the discussion, remains a more elusive issue that girds the weaker part of her argument.

Part one (chapters one through three) is a fascinating analysis of the origins and development of the concept of *minjung*, which Lee believes was related to radical intellectuals' desire to overcome the absence of decolonization in postwar Korea. Indeed, the multiple intrusions into Korean politics, the joint occupation of the United States and the USSR, the permanent division after the Korean War, the domineering presence of U.S. strategic, economic, and political interests, and the implacable influence of Cold War politics convinced radical intellectuals that Koreans had lost their historical subjectivity. In fact, if one added the colonial period, this state of affairs had dominated Korean life for the entire twentieth century. To solve this dilemma, intellectuals recast the subject of Korean history as the subjugated masses, or the *minjung*. Such recasting at-

tacked directly the legitimacy of the Republic of Korea (ROK), its dependency on American neocolonialist power, and its vapid ideology of anticommunism.

Lee walks us through the process of reimagining Korean history and how radical intellectuals and students reassembled important watershed events to point to the illegitimacy of current state exhortations against communism and for economic development. She demonstrates how the centrality of the Gwangju massacre and the evolution of rituals of commemoration fit into a powerful new common sense that engendered widespread disaffection with ROK authoritarianism and new social alliances that ultimately overthrew the system in 1987. This is the most powerful section of her study and represents perhaps the most detailed and sophisticated analysis of this complicated intellectual movement available today.

Part two is a very compelling account of the creation of a counter-public sphere in South Korea, her conception of what is known as the *undongkwŏn* (movement sphere) in Korean. This word was variously applied to the sphere of intellectual and political activity created by *minjung* activists as well as to the activists themselves. The *minjung* activists focused not just on the opening of civil society; they wanted to address as well the contradictions of capitalism—its dehumanization, individualization, fragmentation, and alienation—so that the benefits of development might be enjoyed by all. Lee divides the counter-sphere into three parts: the student movement, a reinvented folk theater, and intellectuals' alliance with labor. While each of these has been discussed elsewhere, Lee's contribution is to bring all three together and show how each played a role in the evolution of the other. Her persuasive discussion is marred only slightly by lost opportunities to tie aspects of each sphere to historical precedents. She might have made more of how the folklore movement in the colonial period demonstrated parallels both intellectually and in the relationship of elite intellectuals to the object of their studies. I found fascinating as well the resemblance, not pointed out here, between the use of social screening systems to detect disguised student factory labor and North Korea's use of class background to effect political and social discrimination.

Part three on the politics of representation is the weakest part of the book. The difficulties inherent in intellectuals' representing themselves and the objects of their inquiry and the twisted problems of reference, authenticity, and so on have been discussed ad nauseam in cultural and postmodern studies. To raise theoretical issues here detracts in my mind from the real business of discussing how *minjung* intellectuals conceived of and attempted to solve the problem of their subjectivity vis-à-vis the *minjung* for which they purported to speak. Nonetheless, Lee writes a final chapter analyzing the literature that has emerged from *minjung* activists in the aftermath of the movement. These examples more eloquently speak of their psychological and intellectual state of mind during the decades of their engagement.

In short, this is a must-read for students of modern

Korea and anyone interested in postwar East Asia. A number of years in genesis, Lee's study has the advantage of the passage of time since the denouement of the movement. It is rich in detail, well organized, exhaustively researched, and immediate in its use of interview material and first-hand observation. This work interweaves political history, development literature, and intellectual history to provide a penetrating look into the intellectual turmoil of a late-decolonizing South Korea. It should stand as the go-to study on the *minjung* movement in South Korea for years to come.

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JACOB RAMSAY. *Mandarin and Martyrs: The Church and the Nguyen Dynasty in Early Nineteenth-Century Vietnam*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2008. Pp. x, 212. \$50.00.

Jacob Ramsay's book "is about the rise of anti-Catholic violence in early nineteenth-century Vietnam and the profound social and political changes it created in the decades preceding French colonial rule" (p. 1). Ramsay seeks to challenge simplistic views of the role of Catholicism in Vietnamese society that have claimed that the religion was incompatible with Vietnamese culture and that French missionaries served as agents for French imperialism. He argues instead for a more complex rise of anti-Catholicism amid the changing interactions of Vietnamese Catholics, French missionaries, and Nguyen dynasty officials.

In researching this work, Ramsay relied heavily on the archives of the French missionary society, the Missions Étrangères de Paris (MEP). Consequently, he focuses on this organization's activities, particularly in the southern region of Cochinchina, although plentiful information is also provided concerning events in the center and north. Ramsay moves chronologically through the six main chapters, starting with an introductory chapter that describes the status of the MEP's mission in Cochinchina in the early nineteenth century, when the Nguyen dynasty came to power, and ending with a chapter which details the complex situation on the ground at the time of the Franco-Spanish attacks of 1858–1862. The chapters in between detail the changes over time in both the fate of the mission as well as the Nguyen dynasty's efforts at Catholic repression.

One great strength of this work is the fascinating insight it provides into what happened when Nguyen dynasty edicts were carried out at the local level. For example, Ramsay notes in chapter three, "Persecution," that the Nguyen court's repression of Catholics and missionaries in the late 1830s under Emperor Minh Mang was stymied due to its lack of control of low-level bureaucrats in the provinces, who were often "paid off" by French missionaries and local Catholics, and because of contradictions in its own policies. In particular, while an official who apprehended a missionary could be nicely rewarded, he could also be punished if it be-

came clear that the same missionary had previously been active in the official's area of jurisdiction, thus leading to a reluctance by officials to apprehend resident missionaries.

Ramsay gained this understanding largely from the materials he found in the archive of the MEP. These materials form the backbone of Ramsay's work and their introduction here constitutes a major contribution. Yet Ramsay's use of these materials also constitutes a weakness. Sometimes he finds corroboration for comments from missionary reports in the official records of the Nguyen dynasty, and sometimes he interprets these sources on his own in novel ways.

To take one example, in chapter four Ramsay examines the detailed account of a French missionary's capture and interrogation. He states that, since its arrival in Vietnam in the sixteenth century, Catholicism was "popularly perceived as a healing religion" (p. 109). Ramsay then describes how the Nguyen dynasty official went through the missionary's belongings, sticking his finger in holy oil and asking about the effectiveness of a bottle of quinine. Ramsay concludes that "Entertaining a missionary and seeking out medicines in the missionary's belongings for their rumored healing properties not only demonstrated [the official's] willingness to dabble in heterodox beliefs, it betrayed his lack of seriousness in implementing the anti-Catholic measures" (p. 111). This is a strong statement. However, there is no explicit evidence in the passage to suggest that the official was looking for medicine because of its "rumored healing properties." Instead, Ramsay notes that the official explicitly asked at one point if some wine was "*thuoc me*," or "medicine used for mesmerizing." To Nguyen dynasty officials, as Ramsay later notes, the only explanation for why someone would follow Catholicism was if they had somehow become "mesmerized" and lost their senses (p. 158). The official's use of this term was a clear indication of his outlook. Far from dabbling in heterodox beliefs, this passage suggests that the official took his prisoner very seriously and sought to learn as much as he could about what it was that made the man so dangerous.

The missionary sources that Ramsay introduces are rich documents. However, there is also a massive quantity of nineteenth-century indigenous Vietnamese writings in classical Chinese and Nom (a demotic script) that can provide a deeper understanding of the views of Nguyen dynasty officials and Vietnamese Catholics, respectively. While Ramsay is correct in arguing that a true understanding of the role of Catholicism in nineteenth-century Vietnam can only be found in examining the multiple perspectives of Vietnamese Catholics, Nguyen dynasty officials, and French missionaries, his book is still largely an examination of missionary accounts. Ramsay teaches us a great deal using these sources, but there is room to learn still more.

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CHRISTIAN LEE NOVETZKE. *Religion and Public Memory: A Cultural History of Saint Namdev in India*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2008. Pp. xxii, 309. \$50.00.

Since the 1980s, the English-language study of *bhakti*, or devotional, Hinduism has produced an astounding array of work on the great singer-saints of South Asia. Especially visible are north Indian saints like Tulsidas, Surdas, Mirabai, and Kabir. Each of these figures has earned a separate entry in the revised *Encyclopedia of Religion* (2004). Such is not the case for the poet-saints of western India, although many would argue that the likes of Jñanesvar, Namdev, Eknath, and Tukaram represent the quintessence of devotional life in the Marathi-language region. In the case of Namdev (Nāmadeva), this relative silence is particularly striking, since he both shaped and transcended his regional context. Namdev, who lived in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries C.E., is said to have moved widely across northern India. He is recognized as a composer of both Hindi and Marathi religious lyrics, and several of his compositions were integrated into the *Adi Granth*, the Sikh Scriptures. In Maharashtra, Namdev is credited with putting the regional pilgrimage to Pandharpur on the map and also with shaping the norms and practices of the Varkari tradition now intimately associated with that holy site. While some of Namdev's Marathi songs were translated into English as early as 1919, and his Hindi songs have been critically edited by Winand M. Callewaert (*Hindi Padavali of Namdev* [1989]), we want to know more about his life and times, his poetry, the lineaments of his devotion, and his contribution to *bhakti* religiosity.

Christian Lee Novetzke shares our desire to know more, but he pauses first to ask: How is Namdev known? Even if no one doubts that Namdev was a "foundational figure of central, western, and north Indian *bhakti*," few inquire what "practices" have preserved Namdev's memory over time (p. 74). There are challenges to knowing Namdev, since he left no written traces, unlike his contemporary, Jñanesvar. Much of what we think we know about Namdev comes from the songs of other poets or the hagiographies of much later admirers, like Mahipati, author of the eighteenth-century *Bhaktavijaya*. Namdev is thought to be a saint who met with mighty sultans, who performed miracles and vitalized devotion, but, as Novetzke puts it, these are merely disparate elements in an "ephemeral archive of public memory" that, while "open to historiographic scrutiny," in fact draws "no sustenance from it, and answers none of its questions satisfactorily" (p. 52).

Novetzke's approach is to query the very categories that frame our pursuit of such historical figures. To the fore is the distinction between history and memory, which Novetzke charts in philosophy and historiography, both European and South Asian. His goal is neither to jettison the modern category of history nor to re-romanticize Indian memory. He notes that within Namdev's world people "clearly understood" the distinction (p. 39). In exploring the interplay of history and

memory, his goal is less critical than it is heuristic. The Namdev that fascinates Novetzke is not the one who is "historical" as much as the one who has proven "historically useful" (p. 192). It is not just that the historical Namdev proves difficult to recover from a tradition that boasts multiple authors using the same name (a phenomenon noted with other *bhakti* saints). Rather, Namdev is this corporate author, just as he is the ubiquitous singer of devotional songs, frequent miracle performer, and sometime outlaw of public memory. To learn about this Namdev, we must attend to what Novetzke calls "the much vaster realm of memorialization" that is Namdev's "received biography" (p. 40).

In part one, Novetzke lays the historiographic groundwork for his approach. He calls this section "Practices of Memory," and it contains immensely rich chapters not only on reconceptualizing authorship as performative, corporate, and "public specific" (p. 97), but also on the dynamics of orality and literacy. The latter distinction, with its rich literature in Western scholarship, is reviewed and then reframed in terms of "permanence" (an impulse that creates, among other things, the written residue of devotional singers' notebooks) and "performance" (the impulse at the very heart of *bhakti* religiosity). Devotional Hinduism is not one or the other; it is the interplay between performance and permanence that shapes public memory. Part two is then addressed to "Publics of Memory." Four chapters explore the way *bhakti* creates publics. Whether attending to the problem of parsing those "successive and interconnected" authors known as "Nama" (p. 153), examining the way Namdev's story becomes a "social historical source" in eighteenth-century Maharashtra, or addressing the depiction of Namdev in twentieth-century nationalist discourse and Indian film, we are invited to witness the way (with a nod to the work of Danièle Hervieu-Léger) that *bhakti* creates "chains of memory" (p. 98). This is not just "religion and public memory"; this is religion as public memory.

A good book canvasses new ground while revisiting old debates or opening up new vistas for exploration. Novetzke's book does all this, even as it brings Namdev onto the stage with the likes of Surdas and Kabir. And, like a good book, it also leaves the reader with further questions. On the methodological level, has the author given us a new understanding of "public" that might reframe the study of so-called popular religion? Has he effectively defined his use of "public memory" in relation to both "collective memory" (after Maurice Halbwachs) and the "public sphere" (after Jürgen Habermas)? Having explored the performative chain that constitutes the Namdev tradition of devotional singing, can Novetzke help us address the historical question of how such performance may (must) have changed between the fourteenth century and today? Finally, despite Namdev's centrality, readers may miss in this book coverage of those issues customarily addressed in works on *bhakti* saints, notably a sustained investigation of their poetry or theological categories. Without commit-

ting ourselves to a quest for the historical Namdev, are these issues not central to appreciating the "practices" at the heart of *bhakti*? To raise such questions is not to take away from what is a meticulously researched and fascinating study. Rather, we can hope others will respond to the historiographic challenges posed so effectively by Novetzke.

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ALI ANOOSHahr. *The Ghazi Sultans and the Frontiers of Islam: A Comparative Study of the Late Medieval and Early Modern Periods*. (Routledge Studies in Middle Eastern History, number 9.) New York: Routledge. 2009. Pp. 196. \$140.00.

This is a work of informed speculation based on close reading of period texts. The author has analyzed the evolution of an ideology pervasive throughout the high and later Middle Ages in the central and eastern Islamic lands: *ghaza*, literally meaning "raiding" but encompassing a complex doctrine of justification for the imposition of Muslim lordship over non-Muslim peoples. Ali Anooshahr has chosen the meteoric career of Zahir al-Din Muhammad Babur (d. 1530), founder of the Mughal dynasty in India during the early sixteenth century, to test a series of hypotheses about how this individual fashioned his image as a ghazi ruler destined for epic accomplishments. The author attempts to demonstrate that the ghazi ideology exploited by Babur was in fact an intricate, often contradictory set of concepts devised by a diverse group of writers active in Southwest Asia throughout the preceding half millennium. Anooshahr argues that Babur and his followers used these concepts as a means both to vindicate his invasion of northern India and to create an image of himself as an ideal ghazi ruler. The author claims that Babur's famous memoir, the *Baburnama*, should be read neither as a literal inventory of events nor as a swashbuckling romance by a soldier of fortune. Rather, it should be interpreted as a carefully crafted act of self-portrayal, retrospectively written during the latter years of Babur's life, which drew upon several key principles in earlier treatises, chronicles, and poetic anthologies to present an idealized image of a ghazi king.

Anooshahr discusses these principles in the contexts of two earlier rulers who engaged in ghazi image building: the eleventh-century invader of northern India, Mahmud of Ghazna (d. 1030), and the mid-fifteenth-century renewer of *ghaza* directed against the Christian powers of Europe, the Ottoman Sultan Murad II (d. 1451). Anooshahr contends that their legacies decisively influenced Babur's effort at designing his own. While the agendas of these two individuals and the writers who articulated their rationales of conquest occupy much of Anooshahr's remaining discussion, other monarchs figured prominently in ghazi discourses. Babur's forebear, the formidable Timur (Tamerlane), who defeated rival Muslim powers from Anatolia to Central Asia, emerges as a defiler who sullied the legitimacy of

ghaza because of his ferocity against fellow believers. As an expedient requisite to his own credibility, Babur would distance himself from his ancestor's example. Timur's successor, Shahrukh, is depicted as an abiding threat to Ottoman sovereignty whom Murad's father, Mehmed I, would artfully placate while initiating the process of recasting his regime's own doctrine of *ghaza* as a means of reconsolidating the Ottoman regime after the disaster of Yildirim Bayezid's defeat by Timur at Ankara in 1402. Mehmed's focus on Christian powers would at once distinguish his house from the stigma of Timur's assaults on Muslims, and provide an ideology that could rally disaffected factions of the Anatolian populace behind restoration of the Ottoman imperium. Anooshahr postulates that the readiness of these factions to support the Ottoman cause was not a foregone conclusion. Refashioning the Ottomans' unique style of *ghaza* and projecting it west against Christians proved an effective means of regaining their allegiance.

Anooshahr also dwells on a theme reiterated frequently by proponents of *ghaza*: a tri-phased cycle of ascendance, florescence, and decline on the part of ghazi rulers. Founders of ghazi regimes owed their achievement to their austerity and simplicity. Subsequent consolidators presided grandly over other ghazis, but their own sons lost their mandates due to personal debauchery and laxity. They invariably faced defeat at the hands of newly arrived nomadic invaders whose rough militarism and steadfastness of purpose assured their victories. Anooshahr acknowledges the ubiquity of this cyclical ethos in Southwest Asia; his distinctive finding involves a link discerned by chroniclers between this tri-phased trajectory of kings generally and the triumphs of specific monarchs who seized upon doctrines of *ghaza* to reinvigorate their claims as legitimate rulers. Anooshahr's application of this tie to Seljuq sultans in Anatolia, as perceived by contemporary commentators, is only the most intriguing of several similar scenarios he addresses.

Anooshahr has mustered an impressive roster of incidents to bolster his case. Space does not permit a summation of his probing search for elusive strands of ghazi ideology in the works of historians he cites. Readers will encounter detailed assessments of writings by such prominent figures as Bayhaqi, Nizam al-Mulk, or Aşikpaşazade along with a host of writers obscure even to specialists. His case nonetheless rests on speculative assumptions about his authors' intentions. The text is riddled with variants of qualifiers like "apparently" (p. 75), "somehow" (p. 33), "little direct evidence" (p. 66), or "argument from effect to cause" (p. 87). Because Babur alone penned a personal memoir, Anooshahr is compelled to venture into conjecture about the views of other rulers. Since Anooshahr has found the scholarship of several contemporaries shortsighted, this criticism is warranted. Yet Anooshahr's hypotheses are plausible and derive from meticulous research. They offer a promising new perspective on the significance of

an ideology vital to Islamic historiography in the Middle Period.

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SANJAY SETH. *Subject Lessons: The Western Education of Colonial India*. (Politics, History, and Culture.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2007. Pp. x, 264. Cloth \$84.95, paper \$23.95.

In this well-written and researched book, Sanjay Seth offers new ways of conceptualizing the colonial education experience in India between approximately 1835 and 1930. Elegantly theorized, his work is principally about the reception and consumption of Western education in India rather than about the thinking and intentions of the colonizer. It is important to consider that the author uses chiefly Western paradigms for understanding knowledge—as the only framework available—also to understand how Western epistemic presumptions were problematized in India, and how they reshaped the education enterprise of India to further a much longer intellectual tradition of accommodation and assimilation. Western knowledge is presented not only as a mode of knowing but also as an isolated knowledge form itself, variously finding or not finding receptivity on the subcontinent. As such, the book's innovative approach represents an important contribution to the scholarship concerning education and colonial India that has developed over the last fifteen years. However, far from addressing a dormant field, as suggested by Dipesh Chakrabarty on the book's back cover, earlier research has already provided broad pedagogical, institutional, politico-cultural, gender, and sociological perspectives in understanding the colonial education project in India.

Seth's understanding of a wide range of educational issues and their contexts is impressive. Beginning with a more traditional approach, he outlines the superficialities of British education in terms of merely providing students with the credentials they needed for employment under the Raj, where the hallmarks of schooling were primarily learning by rote and memorization rather than any deeper intellectual pursuit. The author then examines how "moral crisis" defined the colonial education site because Western knowledge was seen as transformative of the "character" and the morality of its recipients. Next, Seth puts forth a more philosophical argument about the nature of writing history as a form of knowledge reproduction in itself. He persuasively argues that, for colonial India, education was where collective identities were created, and he explains how the views of nationalists were shaped by the education they both sought and criticized. There is also a particularly insightful view in chapter four of the as yet poorly understood phenomenon of the very low participation rates of Muslims, even compared to Hindus, in the British education project. British educational engagement with the Muslim population was a process of identifying false "deficiencies" in this diverse commu-

nal grouping, requiring a Western "remedy." But Seth rightly maintains that this engagement also gave being a "Muslim" a new identity as part of an Indian population that was seen as "a series of segmented and hierarchically organised domains with correspondingly different needs and practices" (p. 119). Finally, chapter five considers the modernization of middle-class Indian females and the role of education in this process. Seth is right to include this important aspect—very different to the intersection of male education and the Raj—in his overall framing of the receptive products of colonial education. Other research has shown that the role of Indian women in the household and in the nation were central to both nationalist narratives and the internal reforms that preceded them, particularly within the Hindu polity—reflected in the writings of Ram Mohan Roy (1772–1833) and those of Dayanand Saraswati (1824–1883), founder of the Arya Samaj. This rhetoric about Indian women also animated, perhaps mostly unconsciously, the carefully filtered but unproductive Raj female education discourse that ran principally from 1854 until 1919. Furthermore, one should consider the capacity of Indian middle-class females, armed with the pretensions of a Western education, to tread over their less fortunate working-class companions—a conflict, internal to India, that has been neglected by earlier subaltern analyses.

Seth's powerful theorization provides alternative ways of characterizing the education experience in colonial India whether along class or caste lines, by locality, or as part of a web of imperial and colonial networks of intellectual transferral. His work identifies the rise of modern Western knowledge in India as "roughly coterminous" with the colonial era. With this in mind, I believe that more could be said about the ideas, debates, and controversies among European educators, their Indian collaborators, and opponents. To glean the "official" point of view, the author rightly consults the education reports of the period, which are an amalgam of problematic statistics, the inherited language of Haileybury, and sanitized, annualized committee-derived realities. But a look at the extensive education proceedings series and other primary materials that are available in London for each Indian province reveals a much livelier and contested discourse among Europeans themselves, where the reception of colonial education was questioned and debated much more than the author perhaps implies. There is also the key issue of change in the way the colonial state engaged with India regarding education: firstly as a mostly unselfconscious process of intellectual Orientalist accommodation and curiosity, later to be gradually closed down as schooling models and bureaucracy intervened as conduits of a plainer Western imposition. Acknowledging this change, by greater reference to the works of C. A. Bayly and others of the Cambridge school about elites and information exchange in the earlier nineteenth century, may have been a useful subtheme in some of the author's theorization.

In some senses, it is unfair to ask all of this of any one

scholar. Seth's work is about subcontinental receptivity rather than the European "gifting" of education. Certainly, the complex questions that arise from the study of Indian colonial education are well beyond the scope of any one book. Yet postcolonial scholarship still tends to de-intellectualize Europeans somewhat in comparison to their educator counterparts in other colonial domains, particularly in "white" colonies where ethnicity, race, and grinding oppression played a smaller but still significant part. Finding better ways to address this is a complex and perilous academic pursuit, but one worthy of future scholarship. On this theme, Seth rightly observes that few nationalists doubted that what India needed was modern, Western education, with only some advocating a return to "indigenous" knowledge practices (p. 12). I would add that, while British education intervention mostly detached and disengaged its clientele through its many institutional incarnations and bureaucratic flats, the idiom of Indian educational dissent was almost entirely Western by the time of the Hunter Commission of 1882.

Seth's book takes a strong leap forward in understanding the nature of intellectual transmission in colonial India. It concludes with compelling speculation about the need to rethink India's stereotyped "incompleteness," born from the false assumption that modern knowledge is homologous with modernity. Certainly the book is an important read for anyone interested in education in India or, for that matter, in any other colonial domain.

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MYTHELI SREENIVAS. *Wives, Widows, and Concubines: The Conjugal Family Ideal in Colonial India*. (Contemporary Indian Studies.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 169. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$21.95.

This is, at one level, a well-researched, theoretically informed and stylistically refined study of the articulation of a new—the conjugal—family ideal in colonial India. This theme has received a great deal of attention from practitioners of various disciplines. Mytheli Sreenivas has made ample use of that impressive body of secondary literature, even as she has consulted a variety of original sources, such as law suits, government records, newspapers and journals, and proceedings of women's associations. The use of such source materials has enabled her to frame her account within a large theoretical and empirical context. In addition, she has given her study some depth by focusing on the Dravid familial imaginary.

Whatever the self-denying assurances of the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, British colonial intervention in India was totalitarian in its impulse and reach. The responses that intervention generated among the ruled were varied, layered, and ambivalent. Nowhere, perhaps, were these complex responses played out with greater passion than in relation to the family. Indeed, the very conception of the family was marked by an

abiding paradox. The family was projected as a sacrosanct private space to be sequestered from the colonial dispensation. It was also, simultaneously, the site for forging the nation(s)—the Indian and the Dravid in the case of the present book—and harboring a sense of community.

Many crisscrossing forces were brought into play. The colonial state, intent on reinterpreting indigenous laws and customs through its courts, effected changes in the structure of families. Turning certain relationships into concubinage and treating their offspring as illegitimate, judicial rulings reshaped familial relations, affective patterns, and, indeed, the very structures of subjectivity. These rulings were informed by a different, Western domestic discourse, and the civilizational superiority of that discourse was impressed upon the colonized by English education and allied colonial hegemonic instruments. The hold of that discourse, in that it valorized the conjugal family, was enhanced by the creation of new material interests following the introduction of new professions and businesses that brought the individual, rather than the coparcenary household, to the fore. Making their own money, these new professionals and business people would rather keep their earnings within the conjugal family than be obliged to share it with their kin in the joint family. The resultant egoism, already buttressed by Western domestic discourse, encouraged a radically different sense of the self and of its obligations and rights.

Sreenivas sets out to narrate this fascinating, but very complicated, story in all its facets. And she does that from an uncompromisingly feminist perspective. As a historian, she is an exemplar of feminist praxis. She never twists facts to arrive at her conclusions, making all the more persuasive her relentless exposé of the patriarchal underpinnings of even the most far-reaching institutional, ideational, and psychic changes that, beginning in colonial India, have gathered further momentum since independence.

The author herself best explains the aim of the book in the last two paragraphs. The penultimate paragraph states starkly: "Families as mediators of lived experience, as sites for the expression of power and ruling authority, as the nexus of emotional relationships producing individual subjectivity—none of these potential meanings disrupted the rhetorical juggernaut that merged family into Hindu community and nation in the first postcolonial decade" (p. 128).

Trusting the power of academic intervention, the book concludes: "Attention to the history of families allows us to challenge these postcolonial closures of meaning. Without collapsing the 'family' into community and nation, we must instead investigate the historical factors that combined to make familial relationships so salient to constructing new modes of politics and identity in colonial and postcolonial India. Focusing on this historical process will also begin to unravel a family politics that, throughout the colonial era and beyond, has depended upon the inequality of women. If this volume, with its attention to the historical pro-

duction of a conjugal family ideal contributes to this conversation, then it will have served its purpose" (p. 128).

Far as it goes, and I say this without minimizing its merits, this book could have gone deeper. It does not grapple squarely enough with the messy, often mutually irreconcilable, variations that together constituted the theme it sets out to explore. Structures of feeling, even as they change in response to new material and ideational forces, carry about them a recalcitrant persistence. To study feelings, mores, attitudes, and similar phenomena in terms of oppositional categories is to miss that persistence behind change. For example, the best champions of the conjugal family ideal continued at the same time to feel drawn to the traditional joint family ideal as well. Beautifully reflecting that continuing ambivalence, the dedication in this book reads: "To my family, conjugal and joint, with love."

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R. E. ELSON. *The Idea of Indonesia: A History*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. xxvi, 365. \$105.00.

First, take note of the title: R. E. Elson's book is devoted not to the history of Indonesia but to the *idea* of it, to the concept that such a thing as "Indonesia" actually exists. Elson traces the evolution of this idea from its infancy, as a nineteenth-century ethnologist's name for (what others called) the Malay Archipelago, up to the present. Thus, the familiar story of Indonesia's gestation within the Dutch East Indies and its emergence as today's nation through war, revolution, and postcolonial traumas is seen from the perspective of "the single shaping idea . . . that gave the Indonesian nation-state birth and which sustains it in life," which is, "that the archipelago is one" (p. xxiv).

It was the Dutch, of course, who made the archipelago one, but Elson's real story begins with the mestizo and aristocratic native elites in the Indies who first envisioned the far-flung, multi-peopled Indies as a "nation in the making" (p. 15). Elson traces the embellishment of this subversive idea as it became the basis of a nationalist movement and, in Sukarno's romantic oratory, a vision of "a mythic history of togetherness" (p. 73). The sense of being one and of having suffered Dutch colonialism led to the idea's other foundational element: freedom. This vision transcended the complications of Marxism and Islam and the proto-nation's bewildering ethnic heterogeneity. Around it, a creed was formulated, a constitution written, and a nation declared, fought for, and, in 1949, achieved.

Contestations over the idea of Indonesia fueled the bitter power struggles of the Sukarno years that pitted the new country's rising communists against its conservative officer corps and organized Muslims. When Sukarno failed to patch the country's gaping ideological fissures with rhetoric, he concluded that the idea of Indonesia was incompatible with "a Western model of

democratic representation" (p. 142), a conclusion embraced with steel-booted authority when Suharto and the army took over after 1965, following the slaughter of over half a million "reds." For thirty years, authoritarian notions about the idea of Indonesia underlay Suharto's attempt to create an "integralized" state (p. 241). When his regime fell in 1998, the idea was deeply rooted enough to prevent Soviet-style fractionalization (aside from East Timor, a special case) and to provide the basis for a wave of recent democratic reforms.

Powerful as it was, however, the idea did not lead Indonesia to "equality before the law, social justice, democratic responsibility, [or] civilised humanism," the achievement of which, Elson asserts in the book's revealing final sentence, "is the whole point of the engagement with modernity" (p. 323). For Elson, the problem was not the idea itself, but "what Indonesian leaders, characteristically self-serving, inflexible, arrogant and unwilling to take the people into their confidence, did—or failed to do—with the idea" (p. 318). Thus, Elson characterizes the idea of Indonesia, as it was propagated by Indonesian intellectuals and politicians, as variously naïve, hollow, vague, capricious, feeble, and lacking "depth and uniformity" (pp. 43, 83, 151, 277, 76). By 1945, he says, there had been no "vigorous contestation of ideas about the shape and content of 'Indonesia'" (p. 112). Later, Muslims maneuvering for influence in the post-Suharto era spent "little effort in deepening their thinking" (p. 229). What has failed in Indonesia, in other words, is "the cerebral process of state formation" (p. 124).

Elson's erudite book rests upon a wide range of textual sources in Dutch and Indonesian and makes good use of George McT. Kahin's unique field notes. We have here a mature historian in a serious, intelligent dialogue with his subject. For scholars of Indonesia, it is a deep, satisfying, and provocative read. Yet, by focusing narrowly on the *idea* of Indonesia, Elson neglects other aspects of Indonesia's coming-into-being that help to explain why the idea had such traction: I am thinking of Thongchai Winichakul's conception of the geo-body in *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation* (1994) and Benedict Anderson's astute explanation in *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983) as to why the idea found such fertile ground among students and functionaries in the Dutch East Indies. Also, to me, it is a stretch to suggest that Indonesia's troubled passage to nationhood might have led to "equality before the law, social justice, democratic responsibility, [and] civilised humanism" if only its leaders had thought more deeply about things. Elson's own evidence reveals that Indonesia did not lack serious thinkers. Could it not be that they simply faced circumstances that ideas alone could not change or channel? Indeed, given the nature of Dutch colonialism, the suddenness of its end, the harrowing socioeconomic conditions of the immediate postwar years, and the bitter East-West fight of the Cold War, not to mention considerable outside support for thirty years of dictatorship, is it so surprising that,

today, "the long search for the authentic 'Indonesia'" (p. 239) is far from over?

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AUGUSTO FAUNI ESPIRITU. *Five Faces of Exile: The Nation and Filipino American Intellectuals*. (Asian America.) Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2005. Pp. xix, 312. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$25.95.

The title of Augusto Fauni Espiritu's book, which echoes the title of Matei Călinescu's *Five Faces of Modernity: Modernism, Avant-Garde, Decadence, Kitsch, Postmodernism* (1987), invites us to examine the five Philippine writers featured in this work as representative of different approaches to the historical transformation of the Philippines from a U.S. commonwealth to a postcolonial national republic in the middle decades of the twentieth century; even as it draws our attention to the concomitant emergence of Filipino Americans as an ethnic minority within the United States. As Espiritu demonstrates, each of the writers he studies was compelled to resist, disavow, manipulate, or adapt to the individual and collective experiences of displacement, insecurity, and perpetual transience, which derived from the colonial legacy for most Filipinos in the Philippines and those living abroad. Of course, these experiences became a central preoccupation and object of reflection in their work. In the author's words, "[T]he sense of deracination, displacement, and doubleness that characterizes [the writers'] transnational intellectual discourse derives . . . from the ironic failure of expatriate intellectuals to come home or feel at home, whether as a result of their rejection by the nation-state, or by their compatriots, or of their inability to meet the demands of ethnic community, kin, or nation" (p. 189).

The book's conventional presentation of material, with its emphasis on the biographies and intellectual concerns of five Philippine writers, belies a hidden polemic that Espiritu directs at other approaches and methods for studying Philippine culture and society and their relation to Philippine and Asian immigration to the United States. The author indirectly gestures toward this intention in the book's title. For, with the possible exception of Bienvenido Santos, none of the writers examined here fits comfortably under the category of "exile"; Carlos Romulo, for instance, served in the administration of every Philippine president of the republic in his lifetime, which spanned almost the entire twentieth century. None of the writers Espiritu studies represented a major voice in the articulation of cultural nationalism either prior to or following the formal declaration of Philippine independence in 1946; nor did any ever become actively engaged in the cultural politics of ethnic-American identity. To call these writers "intellectuals" thus elicits two questions: who was their public, and what was their central message?

Yet it is precisely the ill-suited application of "exile," "nation," "Filipino (or ethnic)-American," and "intel-

lectual" as categories of analysis for studying the work of these writers that leads Espiritu to stage a larger confrontation between them and the writing of history itself. Espiritu draws from cultural theories of ambivalence (Homi Bhabha), double consciousness (Paul Gilroy), and "routeness" (James Clifford), as well as from the critique of Philippine, U.S., and Asian American historiography by Oscar Campomanes and Reynaldo Ileto, in order to demonstrate how this writing of national histories has necessitated the suppression or effacement of colonial epistemologies in the postcolonial world. For Espiritu, a central aspect of the colonial legacy has been the persistent difficulty, even *impossibility*, of creating or "convoking" a constituency (be it "Filipina/o" or "Filipina/o-American") through the invention, disruption, or reinvention of notions of tradition and identity. It is in and through the "ironic failures" of novelists like Santos and N. V. M. González or statesmen like Romulo to articulate an ideology of national redemption or cultural identity that we begin to understand what Dipesh Chakrabarty has elsewhere called the "habitation" of colonial and postcolonial modernity for both Filipinos and Filipino Americans in the postwar era. Beyond the heroic narratives of national liberation or American assimilation, these writers invite us to take a sober look at the irresolvable compromises, complicities, and contradictions of formal Philippine independence and at the precariousness of postcolonial belonging in both the Philippines and the United States.

Perhaps what remains missing from Espiritu's remarkable account of these writers is a larger reflection on the historical limitations and aporiae of the postcolonial state and the rise of U.S.-centric neoliberalism. It is this historical background, I think, that makes a dialogue between, say, Romulo, González, and José García Villa possible—even necessary—for the study of Philippine nationalism and Asian American history alike. Espiritu's gesture towards Bhabha's concept of ambivalence and colonial hybridity, or his critique of Edward Said's portrayal of imperial hegemony and resistance, seem to lead us in this direction. At times the repeated invocation of Ileto's work on folk Christianity as a way of tying these writers together seems forced. Indeed, Espiritu's identification of "pre-modern" values and traditions that these intellectuals ostensibly shared even goes against the main thrust of his argument, which is the melancholic attention paid by these writers to the foreclosed utopias provided by myth, Christianity, aesthetic autonomy, and socialism in the fashioning and preservation of traditions and communities. These criticisms notwithstanding, the book should be essential reading for scholars studying the intersections of Philippine history and the Asian American diaspora in the United States.

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OCEANIA AND PACIFIC ISLANDS

CRISTINA BACCHILEGA. *Legendary Hawai'i and the Politics of Place: Tradition, Translation, and Tourism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 230. \$45.00.

The Hawaiian Islands are among the world's most beautiful places, especially when viewed from places like the observation deck above Oahu's Diamond Head Crater, which overlooks the beaches of Waikiki, or along popular trails such as those that snake through Kauai's rugged Waimea Canyon and the Big Island's lush Waipio Valley. But as Christina Bacchilega reminds us in this book, landscapes are something to be read, and the reading an exercise in reader subjectivity. In poststructural terms, the islands and their inhabitants represent a set of signifiers to which people have assigned meaning for their own purposes, and according to their own values and judgments. Like other modern tourist destinations, Hawai'i represents a complex social and cultural phenomenon, and much of what has been said about it is no doubt distorted, misleading, or incomplete.

Drawing on scholarship in the fields of folklore, colonialism, and literary criticism, Bacchilega offers a much-needed textual analysis of "legendary Hawai'i." Her work explains how, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, newcomers to Hawai'i appropriated stories of indigenous people in ways that benefited the fledgling tourist industry and simultaneously delegitimized the people's culture and government. Publisher Thomas G. Thrum and Reverend William D. Westervelt, who translated many Hawaiian-language narratives into English, were an important part of this story. Their well-reproduced and illustrated translations apparently served the interests of Hawai'i's fledgling tourist industry. The translations portrayed the Hawaiian Islands as mysteriously exotic and exciting but also safe and welcoming. They showed Native Hawaiians as primitive and superstitious yet gentle and unassuming—that is, nonthreatening. The people's history seemed part of the distant past, including the sad events surrounding the 1893 overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy and the subsequent annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States. Like colorful tourist brochures, the translations presented Hawai'i as the perfect vacation spot, a place to escape the monotonous, day-to-day routines that characterized modern industrial societies.

Native Hawaiians have long resisted efforts to bury their history and culture. In an early chapter of this book, Bacchilega explains how contemporary photographer Anne Kapulani Landgraf has used images to situate Hawaiians within their cultural traditions and portray old Hawai'i as a "lived-in" place. In various ways, Landgraf showed a deep understanding of the relationship between Hawai'i and its people. She titled her photographs with forgotten Hawaiian place names, for example, and discussed Native Hawaiians in terms of their social and ethical values. In other words, Landgraf

countered westernized representations of Hawai'i and its people. So, too, did early twentieth-century scholar Emma Nakuina. In *Hawaii, Its People, Their Legends* (1904), Nakuina portrayed Hawaiians as one of the strongest, most sophisticated Pacific Islanders. Nakuina attributed the people's hospitality and generosity to their great culture rather than the climate in which they lived, or their isolation from Western civilization. Her publications helped readers see that Native Hawaiians belonged in the present as well as the past, and were painfully aware of the violence that so often accompanied colonialism.

In this book's final chapter, Bacchilega considers how popular folktales and spooky stories of supernatural phenomena reflected the politics and legacy of colonialism. The chapter begins by investigating the relevance of an 1875 Hawaiian-language translation of "Arabian Nights." The translation not only illustrates ideological differences between Native Hawaiians and new settlers but also shows that Native Hawaiians brought their narrative traditions into print and thus countered the simplistic, touristic images of their land and culture. A later section of the chapter explains how Westerners transformed local ghost stories in ways that valorized their own concepts of sexuality and morality while relegating indigenous people to the distant past. Their reworking of those stories reinforced earlier images and stereotypes of a people and their land.

Like all scholarly studies, this one has its limitations. Despite its title and central arguments, the book offers little insight into the business of tourism. It provides no in-depth analysis of marketing practices within the industry, for example, and fails to identify many of the businessmen and firms that crafted the industry's advertising campaigns. This is not a comparative work, or one that places Hawai'i within the context of world history. It has little to say about social and political changes in Hawai'i since the early twentieth century, or the Hawaiian sovereignty movement of modern times. The book is fairly short, and its broader implications about tourism, politics, and resistance to colonialism are unclear. It lacks a bona fide conclusion, in which the author might have reflected more fully on her main themes and arguments. This is nonetheless an interesting and respectable case study of "place-making," and thus a tangible contribution to historical literature.

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CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

TAMARA MYERS. *Caught: Montreal's Modern Girls and the Law, 1869–1945*. (Studies in Gender and History, number 28.) Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2006. Pp. xi, 345. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$35.00.

For many scholars, including the Canadian historian Tamara Myers, juvenile justice is an oxymoron. "The juvenile court," according to Myers, "was a disciplinary instrument used to maintain and uphold the subordi-

nation of adolescent girls within a patriarchal family structure that was undergoing dramatic change" (p. 8). Her nuanced argument builds on Anthony M. Platt's *The Child Savers: The Invention of Delinquency* (1969), which claimed that the creation of the juvenile court expanded the state's power over working-class children and their families. Her findings also support and extend a major theme in subsequent scholarship that emphasizes the role of parents in bringing their daughters to court. Myers presents a complicated history of negotiations among state actors, parents, children, private associations, volunteers and professionals, and politics. Her approach also crosses national borders to offer an international history of a local court. She shows, for instance, how ideas (e.g., *parens patriae*), popular culture (e.g., American and French films), and people, such as Maude E. Miner, migrated from the United States to Canada.

The creators of juvenile justice designed these systems to be separate from the adult criminal justice system. Relating such an isolated system to larger social and legal historical developments poses a challenge. Myers's painstakingly researched, theoretically sophisticated, and carefully argued book does more than replicate the best local studies of juvenile justice. The latter provide excellent analysis of the internal workings of a court system, including describing how probation and reformatories worked during a specific historical period. They are less successful, however, in connecting juvenile court to broader society. An incredibly rich source base, including more than 1,000 case files, allows Myers to explore the world of *les jeunes filles modernes* (or young, modern girls). Significantly, she does not conflate these girls with their sexualized identities. Instead, drawing on the best work in the emerging field of children and youth as well as feminist theory, she presents them as complex historical actors. These girls did not attend high school (Quebec did not pass a compulsory education law until 1942). They lived at home, worked by day as seamstresses or domestics, and enjoyed the city at night. They often endured violence at home, and were then treated violently by the state and its network of private reformatories. They were caught between changing worlds, and punished for trying to live semi-autonomously.

Myers also avoids conflating the juvenile justice experiences of girls from different eras. As she explains, "a vagrant girl in the 1870s would likely have appeared in the city's Recorder's—the police court—and have been sent to the Soeurs du Bon Pasteur reform school; a girl similarly charged in the 1940s would have appeared before a 'children's judge,' been investigated by a female probation officer, and been physically and mentally assessed before being incarcerated or placed on probation" (p. 19). These girls faced different systems; they also brought varied cultural understandings to the process.

The first two chapters tell the story of juvenile justice before the creation of a juvenile court. In this era from 1869 to 1912, one institution mattered most: girls were

sent to a convent, the Souers de Bon Pasteur, where nuns controlled their days and lives. The middle chapters explain how local politics, including struggles between Catholics and Protestants, shaped the response to the problem of *les jeunes filles modernes*, including the creation in 1912 of the Montreal Juvenile Delinquents' Court. The final chapters examine how girls experienced juvenile justice in the courtroom, endured medical and psychological exams, and moved in and out of reformatories. The places of confinement contrasted in many ways, including their architecture and routines. The conclusion argues that this history of violence against adolescent girls has a haunting legacy.

Unlike U.S. histories of juvenile justice that focus on either the Progressive era or the 1960s, Myers provides an uninterrupted history of juvenile justice from the late 1860s through World War II. These often forgotten years were critically important. In Quebec, incarcerated girls rioted and exposed the harsh conditions of juvenile justice. Their protests contributed to policy makers rethinking juvenile justice.

Since Myers writes only the history of the first and second juvenile justice systems in Quebec, the reader is left wondering about subsequent developments. Specifically, when and how does the children's rights movement in Canada begin? How does it compare to developments in the United States and international law? In addition, although Myers is concerned primarily with juvenile justice, more information about its relationship to criminal justice would be helpful. Changes in criminal procedure, for example, have often had implications for children's courts.

These minor quibbles aside, Myers's book is a model study. It is essential reading for scholars and students of gender, law, and justice.

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J. S. MALOY. *The Colonial American Origins of Modern Democratic Thought*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. ix, 214. \$75.00.

According to J. S. Maloy, our current understanding of democracy is an adulterated form of the real thing. In fact, it represents the ironic heritage of an argument against a much more vigorous kind of popular sovereignty. The great divergence between "democracy" as we know it and genuine popular control did not begin, as historians before Maloy have contended, with the ratification of the U.S. Constitution and the introduction of distinctly indirect forms of representation at the state and federal levels. Instead its origins lie deep in the colonial past, and Maloy's book is an ambitious attempt to recover the democratic currents running across the early seventeenth-century British Atlantic, as well as those between colonial political and ecclesiastical thought. This "hybrid" also constitutes a modest work of political theory and a brief for more accountable varieties of representative government (p. viii).

Maloy's analytical framework is largely derived from the influential French jurist and political philosopher Jean Bodin. An early modern theorist of absolute sovereignty, Bodin was not a democrat. Nevertheless, Maloy finds in Bodin's thought a taxonomy of regime types and a distinction between the locus of sovereignty and the mechanisms of government that fundamentally shaped modern political and ecclesiastical thought—as well as authorizing the practice of popular control. For Maloy, genuine democracy entails that the people, as sovereigns, enjoy a substantive role in selecting, observing, and regulating their representatives and magistrates. Elections, even when regular, are inadequate means of popular control. They simply cannot substitute for rigorous mechanisms of accountability. Moreover, for Maloy, democratic accountability goes beyond the power to question and criticize. It also entails the popular power to punish and remove those who violate public trust.

Historians will have to be patient with Maloy's book. Although the constitutive elements of the thesis are stated often, the historical evidence accretes slowly and the narrative is theory-driven. The book also abounds with intertextual references that connect many minor and seemingly unrelated political and ecclesiastical controversies. In dense paragraph after dense paragraph, Maloy builds a case that takes readers from England to Bermuda, Virginia, Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and then back to England. Historians may see anachronisms as Maloy introduces a long train of ministers, magistrates, and opposition leaders who came close to, but never quite articulated, a Bodinian understanding of a "popular state" (p. 132). Eventually, readers will find themselves in seventeenth-century Rhode Island, where the term "democracy" was finally employed with regularity and practiced without qualification (p. 161). As abstract as Maloy's book is, there are real people here. They seldom do much besides read, write, and attend church councils and legislative sessions. But they are nonetheless integral to Maloy's account. The English adventurer John Smith emerges as one of the book's unlikely early protagonists, as does the otherwise obscure Pilgrim pastor John Robinson. In addition to the preachers and political leaders who populate his book, Maloy helpfully embeds his chronicle of ideas within the political and religious institutional circumstances that prevailed in England and colonial British America. He attends even more conscientiously to the mode of transmission carried on through publications, college textbooks, and personal contacts.

Maloy's argument relies on the priority given to the concept of "trust" in early modern political thought (a matter of particular urgency when governing authorities were as distant as England and its American colonies), and a related "fiduciary-legal model of accountability" that he sees as central to this lost, authentic form of democracy (p. 178). A crucial turning-point in the story occurs in the 1630s when the Massachusetts governor John Winthrop and his political allies "used

the electoral thesis of accountability to dissuade reformers from their goals" (p. 134). At this moment, the modern understanding of democracy—as electoral consent—was born, and an alternative tradition—entailing popular control, as well as consent—was marginalized. Of course, as Maloy acknowledges, more robust forms of democracy prospered across New England at the local level. Town meetings exercised the rigorous oversight that Maloy regards as central to the democratic functioning of representative institutions. But as an abstraction that informed modern constitutionalism "democracy" drifted away from popular control and toward consent.

Maloy concludes with some honest concessions regarding the historical limits of his argument. He also declares his theoretical quarrel with democratic deliberationists such as Amy Gutmann and Dennis F. Thompson, who (he contends) slight accountability as well as giving it a "rationalist and purely discursive" character (p. 181). Although Maloy's self-described "hybrid" of an argument occasionally suffers from the author's desire to find evidence of a long forgotten ideal, it nonetheless demonstrates how the history of ideas and political theory can be of mutual benefit. Maloy has written a careful and useful book.

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ROBERT MCCLUER CALHOON. *Political Moderation in America's First Two Centuries*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2009. Pp. xv, 291. Cloth \$90.00, paper \$24.99.

Ambitious and informative, Robert McCluer Calhoon's study is the culmination of a career's worth of learning about early American history. Both the book's chronological scope and its topical breadth would make most authors demur, and Calhoon deserves praise for taking on a phenomenon that crosses subject boundaries and periods that most have learned to respect as if by instinct.

In Calhoon's treatment, moderation is a thread that has run prominently through the length of American politics. The most well-placed moderates came to their views through a combination of intellectual training and experience. They were typically either "chastened Burkean conservatives" or "Lockean or Scottish Common Sense liberals" (p. x). Others were religious moderates. Readers will find interesting examples from both Protestant backgrounds and among those practicing what Calhoon labels "primitive Christianity." The moderation of still others seems exclusively situational, embraced by happenstance.

If all this sounds eclectic, it is. Is moderation an ideology, or is it a "refuge for those wounded by political polarization" (p. 10)? Is it a "cluster of ethical insights" about what members of a community owe one another (p. 11), or is it more a sense of citizenship rooted in historical experience? Or is it a negotiation between prudence and principle? Calhoon resists the reduction-

ist temptation to choose any one of these ideas, squarely acknowledging that moderation can be any or all of them. This lack of specificity is intellectually sound, but it also will leave readers wondering if there really is anything linking the various vignettes featured here.

To Calhoun the answer to this challenge seems to be that all moderates share a disposition: moderation is characterized by humility, discretion, and a charitable nature. The bulk of the work is given over to brief stories about individuals who displayed this disposition. There are some very familiar individuals here like John Witherspoon and John Marshall, but as much space is dedicated to those who are obscure, like George Grier, a South Carolina slave who was embroiled in a controversy over how he witnessed to his fellow slaves. Throughout Calhoun draws liberally on both primary and secondary sources to describe the actions of his featured characters.

Among the most admirable qualities of this book is its awareness of the accidental nature of much moderate behavior. Moderate actions can be performed out of necessity, as when colonial governors found themselves in the awkward position of trying to accommodate both the colonists and parliament or king. There are also stories which show that moderation can be performed for self-serving reasons, may be forced upon others, or even angrily implemented. The phrase "immoderate moderates" is used several times by Calhoun, and it demonstrates an admirable appreciation for the complex ironies of politics.

This book also presents a well-considered understanding of how religion has been a moderating force. There are echoes of Alexis de Tocqueville, James Madison, and Robert Putnam here. Calhoun notes specific instances where religion has imparted the ethics and values that moderated behavior, and shows that moderation often results from different congregations occupying the same geographical space. This understanding is an important corrective to those who see religion producing only strife.

However, the assertion that moderation is a personal disposition leaves Calhoun with a radically individualistic view of the concept. Surely individuals can be charitable and humble, but can political parties? Government institutions? Newspapers? Social groups? It is unclear that they can, because humility and charity are such individuated concepts, even though each of these entities is clearly capable of doing highly significant moderate things. Because of the definition of moderation employed here, each of these collective organizations gets short shrift. Few laws warrant serious analysis, for example, and the ones that are mentioned tend to be viewed through the lens of their sponsor.

Calhoun does put two important bounds on moderation. He writes that it is not the proper label for those who are simply indifferent or those inclined toward a strategic split-the-difference centrism. This latter presumption also contributes to the lack of attention to political parties and social movements, which often

have to obfuscate or split differences between factions to be successful.

Because moderation is found in so many settings, there is no single organizational theme to Calhoun's study. The book under review is not organized chronologically, or by section, or by topic. Or, rather, it is organized by all of these things. This makes for a somewhat clunky presentation and chapters that are too long to be read in a single setting. Additionally, more commentary linking subjects to the specific strands of moderation mentioned seems warranted. Yet the wide range of Calhoun's purview is generally a strength, and this learned book deserves a significant readership that should begin a robust conversation about what moderation really entails.

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ALEXANDER TESIS. *We Shall Overcome: A History of Civil Rights and the Law*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2008. Pp. x, 369. \$35.00.

In an introduction and thirteen chapters, Alexander Tesis retraces mostly well-traveled paths and positions on the rhetorical bases of liberal democracy in the United States. Opening his extended essay of broad propositions and thumbnail historical sketches with the American Revolution's beginning in the 1760s, Tesis locates what he casts as the ideological origins of American law's abiding commitment to civil rights. Using history as an investigative tool, he cobbles together his theoretical argument that, from its outset in the Declaration of Independence in 1776 and the Constitution in 1787, the United States has guaranteed substantive protections to civil rights. He does not, however, distinguish between civil rights and civil liberties. Nor does he always distinguish among or between civil rights, human rights, individual rights, personal rights, or natural rights. He uses terms such as equality, liberty, and rights as if their meanings and usage have always been fixed, consistent, and unvarying. He makes terms often seem synonymous, and in many places loose and slippery terminology sinks his discussion.

Focusing on liberty and equality—also conflated and conjoined as "liberal equality"—as integral to an evolving American identity, Tesis argues that "the development of liberal equality for the overall good" constitutes the American nation's consistent core meaning and purpose (p. 2). To inscribe his perspective on the rocky road to liberal equality, he uses familiar landmarks laid largely in struggles over slavery, segregation, and women's suffrage. He offers closing commentary on difficulties with race and gender discrimination in the 1970s and supplies a few words on sexual orientation and the intimate right to privacy after 2000. Tesis's real endpoint, nevertheless, is the work of the Warren Court (1953–1969) in ordering the desegregation of public schools and places of public accommodation and

in raising protections of personal rights in the areas of criminal justice, family autonomy, and voting.

Tsisis's structural approach elevates the U.S. Supreme Court as the major vehicle of civil rights progress. Next he praises Congress, emphasizing such measures as the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Age Discrimination and Employment Act of 1967, and the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990. Lastly, he praises presidential initiatives, particularly those of Franklin Delano Roosevelt during the 1930s' New Deal and Lyndon Baines Johnson during the 1960s' Great Society push. Throughout he clings to the traditional and still too common view of civil rights as mostly, if not exclusively, a black-and-white matter. He allows some space to women's issues, primarily when discussing voting, but few groups beyond blacks make more than cameo appearances.

Tsisis acknowledges starts, stops, and backsliding, yet he insists on describing a triumphal march of "liberal equality." He evokes an inspiring yet melancholy tale of expanding liberties. Triumph consistently emerges from the travail of civil rights in his view, and discrimination ever exists as an aberration or abrogation of American foundational principles of universal freedoms. Such a position leaves Tsisis with little explanation for the origin and persistence of discrimination, exclusion, and social inequity and injustice. Nowhere does his selective reading of American rhetoric on rights come to grips with Americans' individualist, materialist, personally self-absorbed and self-serving notions of liberty, which have purposefully and consistently dismissed equality and rejected distributive justice throughout U.S. history.

Tsisis's blinkered view simultaneously reproduces rhetoric accepted at face value and further defaces the historical value of that rhetoric at times by wrenching its meaning beyond its context. Not always careful with chronology, he references actors or actions separated by decades as if they existed in the same historical moment and context. In situating the Constitution as an oracle of obligations protecting individual liberties and advancing and safeguarding the general welfare, for example, he does not always distinguish between stages of constitutional development. He proceeds as if the Constitution has always been substantially the same. The Constitution of 1787 becomes the same as the Constitution of December 1791, when the Bill of Rights expanded the document. Indeed, although he notices the significant additions of Amendments 13, 14, and 15 during Reconstruction and then the 19th Amendment in 1920, he presents them as tweaks rather than radical changes. He probes none of the oft-observed and perhaps characteristic tensions in American values between individualism and the commonweal or greed and the general welfare, and he offers little on conflicts of rights, such as the First Amendment rights to free association and rights against discrimination.

Tsisis eschews law as procedure and process to embrace law simply as substance arising almost exclusively

from ethical values. He insists that ethics, not practice or protest, decided the shape and structure of U.S. law regarding civil rights. Sticking to soaring rhetoric, he refuses to touch, or often notice, nitty-gritty politics. In his view, idealism carried the day at every turn. Tsisis finds considerable optimism in his theory, yet the blood and guts spilled in the ever contested and intense U.S. civil rights struggle present a different reality.

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CYNTHIA J. VAN ZANDT. *Brothers among Nations: The Pursuit of Intercultural Alliances in Early America, 1580–1660*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. ix, 252. \$49.95.

In the early 1620s, Captain Thomas Hunt landed his ship on the shore of what is now New England and captured twenty-four Algonquian Indian men to sell as slaves. The action enraged the captives' people, who spread the word of the treachery and took revenge on the next English people who arrived. Back in England, when the members of the Council of New England learned of the captures, they too were furious. Captain Hunt's belligerence threatened their attempts to establish peaceful trading relations. In their next report, they excoriated Hunt as "more savage than" the Indians. Yet despite this anger, as Cynthia J. Van Zandt points out in her persuasive new book, the Council depended on kidnappings of Algonquians for information on their native land, kidnappings that could cause as much conflict as Hunt did. At the center of Van Zandt's book is this tension between the desperate need of both natives and newcomers to learn about one another and the dangers inherent in either trying to extract information or getting the facts wrong.

Van Zandt argues that Indians and Europeans in the first half of the seventeenth century on North America's eastern seaboard deeply desired alliances and spent a great deal of effort "mapping" one another: that is, figuring out not only the land's physical features but also other people's social and political arrangements. Outnumbered, Europeans depended on Indians to trade with them and to refrain from destroying the fledgling colonies. For their part, Indians desired trade and military connections with the newcomers. Neither Europeans nor Indians were united groups. Generally, there were more reasons for conflict between, say, New Netherland and New England or the Senecas and the Susquehannocks than across what we might anachronistically imagine as a racial divide. While enslaved and free Africans in the colonies held an infinitely smaller amount of power than did most Indians and Europeans in the Americas, Van Zandt fits them into her argument too. Indeed, perhaps their lack of power made mapping their physical and social surroundings and forging alliances all the more important. Most of the book concerns Indians and Europeans, but Van Zandt also shows how New Netherlanders of African descent

formed alliances with one another across differences of language, ethnicity, and birthplace.

The book concentrates on New England, New Netherland, Virginia, and the Indian peoples between these colonies. None of the region's communities were isolated but rather were intertwined economically and politically with neighboring peoples. Much of this is well-trod ground. Frederic W. Gleach, James Axtell, James Horn, Jenny Hale Pulsipher, and many others have made similar points about information-gathering and the need for alliances along the Atlantic seaboard. Still, Van Zandt tells the stories well, and she persuasively shows the importance of alliances to many in New England, which some historians have portrayed as isolated from Indians and from other colonial regions. Particularly in the book's discussions of the Susquehannocks, Van Zandt proves that Indian-Indian rivalries could play the determining role in Indians' policies and that Indians sometimes made Europeans into their subordinate tributary states, as the Susquehannocks did with New Sweden.

Van Zandt maps this region well for her readers, yet I suspect her historical subjects' maps spread out even further in space and time. As Daniel K. Richter shows in his *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America* (2001), European goods and news about the newcomers often preceded Europeans themselves. These goods as well as Spanish explorers, slave-raiders, and missionaries colored Indian views of Europeans before the English and Dutch arrived. The Black Legend inspired a (mistaken) belief among many English that they would be more moral colonizers than the Spanish. Long before any Europeans or Africans arrived, continental networks of trade and alliance influenced how Indians mapped their world and the people who traveled to it. All of these precedents affected seventeenth-century contacts and alliances. With some attention to archaeology and colonial efforts beyond the English and Dutch, Van Zandt might have discovered that her arguments about mapping and the desire for alliance could begin at least with Hernando de Soto and Mississippians—and indeed much further back than that, in the centuries before these continents were the “Americas,” when Native peoples sought information, trade, and alliance solely with one another.

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MICHAEL LEROY OBERG. *The Head in Edward Nugent's Hand: Roanoke's Forgotten Indians*. (Early American Studies.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2008. Pp. xvi, 205. \$32.50.

I shall begin by saying that I consider this a good book, since my reading may appear to be rather critical; the criticism is directed more to the field than at this specific work. I consider ethnohistory to be much more than just the history of Others, in Western terms, but to encompass anthropological and historical visions in-

cluding their formulations from alternate perspectives specifically including those of the Others themselves, and I approach this work in that framework.

Historian Michael Leroy Oberg approaches the events of the sixteenth-century Roanoke Island colony from a perspective oriented around his interpretations of Native perceptions of what has long been recognized as a key incident in the interactions there: the killing and decapitation of the weroance Wingina. Some of the complications inherent to this focus are evident from the convoluted construction necessary to convey it. Even beyond the limitations of documentation, by now generally recognized, we cannot know the perceptions of the Indians at that time (or colonists, for that matter). We must speculate and infer, and ideally make clear the biases and processes of our speculations. In his prologue and acknowledgements Oberg references speculation and imagination, as well as the choices historians make in constructing historical meaning. But in the text, both in his own writing and in his choices of works to cite, Oberg too often seems to fall back to a “fact”-oriented approach and tone.

The alert reader picks this up early in the discussion of Algonquian political organization revolving around “tribe,” “chiefdom,” and “paramount chiefdom” (pp. 16–17, and associated endnotes). These are terms used by anthropologists to characterize different societies and have been widely debated in the literature for decades. Most anthropologists encountering these terms readily recognize them as a shorthand, pointing to ranges of practices and including great possibility for variation. Indeed, debate has often circled around questions of whether a particular group should be considered a tribe or a chiefdom, for example—a specialist debate, which perhaps obscures for others the fact that some of the ranges of practices included in one may also fit another equally well. The terminology is relatively insignificant, compared to the ranges of practices represented through those shorthand terms. But Oberg writes, “All the scholarship cited above is problematic in my view on this point, in that it assumes a form of tribal identity that is too structured and inflexible to explain adequately the fluidity of Algonquian politics” (p. 168; n. 23). The problem is not in that scholarship—at least not all of it—but in its reification (to be fair, this is far from unique to Oberg). The fluidity that Oberg quite rightly cites as central to Algonquian politics has been recognized and discussed by several anthropologists, including myself, but in general there is here too little inclusion of anthropological works, particularly those explicitly building more interpretive understandings on the basis of different cultural worldviews.

Indians were not and are not simply “us” with different languages and practices. It is commonplace to use generalized rationalistic arguments, often with an economic or universal-psychological base, in the attempt to understand Native practice, but this is wrong. Linguistic and historical anthropologists, building on lived experience with Native peoples and creative read-

ing-back from that into history, have demonstrated the importance of recognizing fundamentally differing worldviews for over a half-century. Much of this work is not published in monographs (a recurring complaint: contemporary historians are much more likely to reference anthropological monographs than articles), but it is easily accessible if one cares to look. If one is going to make the effort to understand and represent the perspectives and culturally specific motivations of another culture, those understandings must be developed as fully as possible, using all available tools. I argue that one can never truly, fully grasp another perspective, but that it is nevertheless important to try, using everything we can to convey the subtleties of cultural difference.

Oberg does a better job than most at trying to restore agency to the Indians and meaning to their actions. He relates the cultural-historical scene and the players, and offers interpretations of the killing of Wingina that improve our understandings of both the local history and its place in global movements. The subsequent history of the "Lost Colony" and the Carolina Indians is nicely summarized. The research in primary sources is thorough, and the writing is engaging. But I believe a more developed anthropological dimension, ideally including spending time with living Indians on their own terms, could have significantly enriched the understandings.

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JAMES E. McWILLIAMS. *Building the Bay Colony: Local Economy and Culture in Early Massachusetts*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2007. Pp. xi, 201. \$35.00.

Even as Atlantic and transnational approaches have reshaped the field of early American history, this compelling book reminds us that a local perspective can lead to fresh insights, especially when it comes to the nature of colonial economic development. The conclusions James E. McWilliams draws from town records and a handful of surviving seventeenth-century account books challenge many common assumptions about the trajectory of economic change in Massachusetts. Typically, historians portray a shaky, immigration-based economy that foundered when the English Revolution interrupted the flow of migrants in the 1640s, only to be rescued by the region's entry into international trade. McWilliams questions both this chronology and the staples thesis that underpins it. He contends that overseas trade played a minor role in the New England economy before 1670, and finds scant evidence of "spread effects" from overseas trade or specialization in particular export staples. Rather, the region's "hidden engine of economic growth" (p. 3) was the internal economy.

According to McWilliams, local needs and markets dominated New Englanders' decision-making for much of the seventeenth century. The first two generations of English immigrants confronted a series of critical infrastructure challenges. McWilliams takes a truism about the first English arrivals—they got lost in the

woods and drowned frequently—and reminds us that unfamiliarity with the landscape had economic consequences. The lack of maps, roads, bridges, vehicles, draft animals, ferries and ships, not to mention pilots with knowledge of local tides and wind patterns, rendered even the shortest trips dangerous. The author traces the impact of individual and collective investments in transportation that facilitated exchange between nearby farms and eventually linked farmers and fishermen with regional market centers. Similarly, he sees larger economic significance in towns' decisions to appoint fence inspectors and communal livestock keepers, and to manage resources such as wood.

McWilliams also stresses the organic, decentralized evolution of industries such as fishing and timber. Despite entrepreneurs' interest in exporting these commodities, local demand absorbed most of the fish and wood harvested in Massachusetts before 1670. Fishing remained a small-scale side employment rather than an industry; workers owned the tools of production, maintained farms, sold fish to their neighbors, and thus avoided the exploitative labor arrangements that characterized most Atlantic fisheries. Towns jealously protected local forest reserves and prevented large-scale harvesting, saving wood for barns, fences, homes, and local shipbuilding. Skilled laborers such as carpenters and blacksmiths played critical roles in organizing production.

According to McWilliams, this diversified local economy not only sustained Massachusetts during the difficult 1640s but also smoothed the transition to international trade. Merchants took advantage of established transportation, processing, labor, and provisioning arrangements to collect cargoes of meat, shingles, fish, and dairy products destined for the Caribbean and Europe. These trades represented only part of their activities, however; McWilliams notes that merchant George Corwin of Salem bought butter, grain, and livestock from his neighbors but resold much of it to other nearby customers. Small retail operations formed "a less obvious side of elite merchants' activity" (p. 134) that hedged their overseas risks. Local exchange also trained New Englanders in financial methods critical to capitalism. McWilliams's analysis of six account books reveals that farmers and craftsmen used third party payments, cash discounts, interest, "reckonings" (periodic audits of ongoing accounts), and other sophisticated tools by the late seventeenth century. Ultimately, producers and merchants together created an economy that provided both security and material comfort to the English inhabitants.

This book works very well as a ground-level account of how colonial economies developed, and it adds a new dimension to existing scholarship on commerce and culture in New England. Although the paucity of evidence has complicated efforts to reconstruct the nature of the internal economy of early America, McWilliams shows that it can be done. At times, however, the book's local focus leaves the reader wishing for more context. Massachusetts families did not operate in a vacuum;

imperial regulations (particularly the Navigation Acts), wars, nearby Dutch and French settlements, the presence of Native Americans, and the development of other English colonies shaped their economic choices and responses in myriad ways. Oddly, McWilliams devotes little space to commerce with the West Indies, which was critical to the New England economy. The consumption/import side of the economic equation also receives slight attention. He portrays a static, "traditional" population, but in fact there was an astounding degree of migration within Massachusetts and between the Bay and other colonies in the seventeenth century. Finally, some account of the crucial ways in which Native Americans helped launch and sustain the New England economy with contributions—sometimes coerced—of trade, technology, labor and land, would enrich his portrayal. Still, this interesting book sheds light on important aspects of the early American economy that have received little attention.

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DAVID D. HALL. *Ways of Writing: The Practice and Politics of Text-Making in Seventeenth-Century New England*. (Material Texts.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 233. \$49.95.

David D. Hall provides an important contribution to the study of the ways in which information, ideas, and material texts circulated among writers and readers in the seventeenth century. His sources and analysis will appeal to social and literary historians alike, providing a valuable counterbalance to existing trends in the developing field of international book history that too easily equate "book" with printed text and print culture.

Hall foregrounds his study on the premise that "every colonial writer knew of two different modes of publication, each with its distinctive benefits and limitations," the first being delivering manuscript texts to a printer to be set and bound and the other the circulation of handwritten copies (p. 1). In his study, Hall is concerned with investigating the ways in which both types of textual production were collaborative in nature and in recovering the work of a variety of people other than the author who were invested in the creation and circulation of textual materials. As part of this investigation, Hall explores the ways in which the colonists themselves understood and used the terms "public" and "private" as they pertain to understanding a larger concept of the colonial sociology of texts.

Hall makes a strong claim that unlike the traditional theory of the English writers' aristocratic disdain for "the stigma of print," "among the colonists it was not the commercial aspects of print that made it less appealing but the near certain possibility that having something printed would 'expose' a writer to 'censure' if not ridicule" (p. 50). Hall argues that "a broader reluctance was also at work, a strong preference for a mode of communication that was less disruptive of social peace. The goal of preserving that peace was among

the most explicit priorities of the colonists" (p. 50). Against this Puritan colonial milieu, Hall examines practices of anonymity and the construction of the individual author as they are played out in the conventions of paratexts (the prefaces, dedications, errata, and other textual apparatus). In the process of analyzing the underlying sociology of textual production, he highlights the significance of textual choices made by the author and also by his or her collaborators and intermediaries in the textual production.

The book is composed of five chapters, each a rich store of case studies and descriptive detail. Chapter one establishes the three lines of argument for the subsequent material: first, the political nature of the particular choices involved in text-making; second, the integration of recent Renaissance textual studies arguing for the inherent collaborative nature of textual production and the pervasive presence of scribal publication and social authorship practices with existing studies of the history of the printed book in colonial America; and third, the importance of the Protestant vernacular tradition in shaping colonial writers' literary strategies. Chapter two concerns practices of scribal publication—texts "not in print yet published"—and chapters three and four examine the related yet distinct handwritten culture referred to as "social authorship" based on case studies of Thomas Hooker, John Cotton, and Cotton Mather and the poets Michael Wigglesworth, John Danforth, and Anne Bradstreet. The final chapter opens with an analysis of the variety of ways in which dissenting political views were circulated starting in the 1640s and continuing through the century.

The choices faced by colonial writers were more complicated than simply handwriting or print. Hall's study makes a compelling case for the high level of fundamental literacy among the colonists and the importance that reading and writing played in their daily lives and spiritual practices. He argues persuasively that for the seventeenth-century colonists writing within a Protestant vernacular tradition, the individual author's name (canonicity) was less important to the establishing of the authority of a text than "whether writing or speech served the truth" (p. 27). In Hall's analysis, the essential question asked of a text was not who wrote it but "did it nurture the righteousness that bound a covenanted people together?" (p. 27). Hall's work thus complicates and refines our notions of the significance of the individual author and his/her originality in making texts during this period as well as the significance we assign the practices of anonymity. This richly detailed and engagingly written study is a welcome addition to the growing body of work focusing on the dynamics of handwritten culture and the ways in which it permeated print culture and was in turn shaped by print practices.

MARGARET J. M. EZELL
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JANET MOORE LINDMAN. *Bodies of Belief: Baptist Community in Early America*. (Early American Studies.)

Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2008. Pp. 270. \$39.95.

Early American religious historians have been eagerly anticipating this book, since the preliminary publications from Janet Moore Lindman's important dissertation have already had a significant impact on the field. As expected, this is a creative, archivally driven study of American evangelicals in the "long" eighteenth century that truly opens up the world of Baptists to our view. Lindman's gendered analysis and her consideration of the Baptist "body" give her a unique perspective on evangelical experiences, perceptions, rituals, practices, and beliefs. This book's theoretical innovations make it a must-read for religious specialists, and it is also a good introduction for those with an interest in the subject.

Lindman opens with the story of how Baptists established themselves in Pennsylvania and Virginia, her defined areas of study. While Virginia's evangelicals have received plenty of academic attention, we know somewhat less about Pennsylvania Baptists. This book consequently fills an important gap and also highlights how much Virginians depended on their northern brothers in Christ for institutional support in the founding generations.

The core of the book can be roughly divided into two sections. Three chapters consider Baptist conversion, rituals, and discipline—the building blocks of the Baptist faith. Here Lindman puts her unique spin on the story by arguing for the corporeal nature of Baptist practice. She illustrates masterfully how evangelicalism was both experienced in the body and manifested through the ordering and regulation of bodies. Her discussion of the physicality of the conversion experience and the "naturalization" of the gendered body in church practice are particularly compelling.

The final third of the book focuses on some of the social implications of Baptist fellowship, with chapters on women, slavery, and masculinity. Lindman sidesteps an old historiographical debate about whether early Baptists were "countercultural" to paint a nuanced picture of the conflicted and sometimes contradictory ways that men and women, slave and free, engaged with one another in Baptist communities. She characterizes Baptist women as actors in the public sphere who developed community ties and took up leadership roles. At the same time, she demonstrates that Baptist organizational structures excluded women from official positions of governance and that patriarchal values confined and restrained female adherents. Africans and African Americans fared similarly, according to Lindman. They were at once empowered to assert themselves in public through preaching and church courts and yet were also at times defined as the least among spiritual equals. Some Baptists took a public stand against slavery in the postrevolutionary period while others almost frantically proclaimed the institution to be exclusively a matter for the civil government to consider. Free white men were the undisputed leaders of congregations, but Baptist masculinity, which empha-

sized a particular set of emotional responses and required submission to church discipline, also set these men apart from the dominant secular order. Baptists created alternative understandings of normative male behavior and roles in the patriarchal slave society of Virginia but were less distinctive in Quaker-influenced Pennsylvania. In the end, the congregational autonomy that defined Baptist church structure prevented the faith from developing fully uniform political positions, practices, gendered norms, and race relations through much of the period under study.

There is a great deal to admire in this book. Lindman has taken cryptic church government records and brief ministerial biographies and the like and turned them into a rich narrative about how people lived the experience of Baptist conversion and fellowship. I can think of no single work that does a better job of conveying what it was to be a Baptist in this period. Furthermore, her use of recent literature on the body provides a genuinely fresh approach just when one might have thought that this field was going stale.

While Lindman focuses on Pennsylvania and Virginia primarily, it should be noted that this study is not particularly concerned with underscoring the importance of place. In the final chapter on masculinity it is suggested that Pennsylvania's religious diversity and Quaker roots provided a distinctive environment in which congregational Baptist practice could develop, in contrast to the Anglican and plantation-dominated context in which Virginia Baptists took hold. But such a regional comparison does not consistently frame the book as a whole. This seems a shame, as few scholars have had the fortitude to gather a data set such as Lindman's from which detailed regional comparisons could be made. One wonders how women's experiences and Baptist engagement with slavery might have been reinterpreted had those divergent contexts been more fully brought to bear.

In the end, Lindman's title ably sums up her work. This is an engaging study of Baptists that centers both on the convert's body and on the collective congregational body that religious adherence created. It offers a new approach to an old topic and will therefore certainly be an important guide for future work in early American religious history.

JEWEL L. SPANGLER
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SARAH KNOTT. *Sensibility and the American Revolution*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia. 2009. Pp. ix, 338. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.

Building on extensive research on the history of sensibility in Europe, especially Britain, and consistent with a smaller body of work on its Americanization by, for example, Garry Wills, David Waldstreicher, and Andrew Burstein, Sarah Knott makes a significant contribution to our understanding of its operation in the

lives of literate Philadelphians during the revolutionary era.

Knott defines "sensibility" above all as "a distinctive mode of self": "The sensible self was simultaneously made and expressed in social interaction by sensations of sympathy and fellow feeling" (p. 5). Such selves comprised a culture of sensibility. Despite its long preceding rise from early in the eighteenth century, it was only in the second half, because of "the imperial crisis," that "sensibility takes a central place in American history" (pp. 14–15).

Knott provides a "cis-Atlantic" perspective throughout. Part one, "Transatlantic Conduits," examines the words of some influential Philadelphians in two chapters: "Print, Booksellers, and the Sentimental," and "Medicine, Physicians, and the Nervous." The former largely describes the career of Scots immigrant Robert Bell, purveyor of books "to the Sentimentalists," new women readers, and educated gentlemen (p. 50). Knott emphasizes how readers read sentimentally, rather than confining herself to what they read. Sensibility stood for the psychophysiology propounded by Philadelphia doctors, learned from such Edinburgh luminaries as William Cullen who—with Adam Smith, David Hume, and many others—comprised the Scottish Enlightenment. Knott's medical conduit poured into an audience already soaked in the nerve model by the Scottish writers, as well as by novelists, notably Samuel Richardson and Laurence Sterne. Knott's doctors were themselves "men of feeling."

Print and medical cultures overlapped with the "American Circles" presented in part two. "Sentimental Coteries" is a close analysis of four small groups of young, middle-class Philadelphians, who found resources in such literary conventions as "virtue in distress" to unite themselves against fashionable, insincere politeness, a contrast that had long animated sentimental readers. They "turned sentimental and nervous discourse into social practice" (p. 148). Here, as elsewhere, Knott refers to the gendering of sensibility: Anne Shippen Livingston's agonizingly broken marriage "pinpointed the unresolved issues of male governance and female submission that ran through sentimental culture" (p. 138). Knott then shows the homosocial variation of the Americanizing culture among officers in the Revolutionary War, American gentlemen who, awkwardly like their British counterparts, wove sensibility with rank and honor to unite themselves in patriotism, even as they defined themselves against "lower-sort soldiers" (p. 162).

Booksellers, book buyers, doctors, patients, letter-writers, and officers prepared the way for the postwar articulation of "the sentimental project." Suddenly in the 1780s, "sensibility was promoted everywhere," aimed at "connecting selves and society in a harmonious whole" (p. 195). Philadelphia's dominant spokesman on behalf of this vision was Benjamin Rush, who targeted objectives like prison reform and female education, although women's work was to be within the family. "Ultimately, the greatest prize it held out was

stable political union"—its language permeated Constitutional debates—"and a fraternity of socially-minded men of a certain status," as they faced postwar fissiparousness (p. 234).

Knott's conclusion, "Transatlantic Backlash," argues that the strength of subsequent reaction to sensibility testifies to its pervasiveness and power in spite of the fragmentation of the sentimental project on the reefs of racism, sexism, and reaction to the French Revolution. Gender was central to the 1790s debate over sensibility; sharpened gendering "underwrote the maleness of full civic participation in the American nation" (p. 317).

By 1800 in Britain and France, sensibility's "mode of self" telling of "the utter malleability of personhood" was giving way to what was—in Knott's summary of Dror Wahrman's definition of the modern self—"an essential core of selfhood characterized by psychological depth or interiority, which is the bedrock of unique, expressive, individual identity" (pp. 325, 326). Knott suggests that the American Revolution contributed to this shift in Europe, even as Americans lagged behind in implementing it themselves.

Whether or not one agrees with Wahrman's definition of the modern self, sensibility, often conventional and shallow, always potentiated the cultivation of psychological depth. The subtleties of consciousness sensibility could nourish were modern and, moreover, it did have a "core"—in "the moral sense," as Norman Fiering has meticulously shown: that is, the basing of morality on feeling, and what could be more modern than that? Knott mentions the moral sense once in connection with Francis Hutcheson, leaving aside his mentor, the anti-Lockean Third Earl of Shaftesbury, called the father of sentimental ethics, who, in this, followed the Cambridge Platonists. Their adaptation of Cartesian psychology was mainstreamed into liberal, anglophone Protestantism by a host of conduits—sermons, letters, *The Spectator*, poetry, and novels, including Sterne's.

There is a degree of validity to Knott's definition of sensible selves, but its elucidation requires a more systematic concentration on gender. Knott nevertheless provides a stimulating book, beautifully edited and produced.

G. J. BARKER-BENFIELD

State University of New York,

Albany [All reviewers of books by Indiana University faculty are selected with the advice of the Board of Editors.]

THOMAS M. TRUXES. *Defying Empire: Trading with the Enemy in Colonial New York*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2008. Pp. xv, 288. \$30.00.

The idea that "greed is good" has a much longer history in America than Oliver Stone's 1987 film *Wall Street*. In the thick of the Seven Years' War (1754–1763), enterprising English colonists brazenly traded with the French, sustaining them in their battles against the colonists' own mother country. Through impressive re-

search in British and American archives, Thomas M. Truxes uncovers New York merchants' epic ingenuity in trading directly and indirectly with the enemy throughout the war.

Much of the book concerns the convoluted paths that illegal goods could take. New Yorkers obtained dubious paperwork and a safe harbor for illegal French imports in neighboring colonies. They defied a parliamentary prohibition on trading flour, grain, and bread with anyone outside the empire by hiding the prohibited provisions in the ship's hold or claiming that sugar-laden vessels returning to New York had successfully attacked a French ship and taken its cargo. Merchants even went so far as to have one of their vessels pretend to board another of their own ships laden with French cargo and claim it as a privateering prize, thus providing a legitimate cover to any snooping British navy vessels trying to police the trade routes.

Yet another path to riches ran through the neutral Spanish port of Monte Cristi, whose only maritime advantage was sharing an island with the French colony of St. Domingue. A veritable fleet of colonial ships bobbed up and down in Spanish waters as the goods they had carried made their way over the border to the French colony. There was even a legitimate way to trade directly with the enemy by participating in prisoner exchanges whereby a New York ship carried French prisoners of war back to the French islands. In exchange for this patriotic duty, New Yorkers could bring back a boatload of sugar. The trouble was that there were not enough prisoners to satisfy enthusiastic New York merchants. So the merchants went out and found more, cajoling French-speaking men to pose as prisoners of war in need of repatriation.

Such whole-hearted subversion of the British war effort reached to the very top of New York society. Over 190 of the city's elite saw their chance and took it. Lieutenant governors did not bestir themselves; collectors of customs looked the other way. One man, George Spencer, tried to uncover the illegal trade and quickly felt the consequences. The indefatigable Spencer makes his appearance in chapter one, where he is manhandled, imprisoned, and hounded out of town for daring to rat on his neighbors. This delightfully dogged character, worthy of an eighteenth-century novel, reappears throughout the book as he hatches more involved plots to obtain sweet revenge against those who still outwit him at every turn. Other individuals were more successful in trying to staunch the trade. A couple of royal governors and maverick naval commanders made New York's elite nervous, but ultimately they too joined Spencer in watching inevitable market forces work to produce maximum profit. The author sees no conspiracy to undermine the British Empire but rather a "powerful commercial impulse" that at times materially contributed to the French war effort.

So how did New York's loyal subjects justify their behavior? They argued that trade with the French enhanced British interests by increasing exports, thus helping Britain pay for the war. It made no sense, they

reasoned, that neutral powers like Holland and Denmark should be left to make all the profits. If this argument—i.e., "what is good for me is good for the empire"—seemed a tad too convenient, colonial merchants could also resort to outrage. The Flour Act banned Americans from exporting flour outside the empire but did not impose similar restrictions on British or Irish shippers. They could legally provision the enemy to their hearts' content through neutral countries.

Such discriminatory legislation smacked of second-class citizenship. British naval seizures of American ships created hardship and were considered unfair. New York's trade with the enemy bred a "taste for defiance" among His Majesty's American subjects. Britain's inability to control this trade with the enemy led to post-war reforms that attacked "entrenched abuses" in a "harsh and punitive" tone. These elements, the author rightfully claims, helped set the stage for the American Revolution. Had he stopped there, all would be well. But like many a scholar who wants to claim the most clout for his subject, Truxes exaggerates his book's importance by claiming that New York, more than any other colonial city, pushed America toward revolution. Thankfully this is not what the book is about, and no amount of elegant writing, impressive research, and skilled storytelling—all of which characterize this volume—can take us down that road. Instead, Truxes does something much more important: highlighting the age-old motivation of greed, he provides a truly new story about the Seven Years' War that keeps the reader turning the page.

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JAMES B. BELL. *A War of Religion: Dissenters, Anglicans, and the American Revolution*. (Studies in Modern History.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2008. Pp. xxii, 323. \$74.95.

In the tradition of J. C. D. Clark's *The Language of Liberty, 1660–1832: Political Discourse and Social Dynamics in the Anglo-American World* (1994), which proclaimed the American Revolution a war of religion, James B. Bell examines the situation of the colonial English Church from 1686 to 1783. He builds on his earlier book *The Imperial Origins of the King's Church in Early America, 1607–1783* (2004), which only briefly examined two major themes of this newer work: the controversy over the possibility of a colonial bishop, and the political orientation of the church's ministers. The book's main contribution lies in his examination of Dissenter-Anglican conflict in New England, particularly Massachusetts, throughout the century before 1776. Bell's second declared contribution (p. xi) consists of his claim that radical politicians John Adams, Samuel Adams, and John Wilkes, through their authorship of several newspaper articles in Boston and London, transformed an ecclesiastical argument into a political and civil one. In part two, Bell considers the political sentiments of the

clergymen in a series of chapters prominently featuring biographical sketches.

The controversy over whether a bishop should be sent to the colonial English Church was cited, quite famously by John Adams, as an early cause of the American Revolution, and the topic has been admirably studied by several historians, most notably Frederick V. Mills, Sr., *Bishops by Ballot: An Eighteenth-Century Ecclesiastical Revolution* (1978). Bell broadens and lengthens this argument, claiming that the bishop controversy was a part of a series of controversies occurring in New England and the Middle Colonies since the 1680s. Beginning with Increase Mather, Bell traces a series of Congregational pamphleteers and their Anglican respondents whose work collectively reveals long-standing conflicts about the ministry, the liturgy, the validity of ordinations, and the historic nature of episcopacy. Such tensions increased at the turn of the eighteenth century with the establishment of the English Church in several colonies and the founding of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG). Bell's focus on the pamphlet wars keeps the discussion situated squarely in the North and mostly in Boston, first with Increase and Cotton Mather; with John Checkley's attack in the 1720s on the validity of Congregational ordination and its doctrines of election and predestination; significantly with Jonathan Mayhew's criticism in the 1760s of the SPG, as well as Anglican liturgy and episcopacy, which sparked responses from Thomas Secker, archbishop of Canterbury, and Thomas Bradbury Chandler of New Jersey. Bell interprets Mayhew's arguments not only as sounding the public alarm about the imminent dangers of a proposed colonial bishop, but also as occurring "in a direct line of thought from the writings of Increase and Cotton Mather, Noah Hobart [from Connecticut], and several other prominent New England Congregational critics of the church" (p. 80). Overall, Bell is highly effective in showing the longstanding nature of this conflict, stretching back not only in colonial pamphlets, but also reflecting divisions in England "of the church's reformed and traditional parties over the historic nature of the ministry and the office of bishop since at least the 1560s" (p. 42). A more provocative claim is his crediting John Adams, Samuel Adams, and John Wilkes with transforming the controversy over an American bishop, bringing it before a larger public, and absorbing it into other civil criticisms of English policies.

Bell acknowledges that the controversy over a bishop did not attract much attention in Maryland and Virginia, which had the largest populations of English churchmen and the majority of the colonial Anglican ministers (57.5 percent; p. 198), or in the lower South. Can then Bell's characterization of the American Revolution as a war of religion be applied beyond New England, or was it a regional phenomenon? Given the longevity and strength of the English Church in the Chesapeake, its relatively slim coverage in this study is a noteworthy limitation. The scarcity of clerical writings in the South causes certain methodological challenges,

but Bell's broad understanding of Dissenter-Anglican tensions, not limited to matters of episcopacy, might have allowed him to explore other evidence in Virginia, including anticlericalism in the Parson's Cause, or Dissenter efforts during the war for improved religious toleration in return for their wartime mobilization. Instead, Bell's focus on pamphlet wars keeps his attention largely on Boston.

The final section of the book examines the political views of the clergymen of the English Church throughout the colonies, using biographical sketches supplemented with extended, well-selected quotations, often from SPG correspondence. This life-by-life approach at times causes chronological challenges (Charles Inglis's reaction to *Common Sense* [1776] appears in chapter eleven; Samuel Seabury Jr. and Chandler's views on the Continental Congress [1774, 1775] in chapter twelve) and some repetition of points (e.g., on Jonathan Boucher, pp. 130 and 144, 131 and 148) but otherwise makes for engaging reading. Particularly strong in showing the impact of the Continental Congress and local committees of safety on the clergymen's lives, this section contains a very helpful summary chapter profiling the clergymen, as well as detailed appendixes and references to his database (www.jamesbell.com).

NANCY L. RHODEN

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J. D. BOWERS. *Joseph Priestley and English Unitarianism in America*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 282. \$50.00.

For generations, historians have insisted that the roots of Unitarianism lie in the liberal wing of late colonial Puritan Congregationalism. In the background are New England pastors such as Charles Chauncy and Jonathan Mayhew, while the movement took more formal identity with a well-known sermon preached by New Englander William Ellery Channing in 1819. His "What Is Unitarian Christianity?" gave the movement a name as it claimed a place for this nascent denomination within the Christian family.

J. D. Bowers demurs. In this study of the English Unitarian tradition, particularly as expressed by theologian and scientist Joseph Priestley, Bowers insists that multiple strands fed into emerging American Unitarianism. Priestley's version is also significant, if not more central, to those developments.

When Priestley arrived in the United States in 1794, English Unitarianism had already crafted a place for itself in the dissenting landscape in Britain. Some early English Unitarians communicated with New England liberal Congregationalists. Richard Price, for example, corresponded extensively with Chauncy.

There were, however, stunning differences. Those, Bowers argues, require seeing English Unitarianism as a vital strand in planting rational religion in America. Eighteenth-century folk were comfortable with what today seems an arcane theological vocabulary. As Bowers

demonstrates, the New England preachers talked about the unity of God and rejected trinitarian formulations but adhered to an Arian christology. That is, they did not equate Jesus with God; he was divine but subordinate to God. Some call this an adoptionist christology: God adopted the human Jesus, granting him divine sonship.

Priestley and his fellow English Unitarians were Socinians who claimed that Jesus was not divine in any sense but only a human being, albeit an extraordinary one. Like the Arian liberal Congregationalists, English Socinians eschewed trinitarian formulations even as they also sought to base their position on scripture. Both saw themselves as deserving the label of "Christian," with each contending that its interpretation was the one most consistent with the biblical witness and indicative of authentic Christianity. This division, Bowers explains, led each party to view the other with suspicion, despite the many positions they held in common. Priestley established his center of influence in central Pennsylvania in a small community called Northumberland, somewhat removed from the liberal New England base in much larger and more cosmopolitan Boston. That, too, fueled division.

Channing's claiming the Unitarian label further marginalized the heirs of Priestley's style, and when the American Unitarian Association (AUA) formed in the 1820s, it excluded them from its constituent congregations. Yet the move toward organization brought fresh conversation between the two parties, although in Bowers's telling, the Arian Unitarians and the Socinian Unitarians remained rather skeptical of each other. Each wanted to be at the center of any movement called "Unitarian." William Christie and James Kay, leaders of the English wing after Priestley's death, believed that the New England liberals really did reject Christ's divinity, even if they refused to admit so publicly.

In the later 1820s, the AUA offered some financial assistance to Kay's ministry in Pennsylvania, particularly when he agreed to base himself in Harrisburg, the state capital. But that arrangement was temporary. At the same time, the New England group faced challenges that seemed even more dangerous than the religious descendants of Priestley. These challenges came in the form of Transcendentalism, which some thought had no religious base and threatened to rupture the New England wing of rational, tolerant religion. That threat, Bowers believes, paved the way for the New England and English strands to begin to come together, despite abiding differences in some matters of doctrine. In their coming together, however, even distinguished interpreters have favored New England Unitarianism as dominant and made Unitarianism an American religion, not one with multiple transatlantic sources.

Ironically, Priestley's Socinian views became the Unitarian norm. Bowers rightly contends that by the middle of the twentieth century, few Unitarians would have identified themselves as Christians precisely because they opted for Priestley's belief that Christ was never other than human.

Bowers provides a revisionist history in the best sense of that term. He uses theories advanced a century ago by William James to explain the complexity of early Unitarian developments. James believed developing religious movements had multiple strands that were sometimes in contention for primacy, but then gradually resolved most differences. The story may be yet more convoluted, but students of American religious history should welcome this effort to claim the rightful place for a long-neglected thread within the tapestry of early American Unitarianism. Priestley was not only the chemist who identified oxygen; he was also the voice of an enduring English Unitarianism that is part of the fabric of all American Unitarianism.

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J. RIXEY RUFFIN. *A Paradise of Reason: William Bentley and Enlightenment Christianity in the Early Republic*. (Religion in America.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. x, 266. \$65.00.

Historians of the early republic know William Bentley (1759–1819) as the author of one of the period's greatest diaries. Minister of the East Church in Salem, Massachusetts, from 1784 to 1819, Bentley recorded his personal encounters with the good and the great, as well as his involvement in the city's diurnal life and cultural movements, in fluent prose and unparalleled detail over the course of his entire thirty-five-year ministry. Since the publication of Bentley's diary in four volumes by Salem's Essex Institute from 1905 to 1914, it has been an essential reference point for writing the religious, political, and cultural history of the Early Republic. No less remarkable is the trove of more than twelve hundred preserved manuscript sermons that Bentley produced, a homiletic corpus unmatched for the formative decades of the new nation. The sermons present a complete record of one well-placed minister's developing religious thought from the American Revolution through the War of 1812, but unlike the diary they have not attracted much scholarly attention. J. Rixey Ruffin has gathered the celebrated diary, the neglected sermons, the East Church records, and exhaustive contextual research to produce the first critical biography of Bentley and the best cultural history of Salem's golden age in a generation.

Ruffin portrays a Bentley who lived out two careers, one as a Congregational minister and the other as a Jeffersonian political leader. Bentley's first calling was as the pastor of East Church, which he made into a bastion of liberal belief and practice against the onslaught of Salem's vigorous evangelical factions. Ruffin shows in arresting detail how Bentley steadfastly guided East Church to controversial positions on open membership, innovative worship, and social advocacy, transforming what had been a conservative mercantile parish into one of New England's most liberal religious communities. Bentley's second career involved his leadership

of the rising Democratic-Republican political coalition in Salem after 1800. Ruffin carefully documents how this establishmentarian minister played an unlikely yet crucial role in forging an alliance between Salem's maritime workingmen and cultural liberals that overturned Federalist political control in 1805. Bentley's political role was primarily literary, expressed in editorial pieces written for the opposition press, but Ruffin shows how he also used his iconic status as one of the city's senior ministers to gather diverse factions together to mount a successful electoral challenge to the Federalist elite.

The curious thing about Bentley's two careers, in Ruffin's telling, is that both of them were arrested. Bentley abandoned his public political activity at the very moment of Jeffersonian triumph. Ruffin suggests that the East Church minister had no interest in being a political power broker. This assessment rings true to Bentley's painfully shy personality and deeply felt pastoral vocation, crucial dimensions of his character that Ruffin sensitively presents. More problematic, however, is Ruffin's interpretation of Bentley as an important religious leader and thinker. East Church steadily lost members under his ministry. By the time he died, the community had been reduced to marginal status in the city's public culture. But Ruffin is not content to interpret Bentley as a religious liberal who sapped the institutional strength of his congregation while moving effectively into the developing public sphere of his booming early republic city. Instead, he claims that Bentley made a major contribution to American religious thought as a landmark figure of the "Radical Enlightenment" during the postrevolutionary decades.

According to Ruffin, Bentley's principal theological contribution was "Christian naturalism," the claim that after Christ's resurrection, God left humanity to work out its spiritual destiny and moral duty for itself. The creator, Bentley taught, was simply no longer part of human affairs, existing transcendent of and indifferent to human history. The biblical accounts of Israel and the ministry and resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth were true for Bentley, but he understood them as events that signaled the withdrawal of the divine from the world, not its engagement. Now we are entirely on our own, Bentley said, armed only with biblical history and the faculty of reason, possessing neither the indwelling of the Holy Spirit that the Baptists and Methodists proclaimed, nor the grim Evangelical Calvinist assurance of salvation through Christ's atonement on offer from the New Divinity.

Ruffin is right to characterize Bentley's religious thought as theologically radical, but he goes further, placing the Salem minister in the company of Thomas Paine, Joseph Priestley, and other avatars of historian Henry F. May's "Radical Enlightenment." This interpretation confuses uniqueness with significance. Paine's book *The Age of Reason* (1794) influenced many Americans to embrace Deism; Priestley's writings turned numerous Anglo-American Presbyterians to Arianism, Socinianism, and Unitarianism. Bentley's "Christian naturalism," however, convinced no one.

Ruffin tries to extract significance from Bentley's intellectual uniqueness—some would say failure—proudly hailing the fact that he was "a party of one." But how important can a religious figure be who had no followers and whose theology disengaged God altogether from human history and spirituality?

That Bentley pursued the logic of postrevolutionary Congregational theology to one of its most extreme conclusions certainly marks him as a figure who set a real boundary on American Reformed thought. He reached that boundary, however, through personal theological eccentricity rather than by an intellectual achievement of lasting importance. Ruffin's effort to valorize the originality of Bentley's religious thought into a classic expression of the "Radical Enlightenment" in America mars this otherwise finely wrought biographical and cultural treatment of the man and his city. It is easy to sympathize with Ruffin's desire to make much of Bentley. No one who has worked with that magisterial diary can fail to develop affection for its genial and sensitive scribe. In the end, however, it is his diary, and not his eccentric theological radicalism or political activism, that remains Bentley's most important achievement. Like his God, William Bentley retreated from the world and left an extraordinary record of his having lived in it for the rest of us to ponder. Ruffin has pondered Bentley's record with extraordinary care and produced a beautifully detailed account of it that is clouded only by his own zeal for his subject.

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STEPHEN P. HALBROOK. *The Founders' Second Amendment: Origins of the Right to Bear Arms*. (Independent Studies in Political Economy.) Chicago: Ivan R. Dee. 2008. Pp. x, 425. \$28.95.

Stephen P. Halbrook's new book represents the most careful and well-thought-out study yet in support of the politically ascendant claim that the Second Amendment, as originally intended and understood, protects a right to own guns for purposes other than service in the lawful militia. It far surpasses Justice Antonin Scalia's historically naïve analysis in *District of Columbia v. Heller*, the 2008 Supreme Court decision that first recognized a constitutional right to weapons possession for hunting and self-defense. Halbrook's latest work is exhaustive in scope. He reviews dozens of documents (many of them previously ignored) that can quite plausibly be read to support an original understanding of a right that extends far beyond what was required to ensure the people's capacity to serve in the militia. At the same time, however, Halbrook ignores, truncates, glosses, slants, and misconstrues hundreds more documents that not only demonstrate the primacy of the anti-standing-army and pro-militia trope in the framers' minds but also leave no reason to believe self-defense or hunting figured in the creation of the Second Amendment at all.

Halbrook has clearly immersed himself deeply in the

primary record of the constitution making process on the state and federal levels. His analysis of Justice James Wilson's law lectures in Philadelphia, St. George Tucker's *Blackstone's Commentaries*, and post-ratification state constitutional reform in the early 1790s do support (but not irrefutably so) the claim that for some contemporary readers, more was at stake in the Second Amendment than preservation of the militia. But for all its utility as a compendium of relevant material, and the cogency of its unexpected insights, there is an insurmountable and overarching oddness to this book that ultimately saps its credibility.

To begin with, there is Halbrook's endless exegesis of block quotes concerning the utility of a militia composed of an armed populace that simply do not support his claim that the Second Amendment also protects a right to have guns for hunting and shooting burglars, suggestive adornments notwithstanding. Next there is the issue of Halbrook's unbridled jingoism. For Halbrook, the American Revolution was fought and won by an armed populace who defeated evil invaders. The Continental Army is barely mentioned; the French Army is not mentioned at all. We are simply told that the defeat of British regulars was inevitable because the American militia comprised a population that was armed to the teeth. Paradoxically, there is much discussion of the supposedly well-armed revolutionaries' desperation to import arms and powder, but we are not told why these well-armed and invincible patriots took seven years to win the war. Nor are readers given pause to reflect that the conflict amounted to a civil war, in which at least a fifth of the white population supported the British crown and in which at least that many tried to stay neutral, and that if black and Indian opinion were taken into account, the American Revolutionary cause reduces to a violent minority movement that used terrorist means to impose a disfavored solution on a reluctant populace.

Halbrook's analysis of the constitutional crisis that followed the Revolutionary War is, like his account of the war itself, monocausal, indeed, monomaniacal. Not only was the war fought to vindicate the right to arms, but the Constitution was also authored to vindicate that same right. And the Bill of Rights was added to remove threats to the right to arms that the Constitution created. To be sure, there are other, lesser elements to the Bill of Rights that accompany the Second Amendment, and they merit some mention. But they are instrumental rights, useful chiefly to the extent that they provide auxiliary protections for the right to own weapons. Guns cease in Halbrook's analysis to be tools, but become the *summa bona* of American political eschatology. In a near inversion of Immanuel Kant's celebrated categorical imperative that no person is a mere means to a greater end, people and constitutionalism in Halbrook's account become devices whose merit lies in the service they offer to the right to arms.

Halbrook works hard, but he has a tremendous evidentiary burden to overcome, starting with the First Federal Congress, who gave us the text "A well regu-

lated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed." Twelve members of the House of Representatives spoke when the Second Amendment was under consideration, and not one mentioned hunting or private self-defense. They discussed only service in the militia, and the question of conscientious objection. The debates of the Senate were conducted in secret until 1796, so they can offer us no guidance here. But we can turn to uses of the pivotal phrase "bear arms" in legislative, political, and journalistic contexts of the times. According to Nathan Kozuskanich, well over ninety percent of the usages of bear arms and its cognates preserved in the journals of the Continental and United States Congresses between 1775 and 1791, Charles Evans *American Bibliography* (books and pamphlets from 1690–1800), and in *Early American Newspapers* (1690 to 1800) unambiguously relate to service in the army or militia, not self-defense or hunting.

Halbrook concedes much more than other gun rights advocates respecting the meaning of the right to arms. He acknowledges that the principal evil that the framers of the Second Amendment aimed to prevent was the disarming of the militia that would invite creation of a standing army. He even allows that the militia of the framers has long since gone away. In *The Militia and the Right to Arms, Or, How the Second Amendment Fell Silent* (2002), Richard Uviller and I contend that the consequence of this disappearance of the militia was that the right to arms lapsed, pending recreation of something approximating the lawful, universal (or at least general), obligatory militia of the framers. This, of course, Halbrook will not accept. Bearing arms for Halbrook, as for Justice Scalia, means carrying weapons for any lawful purpose. Not only does the right extend to hunting and protection against criminals, but it endures also as the ultimate check on government tyranny. As Halbrook concludes, "the experiences of the American Revolution proved the right to keep and bear arms serves as the ultimate check that the founders hoped would dissuade persons at the helm of state from seeking to establish tyranny. In hindsight, it would be difficult to quarrel with the success of the founders' vision" (p. 338). It seems to me one could quarrel with the success of that vision on at least two levels. Realizing that the American War was fought as much over taxes as over guns, one might ask whether objections to readily affordable taxes on tea imposed by a government whose legitimacy nobody had questioned until a decade before justified a resort to arms, seven years of war, 40,000 dead, and 100,000 refugees. One could also argue that precisely those dangers which animated the framers of the Second Amendment have now been willingly embraced by the governmental agents of the American people, and that we confront the very ruin the framers prophesized. We have an enormous standing army we cannot afford, and with it foreign military adventures and two wars looking suspiciously like wars of imperialism. We have lost our virtue, and become slaves to deficit spending and heavy taxes, and a client dependant

on foreign interests to finance our martial folly. To the framers of the Second Amendment, these would have been grounds for lamentation, not celebration.

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STEPHANIE KERMES. *Creating an American Identity: New England, 1789–1825*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2008. Pp. xii, 291. \$84.95.

Stephanie Kermes's introduction informs us that in the decades following the American Revolution the people of New England came to think of their region as representing what it meant to be American, and that they vigorously set about convincing those unfortunate enough to live west and south of the Hudson River of this self-evident fact. Kermes draws her inspiration from the recent work of historians exploring the relationship between regionalism and nationalism, especially the need to understand "collective loyalties." New Englanders, she argues, developed a sense of Americanness first by embracing and celebrating their regional identities. This was probably inevitable, for as Kermes observes, "In a large nation, regional loyalties are strong" (p. 2), all the more so when, as was obviously the case, nationhood was something new and unfamiliar. The people of New England drew on those characteristics they felt most distinguished them—their religion, industry, and republican virtues—and identified these as American characteristics also, ideally to be emulated by all who claimed citizenship in the United States. After that, writes Kermes, "the region's religious, intellectual, and political leaders successfully introduced ideas of New England virtues to their audiences of ordinary New Englanders and used them as a foundation for the popular imagination of the new nation" (p. 3). For Kermes, this process was very much a top-down, rather than a bottom-up, process and so successful that New Englanders quickly became convinced that their villages, institutions, and worldview were much like those of the rest of the nation, or ought to be. These same regional boosters, using the expanding power of print in the early republic, also campaigned for the acceptance of the New England model of American identity throughout the nation, and gained a significant number of converts in other northern states.

One region of the country was bound to be less than receptive to New England's siren song, however. The South, with its irreligion, aristocratic pretensions, and lack of industrious communities (at least in New Englanders' eyes), was a foil to New England's virtues, a shining example of what America must not become. New Englanders therefore excluded the South from their American vision. Exclusive regionalism is sectionalism, and Kermes concludes that New Englanders were the first to develop the sectionalism that characterized America for the rest of the nineteenth century.

At least the South was not the only example of what to avoid; in subsequent chapters Kermes makes clear that Americans, and New Englanders in particular, kept

close track of European events, and further distinguished themselves in contrast to the "failed republican" experiments in Britain and revolutionary France. Indeed, one consistent feature of this book is Kermes's use of transatlantic references in shaping early American nationalism. While some European "republican heroes" like the Marquis de Lafayette and Frederick the Great (!) found admirers in America, Europe—like the American South—offered only confirmations of New England's superior qualities.

Kermes regards both print and material culture as the mechanisms that shaped New England identity. Newspapers, travelogues, poetry, and song celebrated and idealized New England landscape, village life, and industry, while professional and itinerant artists, potters, and printmakers crafted romantic images of New England for sale and distribution even beyond the region. Those consumers, both literary and material, also came to view New England as representative of the nation at large despite, as Kermes admits, the contradictory impressions of shifty, grasping "Yankees" developing at the same time. This contention—that New England actually became the ideal not only for northern states but for the nation, however briefly—is the least convincing argument in the book, and considering its boldness needs to be better demonstrated. That New Englanders convinced themselves that their region best exemplified "American" virtues is not difficult to accept. Nor is it controversial that "New England" and "The North" were often conflated in American, and foreign, imaginations. But Kermes seems to claim too much for the effectiveness of propagandists like Jediah Morse and James Kirke Paulding.

Readers may also find the structure of the book perplexing. Chapter one, "New Englandizing America," is perfectly congruous with the stated goals of Kermes' introduction, but subsequent chapters do not develop so clearly. The second chapter, dealing with the curious transformation of Prussian monarch Frederick the Great into a republican hero, is novel and an interesting read, but the claim that popular stories of the famed soldier-king constitute "another indicator of the regionalist vision of New England as the embodiment of the nation" (p. 85) seems a bit of a stretch. Likewise, the chapters dealing with Lafayette's 1824–1825 tour of the United States, and Maine's statehood in 1820, read more like stand-alone essays than parts of a cohesive whole. Nevertheless, taken together these forays into regional consciousness-building add valuable insights into the often schizophrenic development of "American" identity before the Age of Jackson.

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SETH ROCKMAN. *Scraping By: Wage Labor, Slavery, and Survival in Early Baltimore*. (Studies in Early American Economy and Society from the Library Company of Philadelphia.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2009. Pp. xii, 368. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$25.00.

Seth Rockman has written a book to be reckoned with. This work goes a long way toward reshaping our understanding of how intertwined slavery, free labor, government, economic development, urbanization, and political economy were during the United States' early national era. This is largely because Rockman's analysis genuinely includes the working poor, whom scholars invariably ignore or exclude from their studies.

Such inclusion takes form in the argument and architecture of this text. The book follows those who built, fed, or cleaned up after a booming Baltimore as they journeyed to the city, located or were assigned work, struggled to survive, and faced the consequences of being underemployed, unemployed, overworked, or for sale. Able-bodied white men, native or foreign-born, might earn a living wage but seldom got enough work to make a living. Able-bodied free women, white or black, usually found plenty of work that seldom paid them enough to live. Both groups often looked to informal economies to scrape by, while the most destitute cycled through Baltimore's model (in the eyes of Anglo-American and European reformers) poor relief system. Although enslaved people's share of Baltimore's population declined from eleven percent in 1800 to three percent in 1840, slavery remained vital to the local political economy. Enslaved labor—owned, leased, or unofficially indentured through private promises of emancipation known as “term slavery”—permitted masters and entrepreneurs flexibility and lower costs. Enslavers in effect stored capital in enslaved bodies. They could then borrow against such capital or release and redeploy it by selling their human chattel locally or to a distant market, the latter option courtesy of Baltimore's status as one major terminus of the interstate slave trade.

This points to what may be Rockman's greatest contribution: a capacious yet sophisticated treatment of “political economy” that promises to be of great use to students of any capitalist society. It integrates legal categories such as slavery and free labor as well as heuristic categories that are shorthand to describe inequalities of power, such as race and gender, while remaining relentlessly focused on how Baltimore's working poor experienced, shaped, and in some cases dodged such categorization. Historians should be impressed by how Rockman negotiated Baltimore's deteriorating archives to unearth municipal receipts, petitions from the working poor, almshouse, penitentiary, county court records, and newsprint in order to reconstruct the lives of people who often remained nameless in employers' accounts. Rockman handles such sources deftly. Experts on the early republic often forget that their United States remained part of the world. Rockman is to be commended for his wider perspective, particularly regarding social welfare. He engages not only historiography on industrializing Europe, but also Silvia M. Arrom's *Containing the Poor: The Mexico City Poor House, 1774–1871* (2000). His book eases past many of the problems that commonly beset historiography of the early United States, though not all of them.

My three major concerns about this book are those of a scholar and teacher of the early Americas and a labor historian. First, Rockman's thoughtful analysis of slavery and its relationship to economic development and political economy stops at the southern borders. One wonders how much richer Rockman's insights on such matters might have been had he considered manumission in Baltimore in a hemispheric context and in comparison to *coartación*, as T. Stephen Whitman did in *The Price of Freedom: Slavery and Manumission in Baltimore and Early National Maryland* (1997), or had Rockman digested Zephyr L. Frank's *Dutra's World: Wealth and Family in Nineteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro* (2004). Second, Baltimore employers of the early nineteenth century did not invent the mixed labor regime that they found so appealing for its flexibility and low costs—flexible and low for them, that is. Instead, they retooled a system that had taken root locally in the early eighteenth century, one that featured lively markets for British convict servants, enslaved Africans and African Americans (many of them leased), and native-born and immigrant Euro-Americans for indenture or hire. One would miss this from reading Rockman's book, save for his brief mention (p. 242) of an 1829 case in which a federal court upheld a 1715 Maryland law that permitted employers to compel performance from hired workers. Third, Rockman makes a compelling case for the degree to which the state and institutions shaped the lives of the working poor. But one has to ask to what extent this is an artifact of Rockman's sources, created mostly by municipal and state officials and virtually the only records in which his subjects escaped (or sometimes lost) anonymity.

Such concerns do not diminish what Rockman has achieved. This is a terrific book, at times abrasive, which deserves a wide audience. That would include undergraduates, for whom Rockman's vivid writing and clear argument should resonate, especially within an economic climate that is forcing millions more to scrape by.

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DAVID ANDREW NICHOLS. *Red Gentlemen and White Savages: Indians, Federalists, and the Search for Order on the American Frontier*. (Jeffersonian America.) Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 291. \$39.50.

The title of David Andrew Nichols's book inverts familiar tropes about the early American frontier. The book itself subverts simple dichotomies about the confrontations between “whites” and “Indians” in the years after the American Revolution. It converts the frontier into a place where common interests cut across racial lines, yet shared views often undercut peaceful relations.

In Nichols's account, the politics of frontiers made strange bedfellows. Consider the tenuous alliance forged between American nationalists and Indian lo-

calists. In the aftermath of the American Revolution, the advocates for national authority wished to see the process of colonizing western lands taken over by the central government at the expense of individual states. This centralization, they hoped, would curb the anarchic settlement of the "western country," provide a source of revenue for the national government, and keep peace with Indian inhabitants. As these advocates became the architects of the new Constitution and then the leaders of the Federalist Party, they continued to support policies that kept land prices high, the better to control the pace of settlement and maintain stability on the frontier. In these goals Federalists found common cause with many woodland Indian leaders. Like Federalist authorities, these "civil chiefs" preferred peace and trade to expensive warfare, and they understood that limiting private land acquisition by American pioneers best protected the autonomy of scores of Indian villages across the trans-Appalachian West. These mutual "interests did not constitute the basis for warm friendship" between Federalists and Indian civil chiefs, but they could "form the basis of an . . . uneasy alliance," which might contain violence and continue trade (p. 10).

But this alliance, if not still-born, was in constant distress, because neither Federalists nor Indian civil chiefs could control rising factions within their own societies. Federalists contended first with authorities in the various states, who did not wish to cede dominion over valuable western lands to a national government. Later, foes of the Constitution and then the emergence of an opposition party, determined to rein in the power of the central government, challenged Federalist designs. These adversaries forwarded a more localistic vision and promised to open western lands to settlement on easier terms. Such views accorded with the majority of current and prospective western settlers, especially younger men who were most eager to acquire lands of their own and most contemptuous of the claims of both Indians and their own national government. At the same time, Indian civil chiefs faced their own generation gap. Their young men, like their generational counterparts on the American side of the frontier, rejected the accommodations that were asked of them by established authorities. Instead, disaffected youth rallied behind more militant visionaries and fought under the banner of a pan-Indian confederacy that they presumed could match the might of the American nation. This made them into implacable enemies of all white Americans, although ironically Indian federationists and American Federalists shared the dream of creating more perfect unions.

To break the power of Indian nationalism, American Federalists deployed the army of the United States. First in 1790 and then again in 1791, federationists routed American invaders, which further weakened the attachment of American pioneers to their national government. A third American force, however, defeated the Indian confederacy and compelled a major land cession. Yet the triumph of the Federalists was short-lived.

In clearing Indian claims, the Federalists added to pressures to make those lands available to pioneer settlers. As more and more Americans crossed the Appalachians during the 1790s, the Federalists lost their grip on the frontier and soon over the national government of the United States.

For their part, Indians remained divided. The downfall of the confederacy of Ohio Indians did not restore the old order. Civil chiefs, who signed away lands in exchange for annuities from the United States, continued to be assailed by foes within their villages. After 1800, a new militant confederation emerged with an even wider geographic reach that extended to villages from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. But this pan-Indian movement was also crushed, ushering the road to removal for Indians east of the Mississippi River.

Nichols is hardly alone in advancing this more complicated view of white-Indian interactions and in charting the rise and demise of Federalists and federationists. Numerous recent studies have attended to the political and generational conflicts that contributed to the winning and losing of the First American West. But where others have chosen to focus on just one side of the frontier or just one section of it, Nichols dares to bring the parts together. His book ranges both north and south of the Ohio River to explain developments from multiple white and Indian perspectives, which it does adeptly and succinctly.

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LESLIE M. ALEXANDER. *African or American? Black Identity and Political Activism in New York City, 1784–1861*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2008. Pp. xxiv, 258. \$45.00.

Over the past twenty years, scholars have detailed the emergence and impact of the black community in New York City in the decades after the start of gradual emancipation in 1799. In several books, Shane White has analyzed varying interpretations of freedom. Leslie Harris revealed the presence of class among black New Yorkers. Craig Wilder uncovered a river of resistance among the city's black male organizations, which flowed from their African heritage. In my own work, I intertwined black urban and rural experiences in New York and its hinterland. This is a rapidly developed historiography.

Leslie M. Alexander strives to elaborate particularly on Wilder's work to show how African heritage affected an emerging black political order. African retentions and the issue of identity are thorny areas since New York effectively ended purchase from the Atlantic slave trade after the American Revolution. National identity was also complex. Blacks in New York, as in Philadelphia, Boston, and other northern cities, had at times embraced, rejected, and then accepted again the notion of mass emigration to West Africa. One troubling as-

pect was that the American Colonization Society (ACS), founded in 1817 by whites unsympathetic to black rights, promoted a scheme to evict free blacks from the United States as undesirables. Recoiling in anger, black political figures effectively used their attacks on the ACS's racist schemes as a means to organize free people of color.

As Alexander notes, rejection of African emigration did not mean that blacks refuted their African heritage. Instead, she argues, they employed to develop a black politics intent on battling the twin evils of slavery and racism in the United States. Africanity (to use Sterling Stuckey's apt phrase) became bedrock for black abolitionism and nationalism. Initially, Alexander traces the postrevolutionary use of African identity in the local African Society for Mutual Relief, in church and school names, and in cultural events such as Pinkster and burial methods. Making a close reading of early black commemorative speeches, Alexander demonstrates that after 1810 black New Yorkers debated whether to emigrate from an unwelcoming society or "use moral appeals to force America to live up to its principles" (p. xxi). Ultimately, they chose to develop a black nationalism devoted to racial solidarity and benevolence. In the first two chapters, Alexander mines well-known material. From the third chapter on, her research and arguments are fresh and challenging.

The commemorative parades in July 1827 to mark the end of slavery in New York State revealed fissures within the black community. Black leaders "shifted away from public demonstrations of African identity and embraced moral improvement as a strategy to convince white Americans to extend equality and citizenship to free people of color" (p. xxii). It is noteworthy that this black version of William Lloyd Garrison's "moral suasion" predated that of the white abolitionist. Alexander gives greater credence to the national Colored Conventions of the early 1830s. Rather than dismissing them, she argues convincingly that the meetings enabled black leaders to recommit themselves to a black nationalist program and to air debates about racial identity and improvement. Even after the convention movement foundered in 1835, Alexander argues that blacks revived them in the 1840s with consciously political motives. During the interlude between conventions, she shows how New York blacks focused on local issues and rebuilt political solidarity. Her analysis necessarily turns more somber after 1850, as the Fugitive Slave Act revived racism and a clandestine, illegal slave trade operating out of New York port curtailed black political hopes just before the Civil War. In her book's best chapter, Alexander uncovers the forgotten saga of Seneca Village, a thriving, integrated, but mostly black community on Manhattan's Upper West Side. Until it was destroyed to make way for Central Park, Seneca Village was, in Alexander's estimation, a microcosm of black aspirations and frustrations in antebellum New York.

My largest concern here is over the general absence of black and white interactions. Alexander capably in-

dicates the amount of white racism in this most southern-oriented of northern cities. In her discussion of the New York Committee of Vigilance that was formed in November of 1835 to combat kidnapping, fight the illegal slave trade, and assist self-emancipated slaves such as Frederick Bailey (later Douglass) in securing freedom, Alexander accentuates its black leadership and supporters. Yet whites in the city and across the North applauded and supported the Committee in the 1830s and during its hard times in the 1840s. The Committee was a biracial foundation for the Underground Railroad that was so central to the battle against slavery in the 1850s. This was an equally important legacy of the black nationalism of the 1830s.

There is much to admire in Alexander's work. Her survey of black leadership is excellent, her sensitivity to local black politics is admirable, and her tracing of the varied black investment in emigration is, I think, correct and adds to our understanding of antebellum reform and nationalism.

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ELISA TAMARKIN. *Anglophilia: Deference, Devotion, and Antebellum America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2008. Pp. xxxiii, 400. \$35.00.

Admiration for things British has been a sentimental as well as a rational attitude among many Americans for a long time, well recognized if little studied. Elisa Tamarkin shows American anglophilia to be a fascinating subject, and she explores it with subtlety and charm in a variety of ways. Taking the subtitle seriously, I expected a book set in the antebellum period. However, Tamarkin ranges widely into postbellum and even twentieth-century materials relating to American anglophilia. She makes profitable use not only of texts but also of visual materials, especially paintings.

Chapter one describes the American response to the coronation of the young Queen Victoria in 1838 and the visit of her son, the Prince of Wales, in 1860. Both received lavish attention from the American press and prompted wide excitement among the American public (all but a few irreconcilable Irish). Tamarkin investigates from several angles, including a look at Thomas Sully's 1838 painting of Victoria ascending the throne. However, she does not point out that both episodes illustrate the appeal of celebrities.

Chapter two takes up the changing historiography of the American Revolution during the antebellum era. While acknowledging the nineteenth-century historiography of progress typified by George Bancroft and John L. Motley, the author introduces us to other historians popular in their day. Benson John Lossing and Lorenzo Sabine presented Loyalists in a favorable light, while innumerable antiquarians of the American Revolution turned to local history and human interest in preference to ideological polarities or the formation of American nationality. Sympathetic interest in Major John Andre, the British spy executed by Washington's order, devel-

oped into a virtual sentimental cult. Tamarkin notes that John Trumbull's painting, "The Death of General Warren at the Battle of Bunker Hill" (1786; painted again in 1834) centers on the chivalric conduct of a British officer. (The picture is too often displayed with no explanation of this aspect.) Tamarkin also uses early twentieth-century paintings to supplement her discussion, although a historian might feel they illustrate a different context. Here as in chapter one, she insists that anglophilia was not "consigned . . . to the reactionary apprehension of elites" (p. 149), but represented a broadly based and multifaceted phenomenon.

Chapter three may be of the greatest interest to antebellum historians, and the author's verve and spirit made it my own favorite. After Parliament enacted compensated emancipation in the British Empire in 1833, the British antislavery movement turned its attention to slavery in the United States. Tamarkin relates the joy and wonder black American abolitionists felt when visiting Britain, upon finding that they were treated there with far more respect and consideration than they received in their supposedly democratic home country. Not surprisingly, their feelings spilled over into a warm regard for everything British, and they penned some of the most lavish examples of anglophilia in this book.

Finally, chapter four addresses academic anglophilia. It is the least successful of the author's treatments. The number of young Americans who attended college in the antebellum years was small, so the chapter does nothing to sustain Tamarkin's argument that anglophilia was a popular sentiment. Her discussion ignores all state institutions and quickly settles to concentrate upon Harvard. Among the sectarian private universities of antebellum America, Harvard was highly distinctive for its Unitarianism, which Tamarkin mislabels secularism (drawing her evidence from a later period). Pointing out correctly that the academic literary criticism of the era was based on Scottish moral philosophy, the author mischaracterizes that philosophy as "an emotive theory of ethics" and the aesthetics derived from it as "affective" (p. 276); in reality both were rationalist, grounded in common sense realism. Unfortunately much of her analysis of academic anglophilia is based on this unsound foundation. In concentrating on Harvard, Tamarkin fosters the impression that the study of English literature in nineteenth-century America was the province of gentlemen dilettantes, when at most colleges it was espoused by practical reformers seeking to break the hold of classics upon the curriculum.

Tamarkin's work is far more engaging than much of the theory-oriented current scholarship in English departments. Tamarkin relies mostly on her own close readings of texts and pictures. Her study of anglophilia makes no pretense of comprehensiveness (for example, there is nothing about the myth of Saxon liberty that Thomas Jefferson and others found appealing) and makes no reference to the polar opposite of anglophilia, namely anglophobia, conspicuous in such ante-

bellum events as the Astor Place Riot and in the demagoguery of politicians like Lewis Cass. There is still room for an exploration of anglophilia and anglophobia by future intellectual and cultural historians; meanwhile, historians can enjoy and benefit from this sensitive and highly intelligent book.

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JOHN ROGERS HADDAD. *The Romance of China: Excursions to China in U.S. Culture, 1776–1876*. (Gutenberg-e.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2008. Pp. xxii, 321. \$60.00.

In this meticulously researched and carefully argued work, John Rogers Haddad examines Americans' attraction to China during the first hundred years of the United States' history. While, as many other scholars have already shown, the China that occupied the minds of most Americans was a romantic construction filled with the fantasies and mysteries of an Oriental land, Haddad reveals the multiplicity of images and narratives about China and the dynamics among them. Haddad demonstrates that, in fact, empirically based, rationally deduced pictures of China did exist aplenty during this period, but they coexisted in tension with the dreamy Cathay of wonderful Oriental(ist) fantasies. Moreover, this discourse was not a fabrication exclusively by the hands of white Americans; rather, Chinese—both in China and on the American shores—played complex and active roles in its production. Through a detailed look at the processes of, and myriad characters involved in, the construction of China for the American audience, Haddad illustrates how—even with the presence of compassionate, rational views of China—America's nativist attitude toward the Chinese ultimately won out and resulted in the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. Despite the failure of the sinophiles of the period to counteract the dominant American hostility against the Chinese, Haddad demonstrates that their work had a significant impact on the later generation of Asia specialists.

The materials Haddad examines range from physical objects and visual images (such as Chinese export porcelain used widely in American households, crates and statues used in tea store displays, and sketches of Chinese landscapes by painters, diplomats, and missionaries) and lectures and writings (such as those by Bayard Taylor and Samuel Wells Williams), to exhibits (such as America's first Chinese exhibit held in Philadelphia in 1796 and Nathan Dunn's Chinese Museum, which opened in 1838) and displays of live Chinese people (such as the live "Chinese Lady," Afong Moy, displayed in New York, the Cantonese crew on the Chinese junk *Keying*, who became objects of Barnum-style amusement for New York visitors, and Chinese students on the Chinese Educational Mission, who found themselves objects of the curious gaze of American visitors at the Philadelphia Centennial). In unfolding the often

bizarre stories surrounding these materials, Haddad illustrates the ironies of what became popular American images of China. For instance, the iconic willow pattern on Chinese export porcelain was made by Chinese painters imitating a bad European imitation of original Chinese designs. Here, Chinese were in effect self-orientalizing the Chinese image for commercial gain. In another instance, Haddad demonstrates that even the intellectually rigorous and culturally sensitive portrayals of China by George R. West (the artist attached to Caleb Cushing's diplomatic mission in China) were compromised by Bayard Taylor's lectures that accompanied the exhibit of West's panorama of Chinese scenes, as Taylor's views on the moral depravity of China were at odds with West's more sympathetic depictions. Through these analyses, Haddad convincingly shows that there was "neither a high degree of unity among those who constructed China nor the presence of a consistently anti-Chinese message in their cultural productions . . . Even when Americans seemed to collectively turn against China at the end of the Opium War in 1842, the Chinese were never without their defenders and were never completely silenced" (p. xix).

I have a few minor quibbles, however. Building on Arif Dirlik's argument that Western representations of the East were seldom created exclusively by white Westerners and showing the diversity and dialectical nature of American ideas of China, Haddad refutes what he summarizes as Edward Said's argument that "the West possessed all of the power and the only voice" in constructing the Orient and that "the Easterners who were being represented came across as passive and silent" (p. xvi). A careful reading of Said's *Orientalism* (1978) and subsequent works shows that this is a crude and inaccurate simplification of Said's ideas, and Haddad did not need this straw man to present his own argument. Also, in the body of the study, it is clear who in Haddad's assessment are the "good guys" (Andreas Everardus van Braam Houckgeest, Nathan Dunn, West, Williams) and the "bad guys" (Taylor). There was surely a wide range of representations of China, some far more accurate and rigorous than others, but the nuanced discourse analysis that Haddad presents needs no such evaluative categories to make its point. Finally, given that Haddad looks toward the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, the passing of which the sinophiles in this account could not counteract, his discussion of the circumstances and discourses that led to this exclusion seems somewhat truncated.

Despite these minor points, this is an absorbing, insightful, and highly readable work that enriches our understanding of early U.S.-China relations.

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NICHOLAS MICHAEL BUTLER. *Votaries of Apollo: The St. Cecilia Society and the Patronage of Concert Music in Charleston, South Carolina, 1766–1820*. (The Carolina Lowcountry and the Atlantic World.) Columbia: Uni-

versity of South Carolina Press. 2007. Pp. xx, 375. \$49.95.

Charleston, South Carolina occupied an outsized place in American musical culture from before the American Revolution to the beginning of the antebellum era. Often overlooked by historians in favor of larger musical scenes like Boston, Philadelphia, and New York, Charleston supported arguably the most sophisticated outpost of European music in North America. Beginning in 1766, the city's St. Cecilia Society attracted leading musicians and repertory from around the Atlantic world for more than half a century. In this book Nicholas Michael Butler studies the ways in which the society's active concert series served as a stage for the performance and transformation of taste among the plantation-owning gentry of the South's leading commercial center. Intent on creating a "miniature London" on the Atlantic coast, South Carolina's oligarchy used classical music to demonstrate their commitment to cultural refinement, social deference, and civic responsibility.

At the time of the American Revolution Charleston was the fourth largest city in North America and by far the wealthiest. Located near the West Indies where the Gulf Stream veers sharply eastward toward Europe, Charleston attracted a diverse polyglot culture. The dominant cultural model was British, periodically leavened by an influx of French refugees who left St. Domingue following slave uprisings in 1793 and, a decade later, the Haitian Revolution. Shaped by a cultural milieu similar to the lowcountry coastal elite of Carolina, these francophone émigrés were embraced enthusiastically by Charleston's classical music elite.

St. Cecilia existed to sponsor a subscription concert series, the first in North America. Its members comprised a voluntary corporation and paid annual fees to defray the costs involved in purchasing music and hiring musicians and performance venues. The membership system also helped screen out the culturally unrefined and socially undesirable. St. Cecilia staged nearly 400 concerts, and generally featured a mix of professionals and amateurs, including women; audiences were mixed-sex and highly selective. Lacking a permanent performance venue, the society rented a series of halls, some in taverns and coffee houses. And music was enjoyed not as an act of aesthetic reverence but as a complement to polite sociability and, afterward, dancing.

The concert series survived a series of vicissitudes, including two wars with Great Britain and various economic crises, most notably the Panic of 1819. What finally undermined it, according to Butler, was changing notions of taste. The earlier, classical model in which musical performance was integrated into a larger fabric of socialization was displaced by a Romantic ideology in which art music was sacralized, entitled to rapt audience attention, and divorced from socializing and dance, whose rising popularity found other venues. St. Cecilia ended its concert patronage in 1820, shifting its focus to dancing assemblies.

Despite its cosmopolitan leanings, St. Cecilia defined a fairly insular musical subculture. It coincided with the classical era in European art music, and clearly followed the preference of its metropolitan models by eschewing British music in favor of music by continental composers; Franz Joseph Haydn was a particular favorite. The society had no interest in fostering European American music, let alone acknowledging the distinctive sounds developing in its African American community. This study does little to juxtapose or integrate these various musics in the interest of some larger cultural argument.

Butler provides an exhaustive account of the internal workings of St. Cecilia, from the society's governance and business practices to what can be gleaned about its featured performers and musical repertory. Since the society's records were destroyed by fire in 1865, Butler is required to draw creative inferences from what he acknowledges are "disparate scraps of evidence." For example, only three sources document the form and content of St. Cecilia's musical concerts, but abundant evidence has survived on Charleston's commercial and charity concerts, which prior research on British musical societies has shown mirrored those of subscription concerts taking place in the same communities.

This reviewer has the sense that no shred of evidence was overlooked. At times the level of detail seems overwhelming, with data presented less in support of an argument than to display its existence. For example, Butler provides ten long pages documenting St. Cecilia's ongoing efforts to deal with the chronic problem of members in arrears on their dues without drawing out the significance of this regrettable conduct.

Butler aspires to make this history of the Charleston's elite musical scene more than an exercise in antiquarianism. He offers the St. Cecilia Society as "a micro-history of a narrowly defined time, place, population, and activity," an institution that sheds light on broad transformations of society, economy, demography, and taste taking place across the Atlantic world. Apart from Butler's insightful contextualization of Charleston's musicians in the context of transatlantic art music, though, this study feels narrow, leaving it up to the reader to imagine the musical activity of Charleston's elite in a broader social or spatial framework. The local overshadows the transnational here by far.

DAVID W. STOWE
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JENNIFER R. GREEN. *Military Education and the Emerging Middle Class in the Old South*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. xiii, 300. \$80.00.

After a period of relative neglect, the antebellum southern middle class is the subject of several fine, recent publications. The great wealth of scholarship on the northern middle class has often stymied students of the Old South since these quintessential "Yankee" values seemed to contrast so sharply with imperatives of southern culture and manhood. Jennifer R. Green's

new work provides another look at this mixed dilemma of class, gender, and sectional identity. Examining the goals, values, and behavior of military school cadets and alumni in the Old South, she links these institutions to a new middle class that was both national and southern. Her study rests on the "biographies and correspondence of 1,057 cadets" from schools across the region, although the Virginia Military Institute is the most heavily represented institution (p. 7).

Green contends that military schools appealed to non-elite men who used their education to pursue professional careers as teachers, doctors, or other white-collar occupations. The schools became centers for the emerging southern middle class and an important avenue for men to maintain or advance their standing in society. "Middle-class southerners mirrored their northern counterparts in leveraging education to develop professional occupations, social stability, and . . . bourgeois values; . . . they attempted to redefine the southern criteria for upward mobility to make those criteria attainable for men of their standing" (p. 2). Green argues that military school alumni consciously worked to define status and success in ways that presented a legitimate and acceptable alternative to the planter formula of land, slaves, and "display." It was in large part this intentional goal of legitimizing professional careers that marked the group as a class, or at least a class in the making: "the emerging middle class was an economic class that was developing as a status group based on its members' lifestyles and [professional] occupations" (p. 246). Finally, and unlike some other recent studies, Green contends that the southern middle class did not attack planters or slavery but rather sought to have society afford their own careers the status they felt they deserved.

Green describes the southern middle class in terms that seem much like those used by so many historians of the antebellum North: industry, self-discipline, and self-improvement; professionalism and pride in non-manual occupations; restrained manhood; and, of course, education, among others. Thus, she concludes, the southern middle class should be seen as firmly part of the emerging national middle class in the antebellum period. Still, southerners were committed to slavery and hierarchy, which ultimately set them apart from middle-class northerners. Green's argument for the considerable integration of middle-class southerners with national trends is convincing and well documented. Less completely argued is her case for southern differences or the ways in which, and the reasons why, middle-class southerners reconciled their "national values" with their regional culture. (In fairness, of course, that part of the story has been told more frequently.) Green notes, for instance, that many of the military school alumni eventually bought land and slaves "and accepted the dominant model of success," although the majority "chose professional paths and thus refigured the southern basis for success" (p. 244). But of course the question remains as to whether military school alumni clung to their professional careers

and precarious status because they believed in that set of national middle-class values or because they simply could not crack the planter elite.

Green also offers insights into the conflicts within antebellum southern masculinity and the struggle of middle-class professional men to satisfy the dominant regional paradigm. By accepting slavery and hierarchy, military school cadets seemed to embrace the values of honor and duty— notions certainly underscored in the military school environment. But they also emphasized and internalized a sense of self-regulation and self-control (again reminiscent of descriptions of middle-class Yankees) that reflected their “general adoption of restrained manhood. Fostering an inner sense of duty, they blended submission and independence in their vision of manhood” (p. 255). This calls to mind so many descriptions of planters’ “gentility”—such as the duel, with its emphasis on restraint and inner strength, although manifested outwardly—and again prompts the question of whether this southern middle class was actually redefining manhood or rather working to have themselves redefined as members of the elite. Finally, while Green notes that the “women of the emerging middle class probably cemented their husbands’ position and certainly created more network connections” (p. 256), she does not explore that critical dimension of class identity.

Like other recent studies of the antebellum southern middle class, Green’s work complicates and enriches our understanding of class, gender, and identity, particularly within the sectional context. Her analysis is limited since it is tied to military education, but also broad in its implications because she moves beyond more narrowly construed occupational definitions. This book should be of great interest to historians of the antebellum South and middle class, nineteenth-century masculinity, and American education.

CHRISTOPHER J. OLSEN
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ELIZABETH R. VARON. *Disunion! The Coming of the American Civil War, 1789–1859*. (The Littlefield History of the Civil War Era.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 455. \$30.00.

I approached this book with some trepidation. Synthetic accounts of the coming of the Civil War often seem forced, as authors struggle to impose coherence onto all of United States history from the Constitution (or before) to the firing on Fort Sumter. The seeds of civil war are seen sprouting during the constitutional convention or wherever northerners and southerners can be found disagreeing about something.

Fortunately, Elizabeth R. Varon finds in “disunion” a much more subtle interpretive tool for understanding the background of the Civil War. Because the nation was a union of states, the unraveling of that nation was the ultimate political fear. It became common for politicians to warn that events or policy would produce disunion. Disunion might be a prophecy of the ills to be

expected from a particular course of action such as when George Washington warned that excessive partisanship eroded the bonds of union. With the rise of abolitionism in the 1830s, however, disunion became a threat. Abolitionists often proclaimed unwillingness to remain in a union tainted with the sin of slavery. Many white southerners blustered about disunion to induce recalcitrant white northerners to support a slaveholding union. Some fire-eaters went beyond mere threats and actively plotted to make disunion a reality. Meanwhile, African Americans were among the most avid supporters of union as they perceived no benefit from a divided country with one half committed to perpetuating human bondage. Disunion could also be a way of quieting unpopular views. Abolitionists and fire-eaters alike were accused of disunion by more moderate northerners and southerners in order to marginalize and silence them.

One of the most innovative aspects of this book is the weaving of race and gender into the narrative. For a generation, historians have lamented social history’s failure to influence the master political narrative. Varon makes African Americans and women central to her story and uses them to illuminate the nature of disunion. The important role of female abolitionists in pointing out the institution’s evils caused male politicians who opposed slavery expansion to take pains to disavow any “sentimental,” i.e., womanish, opposition to slavery. Time and again, African American efforts at self-emancipation created the events that fueled white Americans’ discussions of disunion. This occurred when Nat Turner led a rebellion of Virginia slaves, when Dred and Harriet Scott sued for their freedom in Missouri, and on many other occasions.

The book under review suffers from some of the weaknesses of the “coming of the Civil War” genre. It sometimes feels as if the author is trying to shoehorn every topic into the disunion formula. Chronological coverage is uneven as disunion rhetoric became more salient closer to the Civil War. The chapter on the period from 1790 to 1820 covers a lot of ground very quickly and emphasizes the Missouri Compromise. Given the innovative work being done by Matthew Mason (*Slavery and Politics in the Early American Republic* [2006]) and John Craig Hammond (*Slavery, Freedom, and Expansion in the Early American West* [2007]), it is a shame Varon did not do more with the early national period. The author seems to feel most comfortable once she has reached the 1830s when abolition and nullification sharpen the disunion debate. The result is that two-thirds of the book is spent on a third of the promised chronological period. And the ending feels abrupt. Why stop with the Harpers Ferry raid rather than Lincoln’s election or the firing on Fort Sumter? The reason apparently is that there is to be another book that picks up after 1859.

Varon fulfills her goal of distinguishing disunion from secession and exploring the multifaceted meanings of the term. Disunion, like states’ rights, was not always about slavery. But it is clear that Varon believes

slavery to have been the central cause of the Civil War. She eminently succeeds in showing how disunion evolved from a "prophecy" that no one wanted fulfilled to the fire-eaters' "program." It is a cliché, but it is nonetheless true that a short review cannot do justice to this nuanced and beautifully written study.

NICOLE ETCHESON
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JOHN R. WUNDER and JOANN M. ROSS, editors. *The Nebraska-Kansas Act of 1854*. (Law in the American West.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 220. \$30.00.

The Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 enjoys the dubious honor of being the only piece of legislation that caused a civil war. Stephen A. Douglas, the author of the bill, believed that letting the settlers actually on the ground in the Kansas and Nebraska territories exercise "popular sovereignty" and decide for themselves whether to legalize slavery would remove the violent rift between northern free-soilers and southern slaveholders. But northerners were outraged that slavery was being given a chance in the old Purchase lands, however unlikely that chance might be; and southerners, deciding to take no chance at all, flooded the Kansas territory with bogus voters and armed thugs to ensure Kansas's safe delivery as a slave state. The result was "Bleeding Kansas," the collapse of "popular sovereignty," and a lethal polarization of North and South.

With 2004 marking the sesquicentennial of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, Kansans had no trouble arranging a series of events that reflected on the violent history of "Bleeding Kansas." Nebraska, however, had suffered neither violence nor bleeding, and it was to prevent Nebraska from disappearing entirely from the Kansas-Nebraska sesquicentennial that editors John R. Wunder and Joann M. Ross compiled these seven essays focusing on the Nebraska half of Kansas-Nebraska.

It would be easier to create what the editors call "a Nebraska-centric" rendering of the Kansas-Nebraska imbroglio if it were not for the fact that nothing happened in Nebraska between 1854 and the outbreak of the Civil War to make it the center of very much. The best essay, by Nicole Etcheson, on "Where Popular Sovereignty Worked: Nebraska Territory and the Kansas-Nebraska Act" (which is also the one most consistently focused on Nebraska), concludes that nothing bled in Nebraska because nothing needed to. Proslavery southerners wanted Kansas, because Kansas sat on the western border of Missouri; a Kansas free state would hem in slave state Missouri on three sides with free territory and give runaway slaves multiple paths to freedom. That, in turn, would encourage Missouri slaveholders to move to safer regions in the South and Southwest, and eventually so weaken the pro-slavery influence in Missouri that Missourians might abandon slavery, turn Missouri into a free state, and cost the slave South several vital seats in Congress. Nebraska, however, was the western neighbor of Iowa, a free state,

and was settled overwhelmingly by antislavery New Englanders and midwesterners. Slaveholders had no nearby base like Missouri from which to launch themselves into Nebraska and no guarantee that slaves taken into Nebraska would not have high roads on all sides to tempt them away from bondage. Nebraskans were also in no hurry to apply for admission to the Union as a state, and so the question of what formal position a state constitution ought to take on legalizing slavery was put off until 1866—when the Thirteenth Amendment had made it moot.

Brenden Rensink's essay that compares the Kansas-Nebraska Bill with other territorial organizing bills, is useful for sorting through the surprising number of variations in territorial organizing legislation passed by Congress after 1803. By itself, Rensink's research would have punctured Roger B. Taney's contention in *Dred Scott v. Sanford* that Congress had no authority over slavery in the territories because (as Rensink shows) Congress took a surprisingly intrusive hand, even concerning slavery, in the organization of the Orleans Territory. What was also true, though, was that by 1854, territorial organization bills had settled into a fairly routine format, and the only thing that actually distinguished the Kansas-Nebraska Act was the fatal last sentence of Article 14, repudiating the Compromise of 1820 and installing "popular sovereignty" as king. The late James A. Rawley and the late Phillip S. Paludan both contributed essays briefly surveying the role of Stephen A. Douglas in crafting the bill and Abraham Lincoln in opposing it, and Mark E. Neely, Jr. contributed a quixotic but stimulating essay on the political culture of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, veering between discussions of dueling and the probable readership (and impact) of Salmon P. Chase's *Appeal of the Independent Democrats, to the People of the United States: Shall Slavery be Permitted in Nebraska* (1854) against the bill.

On the whole, it is hard to resist the suspicion that this book is the best argument against its *raison d'être*. Perhaps it was the happy accident of not having Missouri for its neighbor; perhaps it was competent but unexciting leadership. Either way, maybe it would have been piquant to have said something here about the satisfaction modern Nebraskans might feel in having had *nothing* happen in Nebraska to provoke a civil war.

ALLEN C. GUELZO
Gettysburg College

JAMES BREWER STEWART, editor. *William Lloyd Garrison at Two Hundred: History, Legacy, and Memory*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 139. \$35.00.

This volume is partially based on a conference convoked in 2005 by descendants of William Lloyd Garrison on the occasion of the two-hundredth anniversary of the once-famous abolitionist's birth. Two revised presentations from that conference—a keynote address by David W. Blight and an essay on "emancipatory feminism" by Lois A. Brown—appear here, along with an

account by Lloyd McKim Garrison of the family's continuing interest in the causes of peace and social justice that their ancestor exemplified. As editor, James Brewer Stewart has added essays that differ in tone and purpose from those presented at the conference. In order to make it possible "to assess for good or ill Garrison's leadership within the abolitionist movement as a whole" (p. x), the volume includes essays by Richard J. M. Blackett on the effects of Garrison and his associates on the British antislavery movement and by Bruce Laurie on Garrison's opposition to third-party political abolitionism. Stewart adds an essay of his own on political antislavery across the North that has also appeared in *Abolitionist Politics and the Coming of the Civil War* (2008). Taken together, these essays provide an instructive sampler of contemporary perspectives on the great abolitionist leader.

Blight's essay provides an eloquent introduction to Garrison's radicalism for today's readers. It deftly analyzes his life story, his personality, his uncompromising principles, and, most strikingly, it pairs Garrison with Frederick Douglass, often regarded today as his rival and superior, as nineteenth-century American reformers of the greatest significance. Instead of weighing the practical consequences of Garrisonian perfectionism, Blight concludes: utopians of this kind "irk the citizenry out of complacency, forcing unwanted confrontations with the eternal conflict between the possible and the ideal" (p. 11). In her favorable assessment of Garrison's leadership, Brown presents him as a fountainhead of women's liberation. She demonstrates that Garrison opened his newspaper, *The Liberator*, to a broad agenda of liberation, and she provides a valuable survey of issues that complicated the progress of antislavery feminism: racial discrimination, disagreements over marriage, and above all over the franchise. In discussing the World Anti-Slavery Convention of 1840 in London, where women were denied speaking rights and segregated in a side balcony, an experience that other scholars have linked to Seneca Falls and the emergence of an American women's movement, Brown focuses instead on Garrison's style of confrontation: the "characteristically constructive-mischievous way" in which he sat with the ladies and helped transform their "marginalized perch into a central place of power" (p. 68). Although she acknowledges predecessors, especially Abigail Adams, she does not address scholarly controversy over whether women's rights consciousness was indispensably derived from antislavery.

Blackett views Garrison's style as less constructive and is more impressed by his egotism ("Modesty was not one of his weaknesses" [p. 20]) and the self-defeating divisiveness of his followers, whom he compares to characters in a Monty Python skit. These are asides, of course, in a thorough account of unsuccessful endeavors to create antislavery and evangelical unity in Britain and between Britain and America. In the end, however, Blackett concludes, almost surprisingly, that Garrison was rightfully honored during and after the Civil War

as the initiator and preeminent figure in a transatlantic movement.

Laurie and Stewart both write in the spirit of renewed interest in the linkage between antislavery and politics. Laurie offers a forceful critique of Garrison's tactics: although not averse to mass action to influence politicians, he was opposed to working with third parties and thus "wound up on the sidelines at a critical moment in the remaking of the antislavery movement" (p. 86). More specifically, Laurie criticizes Garrison's unwillingness to support the Liberty Party in Massachusetts during a period in the 1840s when the party had some legislative success and prospects of attracting a pivotal percentage of voters (close to ten percent). Beyond that, he calls for new research on Ohio, New York, and perhaps other states where Libertyite advances were possible. Stewart acknowledges Garrison's failure to join in efforts to translate antislavery ardor into partisan effectiveness, but he is not particularly concerned with third-party efforts. He argues that Garrisonian abolitionists had a "codependent" relationship with midwestern evangelical church members that in the end contributed to the emergence of a Republican majority in the North and a war that ended slavery. The essay is a brilliant tour de force connecting a number of themes in current scholarship on abolitionism, religion, political behavior, and emancipation. It compensates somewhat for the book's lack of any unifying afterword.

LEWIS PERRY

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ERIC FONER, editor. *Our Lincoln: New Perspectives on Lincoln and His World*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company. 2008. Pp. 336. \$27.95.

Abraham Lincoln's bicentennial has resulted in a host of new books. In this collection of eleven essays editor Eric Foner brings together established Lincoln scholars and others new to the field to illuminate nineteenth-century America. Although the essays lack a single theme, they are grouped in four sections: the presidency, the emancipator, the person, and the political legacy.

James M. McPherson's "A. Lincoln, Commander in Chief" opens the volume and serves as an introduction to McPherson's most recent work. Always a pleasure to read, McPherson takes a broad approach to understand Lincoln's leadership by considering both political and military factors. This is followed by Mark E. Neely, Jr.'s "The Constitution and Civil Liberties under Lincoln," which builds on his work contrasting Lincoln's record with that of Jefferson Davis. In this essay, Neely contrasts the positions of President Lincoln with Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, as well as those of the Republican and Democratic parties. The contrast serves to the president's benefit. Sean Wilentz's "Abraham Lincoln and Jacksonian Democracy" portrays an egalitarian Whig who became more Jacksonian after 1854. Harold Holzer's "Visualizing Lincoln: Abraham Lincoln as Student, Subject, and Patron of the Visual Arts" con-

cludes the first section of the volume by showing how America's sixteenth president used mass-produced lithographs and photographs to his political advantage.

The second section of this volume reduces the "Great Emancipator" to the mere "Emancipator," perhaps echoing the presentism of some research. Nonetheless, the three contributions are useful. James Oakes's "Natural Rights, Citizenship Rights, States' Rights, and Black Rights: Another Look at Lincoln and Race" summarizes the author's useful levels of analysis in understanding the Lincoln record. This is followed by Foner's "Lincoln and Colonization," an equally detailed account of "voluntary colonization." The final essay in this section is by Manisha Sinha, who points out that abolitionists primarily objected to Lincoln's attempt to link emancipation with colonization. Although these essays are fair-minded, one suspects that if the volume had encouraged a genuine world perspective (as the subtitle suggests) rather than a national perspective, Lincoln could fairly retain his nickname "The Great Emancipator."

The third section of the collection deals with Lincoln as an individual. Andrew Delbanco's "Lincoln's Sacramental Language" is a broad survey of how Lincoln used language to create a civil religion based on the values of the Declaration of Independence. Richard Carwardine's "Lincoln's Religion" summarizes his position that Lincoln used the language of Protestant revivalism to gain support for the Civil War. The final essay in this section by Catherine Clinton, "Abraham Lincoln: The Family That Made Him, the Family He Made," contrasts the traditional family in which Lincoln was raised with the more modern one he created with Mary Todd.

The volume concludes with an essay by David W. Blight, "The Theft of Lincoln in Scholarship, Politics, and Public Memory," which shows how the recent narrowly focused, southern-oriented Republican Party has tried to appeal to African Americans. Its failure was demonstrated in the 2008 presidential election. Ironically, modern Lincoln scholarship, while appropriately rejecting hagiography, tends toward the scholastic and thereby misses Lincoln's huge contributions to democratic politics in the world and the law, including international law. Is Lincoln just an American nineteenth-century president or the greatest democrat in world history? The volume is a useful starting point to answer that question and deserves a place in Lincoln collections.

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MARK S. SCHANTZ. *Awaiting the Heavenly Country: The Civil War and America's Culture of Death*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2008. Pp. xv, 245. \$24.95.

Mark S. Schantz's well-researched monograph on antebellum American attitudes toward death nicely complements earlier studies that have focused on the im-

mense reality of death in the Civil War itself (especially Gary Laderman, *The Sacred Remains: American Attitudes toward Death, 1799–1883* [1996], and Drew Gilpin Faust, *The Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* [2008]). Yet unlike these works, which picture the staggering casualty lists of the Civil War as transforming American practices and attitudes, Schantz tells a story of continuity. In his view, antebellum representations of death played a singularly important role in preparing the nation to accept the 620,000 fatalities of the Civil War with relative equanimity. Schantz repeats several times a large claim that the antebellum situation he examines must "be taken into account as a force making the Civil War such a savage and bloody affair" (p. 91). In other words, without an antebellum culture that had already accepted, domesticated, and even sanctified the experience of death, it would have been impossible for Americans to have accepted the frightful carnage of the war. This large claim remains hypothetical, supported mostly by a reiteration of "may have" and "might have." As presented here, the claim seems plausible, but for lack of evidence, not completely convincing.

By contrast, Schantz's treatment is entirely compelling for the ways in which antebellum Americans encountered death and the strategies they used to cope with, memorialize, and even market it. The details he provides on the common experience of epidemics, recurrent diseases (especially consumption), and the pervasive death of children set the stage for documenting the rich cultural resources Americans offered in response to their own mortality. Those resources often came to bear on well-publicized, particular incidents like the deaths on July 4, 1826, of Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, the passing of John C. Calhoun shortly after the fierce congressional debates in 1850 on the fate of the Union, the touching deathbed scene of little Eva in Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), or the execution of John Brown after his failed raid on the Harpers Ferry arsenal. For these and many other deaths of personages less well known, Schantz shows clearly how notable exemplars fashioned public consciousness even as prevailing tropes guided public engagement with singular incidents.

The media employed for this engagement ranged widely. Funeral sermons for aged or especially young Christians notable for their piety; testimonies of repentance from convicted criminals at the scaffold; hymns about heaven; poems memorializing departed loved ones or ruminating on the fact of mortality itself; prints in books and then, from the 1830s, prints lithographed for public display; paintings like the immensely popular (and immense, 11 feet, 6 inches by 23 feet, 5 inches) "The Court of Death" (1820) by Rembrandt Peale; and eventually photographs of the dead as a domestic genre in the 1840s and 1850s and later as a record of the Civil War from Matthew Brady and his competitors—all of these testified to a powerful, if multivalent, national ideology of death. Frequently repeated themes of traditional Christian theology, like the resurrection of the

body and eternal life in heaven, contributed substantially to that ideology, as did the less traditional belief that in heaven the dead would enjoy fellowship with departed family members. The popularity of the Greek Revival added themes of mournful nobility. Romantic sentiment featuring lonely landscapes, weeping widows, weeping willows, and drawn-out deathbed reconciliations also added to the mix. Gathering many of these elements together was the rural cemetery movement that transformed memorialization of the departed into a prominent feature of rising middle-class propriety.

Schantz's account of death for African Americans is particularly moving, beginning with the observation that mortality on the Middle Passage and at many sites of concentrated slave habitation exceeded death rates of the Civil War many times over. From this starting point, it is not surprising that several notable African Americans, including Henry Highland Garnet and Frederick Douglass, took Patrick Henry's famous appeal for "liberty or death" as a watchword for the African American experience as a whole. In Schantz's account, the willingness of black troops to face death courageously during the Civil War not only established their claim to citizenship, but also grew from earlier experiences of slavery as a living death.

Schantz does note that the Civil War brought significant changes. Warfare heightened the focus on heaven and therefore contributed to the memorable revivals in both the northern and southern armies. It pushed aside domestic and religious imagery in favor of national icons. It also forced Americans to deal with lonely death at a distance, which subverted many of the ideals of the first American way of death. But in explaining these changes, Schantz's careful research allows him to assert with authority that they did not fundamentally alter what had already been well established in the nation's history, that noble death opened the way for fame on earth and immortality in heaven.

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MARK E. NEELY, JR. *The Civil War and the Limits of the Destruction*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2007. Pp. 277. \$27.95.

Mark E. Neely, Jr.'s latest book displays the method that has earned him a place as one of the most important historians of the U.S. Civil War: the tenacious pursuit of evidence; strong, clear writing; and a willingness to challenge conventional wisdom. This last attribute has served him well in a field that too often treads well-worn paths. Neely's studies of debates within the United States and the Confederacy over civil liberties and his work on the party system in the North have forced us to reconceptualize long-held assumptions. The present work, which argues that the North exercised restraint throughout the conflict, again serves as a corrective to easy assumptions about the level of destructiveness in the Civil War. Unfortunately, the book

under review also displays a visceral animosity toward Neely's historiographical opponents that exceeds the depth of his evidence or the strength of his interpretation. Neely's assertion at the end of this book, that Civil War historians are "sensationalizing" an "empty cult of violence" is an uncharitable assessment that obscures the innovative and important contributions of his argument (pp. 211, 216).

One of the central issues that Neely raises is how best to determine the level of violence in the Civil War. Neely persuasively shows that in some of the cases customarily regarded as examples of vindictive warfare, the Union actually implemented substantial restraint. His chapter on Philip H. Sheridan's 1864 Shenandoah Campaign—still referred to as "The Burning" in popular literature on the war—joins a growing body of secondary literature that emphasizes the targeted nature of that campaign. Still, an important unasked question that arises from Neely's arguments is that of whose perspective matters in assessing the level of violence and destruction. He shows that Union cavalymen had other objectives than salting the earth of Virginia, but for those civilian residents of the valley, the destruction of food supplies and mills must have seemed extreme and unjustified.

Neely reads the public and private correspondence of actors from Abraham Lincoln down to officers in the field to reveal the significance of the gap between rhetoric and behavior. He is surely right that Lincoln and others spoke with violence but rarely enacted it against civilians in any deliberate fashion. To explain this, Neely effectively assesses the role of culture in war, here finding that the logic of race served as an impediment to worse violence. He identifies a distinction between the actions of United States soldiers in the Mexican-American War and the Plains Indian Wars of the 1860s and their actions during the Civil War. Neely's argument—that racial difference sanctioned extreme policies in the first two conflicts and racial solidarity encouraged restraint in the latter—is compelling, though it goes too far to suggest that such solidarity meant that Confederate soldiers believed that their Union opponents harbored "feelings of mercy and kindness toward them" (p. 169). Neely's comparison of Civil War violence across time and space—he also investigates responses to the Emperor Maximilian's infamous "Black Decree" during the French invasion of Mexico in the 1860s—is useful and should encourage more such work, extending out of the hemisphere to other nationalist movements and civil wars.

Neely offers a particularly critical assessment of what he regards as the excessive attention paid to guerilla conflict within the war. His root argument—that the U.S. developed separate policies to deal with guerillas and did not allow its regular army operations to devolve to the level of indiscriminate violence—is important, but arguing a negative does not prove a positive. The failure of U.S. forces to adopt unrestrained warfare does not reduce the importance of guerilla conflict in the Civil War. The monographic literature on this sub-

ject reveals that every state in the Confederacy plus Kentucky, Missouri, and West Virginia experienced guerilla conflicts. These varied widely in nature and durations, but at a minimum probably hundreds of thousands of people experienced the chaotic violence of non-traditional warfare during the Civil War.

Neely closes his book with a consideration of the meaning of casualty estimates—typically given at 620,000 total deaths—in the grand scope of Civil War historiography. He is correct that such a high figure has served different purposes over time, as all historical evidence and arguments must for changing generations, but disliking the rhetorical purposes that such evidence has been used does not constitute a rebuttal. He condemns the practice of situating the numbers in proportional terms because these make the war seem more violent, but for participants in the conflict these are the only terms that would have mattered. The question for scholars to take up now is what it means that the Civil War could have been fought with the restraint that Neely shows characterized so much of it and still produce such devastating results.

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KEVIN MULROY. *The Seminole Freedmen: A History.* (Race and Culture in the American West.) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2007. Pp. xxxii, 446. \$36.95.

Kevin Mulroy has produced an outstanding work, although one that may prove to be controversial both with Oklahoma freedmen and in other Native American circles. This is largely because he has taken positions relating to a people's ethnic identity and self-definition, in spite of his own "outsider" (British) status. He has moved headlong into an internal struggle within the Seminole community of Oklahoma, has identified in writing the recorded "racial" makeup of Seminole families by name, and has tended to define Native American ethnic identity in cultural, genealogical, and/or racial terms that may clash with concepts of national (tribal) sovereignty sought nowadays by many Native nations.

Several Oklahoma tribes that were formerly resident in the southern United States have been embroiled in the question of whether so-called "freedmen" should be considered as full members of their respective nations. Four of the tribes signed treaties with the United States that made their former "slaves" equal citizens in their nations. (I place the term "slaves" in quotes because certain groups, notably the Muskogee Creeks and the Seminoles, did not always regard their African or part-African members in the same way as did the white South. The Seminole Confederation, especially, possessed a very complicated relationship with incorporated Africans and Afro-Natives).

At the present time, Native nations face a dilemma: are they political units or nations with a territory in which all of their members or naturalized "subjects" are

equal citizens regardless of genealogy, or are they strictly cultural or genealogical groups sharing a common ancestry, often with a cut-off point (i.e., one quarter or one eighth degree of "blood"). If the latter, they have lost their former sovereignty since they cannot adopt or naturalize newcomers or have a territorial—as opposed to a cultural and genealogical—base. The question of whether black Seminoles are "really" Seminoles might be seen as being rather similar to the question of whether second or third-generation black Britons are actually British.

The history of the Igana-nok-salgi or Seminoles is also a fascinating look at the history of North America since the European invasion. Perhaps more than any other Native nation, the story of the Seminoles embraces virtually every theme found in southeastern U.S. history, including resistance to European imperialism, the corroding influence of caste-racism, and other processes that affected southern tribes and often dealt a severe blow to traditional values and ethics.

The Seminoles, and most non-southern tribes, managed to avoid the Anglo-American form of slavery and the development of a slavery-based part-white leadership class, at least until after their forced move to Oklahoma. Mulroy has provided us with a very valuable look at the destructive impact of chattel slavery among a small number of Seminoles and the disastrous splitting of the nation during the Civil War, an experience that had a great subsequent impact on internal Seminole politics. Mulroy does a good job of covering the post-Civil War period and also the post-1907 statehood period when the Seminole nation was placed directly under the openly white supremacist and imposed government of the new state.

Mulroy has perhaps failed to comprehend the tribe-splitting impact of Oklahoma's forced segregation and white supremacy upon the internal affairs of the Seminole people. The Ku Klux Klan became very active, and racism and discrimination permeated the policies of white society generally. Mulroy perhaps has imputed to Seminole society behaviors that were exacerbated or even induced from the outside by a vicious form of racism, one that intensified the differences between visibly part-African Native Americans and those who disclaimed or did not show African ancestry.

An even more serious issue relates to Mulroy's adoption of the term "maroon," which he wants to see used by and for black Seminoles. This is ironic since the very name "Seminole" is a version of the Spanish word "*cimarrón*," which denotes wild, untamed, unruly, fugitive persons and runaways from captivity, and is the source for the word maroon. It is very risky to propose a name for another ethnic group and also to use it as if it had been accepted.

Mulroy has focused primarily upon the history of the Seminoles after their removal to Oklahoma, but he has written several informative sections on Florida. One thing about the early period amazes me, however, and that is the assumption that Africans can be presumed to have escaped from slavery in South Carolina, and

later Georgia, and managed somehow to find the trails all the way to Florida. I would like to see this early period reconsidered, since we know that thousands of Florida Natives, almost entire tribes, were carried off as captives to South Carolina. In 1708 about one-third of the slaves in South Carolina were Native Americans. In 1719 that colony declared that all slaves "as are not entirely Indian shall be accounted as negroe." Should we not suspect that the Afro-Seminoles derived a key part of their origin from this highly mixed Carolina captive population? If so, the black Seminoles may legitimately claim Native American as well as African roots.

Mulroy has written a very stimulating and well-documented work, but one which may be weakened by his eagerness to treat the black Seminoles as an African maroon population.

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SCOTT E. GILTNER. *Hunting and Fishing in the New South: Black Labor and White Leisure after the Civil War*. (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2008. Pp. 231. \$55.00.

Scott E. Giltner's provocative book describes the changing sporting field in the southern states against the backdrop of the developing New South economy, the hardening of Jim Crow, and an emerging environmental ethos oriented to preserving vanishing wildlife. By sporting field, Giltner means to explore what black and white southerners were doing in the woods and fields, the streams and lakes, and how these activities were sites of contestation over power and authority and arenas of multiple meanings for the increasingly segregated worlds of blacks and whites.

Giltner describes how after emancipation, African American customary hunting practices established in the antebellum period practically and symbolically facilitated freedom. Freed slaves used their ability to feed themselves with the animals of the forests and streams to loosen a dependency on farming and exploitative labor contracts. They hunted for their own consumption, sold game at markets, and sold their labor as hunters to farmers who gave them bounties for removing unwanted predators. Not surprisingly, white southern elites claimed that hunting diverted freed slaves from their responsibilities to the land and contributed to the wanton depletion of game. Giltner perceptively describes this version of the southern "labor question": white elites' complaints about freed slaves' labor evasion linked to hunting and fishing (p. 40). While southern elites tried to limit African Americans' access to game and guns, they also condemned African Americans as unsportsmanlike, inadequate, and ignorant hunters. According to the national hunting periodicals of the day, African American hunters chose small, unsavory game (raccoons, for example), used faulty equip-

ment, and engaged in reckless practices that affected all hunters. There were some commentators, however, who admired the skill, acumen, and local knowledge of black hunters—particularly when in service to whites.

This contradictory representation of African American hunters was embedded in a peculiar practice in the turn-of-the-century southern hunting field. One of the most interesting and provocative parts of the book is Giltner's analysis of sporting tourism in the South during this period. The South was the destination of choice for sportsmen who wanted an African safari-like experience. One Chicago sportsman writing in an outdoors magazine in 1895 stated, "the Negro makes a large factor in the field sports of the South. In the north we do our own camp work, team driving, etc. to a large extent, and when you speak of this to a Southern sportsman it always causes surprise" (p. 79). African American guides and laborers were essential to the marketing and success of this southern hunting tourism. This might seem extremely exploitative in real and symbolic ways, but Giltner also describes how the arrangement not only gave blacks important economic benefits but also, by demonstrating their skills and expertise, "provided opportunities to counterbalance the images of dominance and subordination that Southern elites sought to perpetuate" (p. 82). Giltner does not, however, see these relationships in the sporting field as an opportunity for mutuality and interracial bonds; rather, the dynamics in the field reflected and reinforced the racial hierarchies of the larger society.

Giltner concludes by describing how the national Progressive era conservation movement played out in the southern sporting field. Private sportsmen's clubs, organizations like the Audubon Society, and eventually some southern states' conservation departments and legislatures succeeded in restricting African Americans' access to hunting and fishing in the name of conservation. Because the actions of African American hunters signaled their economic independence from whites as well as hunting practices that allegedly depleted the wildlife, "much of the force behind the drive to enact wildlife protections in this period may also be laid at the doorstep of black liberation" (p. 173).

This is a well-researched and reasoned monograph, solidly situated in the historiography of southern history and studies on hunting and the land. Yet, Giltner could have deepened his analysis in four ways. First, even though Giltner claims in the introduction that he "chose not to focus on poor whites directly" (p. 5), I believe this omission limited the scope of his findings on race and hunting in the New South. Second, the impulse to enact conservation legislation and preserve wildlife was a national trend during this period, but for different reasons in different regions. A micro-comparative analysis of this effort in a northern state and southern state might have revealed interesting relationships among race, class, and claims to the land and highlight the relative importance of race in this context. Third, Giltner's description of the southern hunting tourism at the turn of the twentieth century was evocative of descriptions

of white Westerners going on African safaris. The elaborate nature of the hunting parties, the use of "locals" for labor and expertise, and the racial dynamics all suggest similarities. Fourth, every person described in this book—black, white, rich, poor, southern, northern—was a man, and yet the book never analyzes southern hunting as a field of contestation over manhood and masculinity.

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LESLIE BROWN. *Upbuilding Black Durham: Gender, Class, and Black Community Development in the Jim Crow South*. (The John Hope Franklin Series in African American History and Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2008. Pp. xiii, 451. Cloth \$34.95, paper \$24.95.

This book follows in a distinguished line of scholarly research providing a strong and in-depth analysis of a local subject that is broad enough to attract readers across interdisciplinary fields. Leslie Brown has examined primary sources and links to larger historical developments and movements that will be beneficial to many readers. This community study of African Americans demonstrates how freed people and their successive generations in Durham, North Carolina, struggled among themselves and with whites to give meaning to black freedom (p. 13). Durham became a New South industrial city built on the virtues of hard work, enterprise, and propriety.

The author begins with Robert and Cornelia Fitzgerald and weaves their story, and that of a fourth-generation Fitzgerald, Pauli Murray, throughout the book. Murray's insights into race and sex discrimination were informed by the everyday lives of the African American women she had known growing up in Durham as the adopted daughter of her mother's sister, Pauline Fitzgerald Dame.

The author asserts that W. E. B. Du Bois praised the "upbuilding of Black Durham" for its exceptional progress that characterized the progress of black America. Both Du Bois and Booker T. Washington admired the black community's new "group economy" grounded in teaching and preaching, buying and selling, employing and hiring. E. Franklin Frazier found Durham to be a black city on a hill and christened it the "Capital of the Black Middle Class" (p. 14). Brown reveals that the success of black Durham was due as much to women's labor and buying power as to the organizational efforts of men.

Without women, the "upbuilding" of black Durham would not have been possible. Durham's demographics compelled the author to focus on women and men. Durham was home to some of the wealthiest black men in the United States, as well as to some of the poorest African American women in the state of North Carolina. Between 1880 and 1950 as the tobacco industry grew, the migration of women outpaced that of men.

The skewed sex ratio among African Americans in

Durham led to intracommunity stress and translated into control, particularly with regard to "notions of African American women's proper or expected roles, whether held by whites or by black men" (p. 17). According to the author, both racism and misogyny confined African American women to "appropriate" physical spaces. In urban areas, women challenged expectations by expanding their public roles beyond those of laborer and family member. They asserted their politics at their desks, in schoolhouses, hospital wards, factory floors, union meetings, and white folk's kitchens.

Brown demonstrates a deep knowledge of local history and uses archival and familial sources to support her research. She notes Anna Julia Cooper's explanation of the impact of the rise of women on the entire race: "Only the Black Woman can say 'when and where I enter . . . then and there the whole Negro race enters with me'" (p. 20). Brown, like Frazier, concludes that Durham's fine homes, exquisite churches, and middle-class "respectability" owed more to its women than to its men. Tobacco-working women and household laborers used respectability to carve dignity into their difficult lives. A former factory worker declared, "I don't care how low your job is, it's honest work. You have to put dignity on" (p. 229). Clubwomen Charlotte Hawkins Brown and Minnie Pearson and North Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs members used respectability to encourage support for their institutions and causes. Respectability demonstrated race progress, offering a discourse on self-help and racial uplift. Challenged by Jim Crow, black people embraced morality, piety, and propriety and wore respectability like armor (p. 20).

The book under review seeks to explore intraracial tensions related to issues of gender and class. Often using the language of respectability, the upper classes maliciously criticized the lower classes and held them accountable for barriers remaining in freedom's path. The author found that some of the Durham elite were notorious for their rules of decorum while using their status to violate the same codes. Freedom provided black Americans with the opportunity to articulate their own class and gender ideologies.

This book is an important addition to the historiography of African American studies. The author skillfully recounts the advocates and activists who engineered the approaches used by the civil right activists during the mid-twentieth century. Among them were significant women, such as Ella Baker, Septima Clark, and Murray, who articulated an ideology of inclusive participatory democracy that identified gender and class as critical if divisive elements that could be used effectively in the struggle. This valuable book sheds light both on a local African American community and on historical movements and leaders of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

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BRYAN M. JACK. *The St. Louis African American Community and the Exodusters*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2007. Pp. xi, 178. \$34.95.

In this book Bryan M. Jack examines black St. Louisians' efforts to aid the Exodusters in their *hijira* from racial oppression rooted in the southern plantation economy. The Exodusters have garnered a monograph, Nell I. Painter's superb *The Exodusters: Black Migration to Kansas after Reconstruction* (1979), and scores of articles, including Glen Schwendemann's "St. Louis and the 'Exodusters' of 1879" (*Journal of Negro History* 46:1 [1961]: 32–46), on which Jack's monograph builds. Jack's is the first book-length effort to explore the Exodusters' experience in St. Louis and examine why black St. Louisians invested so much in supporting their migration. Jack's main argument is that the St. Louis black community identified with the Exodusters' plight and their response. He also makes two related arguments: first, that the exodus was about freedom, especially mobility; and second, that in the course of supplying relief to the refugees, black St. Louisians shifted ideologically from charity to encouraging mass migration from the South.

Jack is at his best when describing the economic exploitation and the strategic use of racial terrorism—bulldozing, rape, and murder—that forced African Americans to flee to a mythical Canaan. Using affidavits gathered by black St. Louisians and presented to the United States Senate Committee investigating the reasons for the exodus (also known as the Voorhees Committee), the author documents the extreme exploitation and brutality that the freedpeople experienced in the post-Reconstruction South. In doing so, Jack demonstrates that the Exodus of 1879, unlike the Great Migration, was driven mainly by push rather than pull factors. In this sense, Jack's work is part of an important and growing literature that locates white supremacist violence at the core of black-white relations. Equally important is his treatment of blacks' responses to the economic exploitation of the plantation economy and its escalating political violence. Here Jack captures, often in their own words, African Americans' tenacity, and desire to define themselves and to create opportunities for future generations. In a particularly insightful observation, he quotes Andrew Pollard, a former state senator from Mississippi, who claimed the Exodusters were not emigrants but "refugees, fleeing from oppression and bondage" (p. 29). However, after the opening chapter appropriately titled "Escape," problems of conceptualization, a failure to connect disparate details, and a lack of attention to the black community's institutional make-up, social networks, and culture all overwhelm this study.

Whereas the author provides numerous vignettes of the Exodusters, he only provides the briefest sketches of African American leaders and offers no information on the ordinary black St. Louisians that supported the relief effort. Jack introduces important black leaders, such as Charlton Tandy, Reverend Moses Dickson,

John W. Wheeler, and James Milton Turner, but is content with providing isolated profiles. What social networks were these men part of? What churches did they attend, and what were their denominational affiliations? What fraternal orders were they members of? Were class strata, skin color, or birthplace at the root of their conflicts? Jack does a decent job of highlighting the strategic and ideological rift between the leaders of the relief effort and Turner. However, the author's categories misrepresent their disagreements. Jack conceptualizes the differences as a conflict between "conservatives" and "activists." Turner, like Tandy and Dickson, was an activist; the dispute was over strategy, not whether or not to engage. Jack supplies little information on African American institutions and organizations, providing truncated discussions of St. Paul's A. M. E. Church and the International Order of the Twelve Knights and Daughters of Tabor. Did Dickson use the latter network to help organize the relief effort? Jack rightly asserts that black St. Louisians bore the brunt of the burden of supporting the Exodusters. Yet, he keeps his gaze firmly on the elite and never discusses any of the numerous black families that took in refugees or the black St. Louisians whose names appeared on the list of donations printed weekly in the *Globe-Democrat*.

The work is full of missed opportunities and underdeveloped themes. Jack makes several interesting observations, which he does not develop. For instance, in quoting William Cohen's *At Freedom's Edge: Black Mobility and the Southern White Quest for Racial Control, 1861–1915* (1991), he notes that the Exodus was "significant because of what they contributed to the cultural and intellectual stream that became Black nationalism" (p. 113), yet he does not explore questions of black nationalism in the narrative.

In the end, Jack's work fills an important gap and supplies a superb discussion of the origins of the Exodus of 1879, but his discussion of St. Louis does not significantly add to our knowledge base.

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COLIN GORDON. *Mapping Decline: St. Louis and the Fate of the American City*. (Politics and Culture in Modern America.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2008. Pp. xiv, 284. \$55.00.

This book began with a grant to apply geographic information systems (GIS) technology to the historical intersections of blight and public policy, but Colin Gordon and his co-investigators quickly recognized the need to undertake a case study. The subject of the case study, St. Louis, has long been one of the most segregated metropolitan areas in the United States. The project's resulting seventy-two colored, GIS-generated maps are illustrative, as are the nine figures and seven tables, but none is nearly as powerful as the author's trenchant prose. Gordon demonstrates convincingly how public policy and private discrimination worked to

confine a rapidly growing African American population to an increasingly distressed city and to ensure the continuing segregation of its suburbs.

Over five chapters, Gordon traces the saga of St. Louis during the twentieth century, a transition from a largely white city of immigrants and their children to the poster child for an older city hemmed in by prosperous and almost exclusively white suburbs, with admirable attention to detail. Chapters one and three analyze the political fragmentation of metropolitan St. Louis, which the author attributes to the city's 1876 home rule charter that separated it from the rest of St. Louis County and froze the city within its sixty-one-square-mile boundary. Over time, the exclusionary practices of suburbs (usually large-lot, single-family housing) resulted in an increasingly segregated city, without the financial resources to serve its residents, and prosperous communities beyond its boundaries that attracted the jobs and tax base that historically had supported the city and its people.

The second chapter turns to the actions of the local real estate industry, which equated minorities with decreasing property values and aggressively promoted restrictive covenants to protect white neighborhoods. The saga of one house at 4635 North Market Street, located just outside The Ville, St. Louis's historically black community, bookends the text. As the city's racial minorities increased dramatically over the course of the mid-twentieth century, Gordon traces a succession of owners, including Scovel Richardson, an African American law professor who acquired the house in 1941 and promptly filed a legal challenge to its restrictive covenant. Legal battles of this sort were fought on several fronts by city residents and ultimately resulted in the landmark 1948 Supreme Court decision *Shelley v. Kraemer*, which ruled such covenants unenforceable. Nevertheless, these covenants, in addition to Home Owners Loan Corporation and Federal Housing Administration policies and the efforts of local and national realtors' organizations, effectively established a "ring of steel" around The Ville until the startling dimensions of white flight resulted in depopulation and, ultimately, abandonment.

A fourth chapter takes up urban renewal policy and its consequences. Gordon demonstrates that in St. Louis, as in other large cities, the eminent domain powers of a local redevelopment authority were used to clear minority neighborhoods for private economic development rather than, to any notable extent, addressing longstanding residential blight. This chapter also examines the minimal impact of enterprise zones on the city's ability to attract new job-producing employers, as well as the much greater success of tax increment financing (TIF) that enabled suburbs to attract the retail businesses and industry fleeing St. Louis. A final chapter ponders the elasticity of the meaning of blight in the hands of planners, in the city and its suburbs, and in the courts.

Gordon's book tells a story of a particular place. If its broad outlines are unsurprising to urban historians and

students of public policy, the author's painstaking excavation of the efforts of the local real estate industry in promoting restrictive covenants is remarkable, as is his analysis of how public policy, exclusionary zoning, and TIFs have brought prosperity to suburbs at the expense of the city. This is an important book, perhaps the most thorough assessment of "the inexorable racial logic of suburban growth and urban decline" (p. 221) of any American city. Still, if there is one aspect of the St. Louis saga worthy of greater elaboration, it is attention to what was happening on the ground. The fate of the Pruitt-Igoe housing project is well known, but how it was built and the flaws in its design and management should be explained, as should the many other redevelopment projects St. Louis undertook in the postwar years. Those projects—at least those still standing—and the circumscribed opportunities they held for the city's minority population, framed everyday life and limited the sense of possibility that young women and men felt as they came of age. A few life stories of the projects and the people who experienced them—like the ones Gordon tells about the house at 4635 North Market Street, which was ultimately demolished and whose lot remains vacant—would bring public policy down to the level where it affected citizens.

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CAROLINE F. LEVANDER. *Cradle of Liberty: Race, the Child, and National Belonging from Thomas Jefferson to W.E.B. Du Bois*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 247. Cloth \$74.95, paper \$21.95.

Caroline F. Levander argues that nineteenth-century Americans relied on a form of child labor that we have not heretofore perceived. It was not a question of actual children doing actual work, but instead of the heavy lifting she thinks "the idea of the child" has done in sustaining white supremacy. Levander claims that the child, increasingly identified with both the infant nation and the infant self in American thought, was simultaneously imagined as pre-social and white and therefore naturalized a white universe for the liberal values it grew up with. Levander believes that recognizing these ideas, and the fact that the child challenges liberalism through its dependence, will allow us to imagine an alternative nation that is racially diverse and not averse to helping the needy.

Levander thus aligns herself with scholars who regard racism and liberalism as conjoined from birth. Her desire to demonstrate this by "excavating a long history of the child's centrality to U.S. writing" is ambitious, since she examines a variety of genres—political, scientific and social—alongside the popular fictions at the core of her study. Levander manages this broad scope by focusing on core episodes in the growth and definition of the nation: the American Revolution, the war with Mexico, "the example of German nationalism" of the late nineteenth century, and the U.S. takeover of the Cuban Revolution against Spain. She begins by using

political texts to argue that the whiteness of the child who signified the new republic was so well established that fictions like Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) could attack slavery while upholding white supremacy. The author then shows how proslavery writer Augusta Evans used the war with Mexico to suggest the dangers to white supremacy and to imagine an alternative southern nation that would defend it. A third chapter demonstrates the racial subtexts of the fates of children in such works as Louisa May Alcott's *Little Men* (1871)—late domestic fictions not overtly concerned with race—and argues that such texts also used children to solicit “consent to national affiliation and governance.” In chapter four Levander uses Mark Twain's revisionary translation of a German story and some of his own both to suggest the transnational scope of late nineteenth-century western racism and to show Twain's critique of ideas of Anglo-Saxon supremacy. Chapter five shifts from the political to the psychological for textual foils, as Levander explores the dependence of such pioneering American psychologists as G. Stanley Hall on racist logic for their notions of how children of different races recapitulate (with varying degrees of completion) racial evolution in their development. She then explores how Henry James and Pauline Hopkins contested this racist “science” of the self in their fictions. The final chapter returns to politics as Levander explores the way proponents of a “raceless state” in an independent Cuba captured the imagination of W. E. B. Du Bois, even as this vision was soundly trounced in reality by U.S. “Anglo-Saxonism.”

Historians might question the adequacy of Levander's evidence. While some of her writers were extremely popular, others were not, and she builds her case in each chapter on just a few examples. She is selective in acknowledging writers who opposed racism, especially before the Civil War. Her choice of texts is also uneven as regards their focus on the child, especially considering her larger goal of charting “the nation's enduring conceptual dependence on the idea of the child,” to show the latter's “crucial, if so far largely unrecognized, significance to American cultural studies” (p. 15).

To the extent that Levander has mapped the work to which the child has been put to support American racism, a larger payoff of her study is not clear. Levander consistently acknowledges that other scholars have already shown the pervasiveness of racism in American culture, but she argues that there is more to be gained from the particular “vantage point” offered by focus on the child. Yet she does not show what that gain is. Levander suggests that acknowledging the dependence we all share as children can have a salutary effect on “social policy,” but she does not demonstrate how. She might have more to offer historians had she considered Holly Brewer's *By Birth or Consent: Children, Law, and the Anglo-American Revolution in Authority* (2005), which explores issues of childhood and consent in the constitution of U.S. liberal democracy. But Levander's is a book for cultural studies insiders. It presumes fa-

miliarity with the work of the literary critics she cites and the fictions she deploys. Levander does provide new readings of nineteenth-century texts for those interested in the cultural uses of childhood. But the historian is left asking, how important was this form of “child labor” to U.S. racism? What difference does it make to the sad larger story?

C. DALLETT HEMPHILL
Ursinus College

CURTIS J. EVANS. *The Burden of Black Religion*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. xvii, 372. \$24.95.

Curtis J. Evans defines “the burden of black religion” as bearing the racial onus of shifting white perceptions of African American religiosity. Embedded within these changing views of black religion were racist questions about the humanity of African Americans and whether they had potential for full personhood and citizenship in American society. White hegemony maintained blacks in slavery, imposed legalized segregation upon them, and sustained institutional and societal practices that perpetuated their inequality. How black religiosity was understood and characterized depended on the various mechanisms through which white supremacy was established and enforced. Whites clung to the fallacious idea that blacks were innately religious and that this attribute was both intrinsic and immutable. Whether they perceived these racial characteristics either positively or negatively relied on what was required to support their racial dominance. During slavery, for example, ecstatic expressions of spirituality and bodily gyrations of fervor reinforced perceptions of blacks as childlike, uncivilized, and docile peoples. Even Christian conversion and baptism could not alter black inferiority.

Well-meaning abolitionists such as Harriet Beecher Stowe inserted Christian characteristics into the personality of the sympathetic Uncle Tom, whose inferiority to whites remained intact. Emancipation from slavery, however, showed that the allegedly wild religious antics of black worshippers and the superstitions that lay within their superficial Christianity demonstrated they could not be civilized and made equal to whites. The rise of scientific racism and derivative social science research in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries reinforced these views. *The Green Pastures*, a 1930s Broadway hit, sustained an image of southern, rural black church and cultural life that appealed to whites nervous about more militant black newcomers settling in the urban North. The production also reassured white religious skeptics that belief in God was still possible. Moreover, the play fostered romantic racial perspectives that divided black observers. Some saw it as justifying racial stereotypes; others were sanguine because black actors, notwithstanding the play's white author, struggled to control how African Americans were portrayed. This effort was difficult, however, be-

cause the same subservient status that the black population occupied in reality was reflected on the stage.

Black scholars also grappled with romantic religious notions about African Americans and debated whether their creation of the Negro church preserved a proud African heritage or proved an impediment to black assimilation as free and equal citizens in the broader American culture. Evans recognizes that the stubborn persistence of these themes in the black experience prevented accurate and sophisticated inquiries into African American religious history and its relationship to black liberationist objectives. Additionally, Evans observes that Carter G. Woodson, among the best chroniclers of black church development, avoided black and white contentions about the content of black religion. Instead, he argued that ministers and members should create a united black church that would ignore doctrinal differences and focus on a broad agenda to advance the black population.

Missing from Evans's near-exhaustive study is extensive discussion about those rare but significant occasions when blacks and whites confronted each other in debate and discourse about African American religion. He correctly cites the 1893 World's Parliament of Religion in Chicago, where blacks offered their defense of black religion and black rights. Several times in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries worldwide Wesleyan bodies gathered to examine the meaning of Methodism. The ample proceedings of these decennial meetings contain transcripts of blacks and whites addressing each other on many of the issues that Evans chronicles in his book. This racial dialogue delineated with clarity and precision outstanding sacred and secular issues separating black and white Christians. Also, Evans, who mentions the importance of the 1930s scholarship of Benjamin E. Mays about black theology and the black church, does not connect him with his peers, Mordecai W. Johnson, Howard Thurman, and William Stuart Nelson and their search for broad religious sources to invigorate the black freedom struggle. These black religious intellectuals were colleagues to E. Franklin Frazier, who believed black churches incubated certain "cultural 'peculiarities'" that impeded the entry of blacks into the American mainstream. They also were familiar with the works of W. E. B. Du Bois, Melville J. Herskovits, and other scholars who emphasized the influence of the African heritage upon black religious experience. This polarized conversation at times overlapped with white preoccupations concerning innate black religiosity and trapped the debate about black religion in a stalemated discourse across the generations.

Black religious intellectuals discovered within African American religion foundational Christian concepts with emancipationist potential. They explored the syncretic possibilities that lay within liberal Protestantism, Gandhian *satyagraha*, and Quaker pacifism. Evans could have shown how this enlarged discourse about black religion was already transcending the seemingly

endless debates about African American religiosity that he correctly condemns.

DENNIS C. DICKERSON
Vanderbilt University

SUSAN BROWNELL, editor. *The 1904 Anthropology Days and Olympic Games: Sport, Race, and American Imperialism*. (Critical Studies in the History of Anthropology.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2008. Pp. xviii, 471. \$55.00.

The 1904 Olympic Games held in conjunction with the Louisiana Purchase Exposition (LPE) in St. Louis would hardly be recognizable as "Olympic" by the standards of contemporary world citizens. Part world's fair and part freak show, the 1904 Olympics were as much about the display of "primitive" and "savage" bodies as they were about sports. The thirteen contributors to this volume not only illuminate this strange event but deconstruct two highly reified yet seemingly disparate modern institutions: the academic field of anthropology and the modern Olympics. Collectively, their work delves into the significance of the Olympic movement itself and its relation to the development of anthropology.

The essays included in this book address a fascinating topic. The athletic contests that comprised these Olympics took place over a six-month time span, from May 14 to November 19, 1904. International competition in what contemporary observers might identify as Olympic events took place only over one week, from August 29 to September 3. Of 687 athletes, 525 were Americans and 41 were Canadians. Even more noteworthy than this rather anemic international participation, however, were the exhibitions held in tandem with the games. Just as in Paris four years earlier, organizers staged these Olympics as part of a World's Fair (the LPE). Visitors to the fair flocked to its Department of Anthropology centerpiece, a display of "ethnological exhibits" featuring "primitive" or "savage" peoples arranged along a line that reflected the organizers' theories of cultural development.

The architect of this exhibition was William John McGee, the director of the Department of Anthropology and the founding president of the American Anthropological Association. Along with James Edward Sullivan, chief of the fair's Department of Physical Culture and founder of the Amateur Athletic Union, McGee recruited residents of the anthropological village to compete in a display of athletic events parallel to those in which the Olympians would compete. The results of their efforts were recorded and used to develop what McGee and Sullivan believed could be a scientific matrix of racial capabilities. This parallel Olympics was called the Anthropology Days.

The authors explore the topic as one that illustrates "polymorphous performativity," a term that editor Susan Brownell borrows from Joy Kasson's work on Buffalo Bill. This concept refers to public spectacles of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries like Wild West

shows and circuses that blended functions of entertainment and education. Often such displays served to educate commercial audiences about the people and places touched by the outstretched tentacles of an increasingly imperialistic United States. Contributors delve into particular components of this event while also analyzing its ideological uses and effects.

Following Brownell's detailed introduction, the essays address a variety of themes. Nancy J. Parezo and Mark Dyreson look at how the event served as "exposition anthropology." No separation existed at this time between physical and cultural anthropology, and public events like the Anthropology Days served to entertain by instructing paying audiences in the racial and paternal justifications for imperialism. Several authors quote Pierre de Coubertin, the founder of the modern Olympics, as having been offended by this overtly racist display. Yet in his essay on Coubertin, Otto J. Schantz argues that the romantic philhellenism of the modern Olympic movement evoked deeply racist and nationalist ideas of its own. Suzuko Mousel Knott and Alexander Kitroeff explore similar themes in respective essays on German and Greek participation. Other contributors address groups that were on display during the Anthropology Days. Gerald R. Gems focuses on exhibitions of people from the Philippines; Christine M. O'Bonsawin writes about the absence of Canadian Indians from the fair; and Linda Peavy and Ursula Smith tell the story of the Fort Shaw (Montana) Indian School girls' basketball team that dominated all competition en route to claiming the World's Fair championship. John Bale, Henning Eichberg, and Jonathan Marks end the book with essays that address the lasting legacies—eugenic, nationalistic, and racist—of Olympic representations and measurements of bodily movement.

As with any edited volume on a single topic, there is a great deal of repetition in this book, yet its strengths tremendously outweigh its weaknesses. The authors provide not only a window into the history of a sporting event but also an important story about sports as a system of representation. This volume is a fine collection that recalls a past event that is still relevant to the present. Their work is a contribution to sports history and also provides a unique perspective upon the history of imperialist culture in the United States and Europe.

JOHN BLOOM
Shippensburg University

ERIKA MARIE BSUMEK. *Indian-Made: Navajo Culture in the Marketplace, 1868–1940*. (CultureAmerica.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2008. Pp. x, 292. \$29.95.

Erika Marie Bsumek's book examines the complex economic and cultural relationships that linked the Navajo with the burgeoning market for southwestern material culture during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Focusing primarily on woven textiles and silverwork, she explores how items of Navajo production

simultaneously became commodities, souvenirs, highly valued objects of art, and exemplars of supposed "primitive" Native American cultures. Recounting connections between the Navajo and traders, railroads, marketers, anthropologists, museums, and consumers, Bsumek discusses how each of these constituencies played a role in a process she calls domestic imperialism, whereby Indian-made goods became powerful symbols of the triumph of white society over primitive Native Americans and representative of white middle and upper-class understandings of race, class, and gender. The display of Navajo material culture in domestic contexts produced a temporal dissonance between hand-made objects representative of antiquated production methods and the machine-made objects representative of then emerging trends in production methods. In these contexts, Bsumek contends that the Navajo became the *Navaho*—a generic amalgam representing the supposed vanishing, primitive, preindustrial indigenous cultures of the American Southwest rather than a unique cultural group.

Bsumek foregrounds her analysis with a historical vignette of a 1901 party thrown by Mr. and Mrs. Frederic Goodwin of New York City in which they invited their guests to participate in a "Navajo Indian fiesta," complete with a theatrical Navajo wedding ceremony, a lecture by a self-proclaimed Indian expert, and a display of Navajo blankets. The only thing the party apparently was missing was an actual Navajo (pp. 1–3). This account powerfully demonstrates the larger points that Bsumek wishes to make regarding the misappropriation and misrepresentation of Navajo culture by white society through the purchase and consumption of Indian-made material goods. Whether representations of Navajos were accurate was often of less importance than feeding a growing consumer demand for Indian-made goods and the cultural nostalgia they fostered.

Subsequent chapters examine the relationships between individual Navajo producers and traders, advertisers, anthropologists, museologists, private collectors, Zapotec weavers, and the public at large. Through these accounts Bsumek examines the intentional manipulation of visual images, cultural practices, and material objects by whites to create a generally accepted notion that the closing of the western frontier meant the eventual cultural disappearance of the Navajo. Such views fostered a rush to collect "authentic" Native American material goods before these craft traditions disappeared and sparked efforts on the part of the Navajo to protect the "brand name" of their goods. These chapters are certainly informative, but Bsumek suggests throughout her book that collections of Navajo materials alternatively represented artistic connoisseurship, nostalgia for the vanishing frontier, domestic racial imperialism, middle-class feminism, and financial investment strategies, without reviewing the ample literature related to the commodification of indigenous items of production. Although Bsumek provides anecdotal evidence to support each of her claims, her work would be of use to a far larger scholarly audience if it made

even passing reference to the work of Arjun Appadurai, Deborah Root, Elizabeth Burns Coleman, Wim van Binsbergen and Peter Geschiere, or other scholars who have worked with the same issues but within broader cultural and historical contexts.

To her considerable credit, Bsumek does not make this merely a historical analysis of white consumption of Navajo goods but attempts to place the Navajo producers within a cultural context by examining their ability to exert their own agency when engaged in market exchanges. Traders and advertisers frequently presented distorted images of the Navajo (and other Native Americans) as unfamiliar with even the most basic aspects of the capitalist market. Here Bsumek demonstrates that the economic and cultural spaces inhabited by the Navajo were far more complex and market-savvy than usually presumed. This is particularly evident in her discussion of Navajo efforts to protect their status as Indian producers when confronted with the increased importation of Zapotec woven goods. As with her claims about the various desires motivating the collection of Navajo goods, I agree with her basic premise, but far more ethnological detail on Navajo culture coupled with a passing summary of the abundant literature on agency and identity formation in capitalist market situations would have aided her efforts considerably. Addressing these issues would have strengthened the book far more than Bsumek's recapitulation of her research aims within each individual chapter.

This book represents an impressive historical analysis of the complex economic and social relationship that linked the Navajo to the consumer market in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Despite the lack of explicit engagement with social, political, or economic theory, this volume will be of considerable use to historians, anthropologists, museologists, and others with research interests in Native American production and market interactions, and it should generate immense scholarly interest among those focused on these issues within the context of Native American reservation life.

CAMERON B. WESSON
University of Vermont

EDWARD SLAVISHAK. *Bodies of Work: Civic Display and Labor in Industrial Pittsburgh*. (Body, Commodity, Text.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2008. Pp. x, 354. Cloth \$89.95, paper \$24.95.

Edward Slavishak's book covers familiar ground in unfamiliar ways. Its subject is the transformation of work and representations of workers in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Pittsburgh. As the Iron City became the Steel City, and as immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe arrived in huge numbers, the association between manly bodies and citizenship broke down. Whereas city officials, boosters, manufacturers, and workers once collaborated in making the images of the burly iron and glass workers embodiments of the city and its supposed common commitments to hard

work and progress, proletarianization complicated or eviscerated those images. Although business and political elites strove to recruit the older images for socially affirmative purposes, they never achieved uncontested success. In the labor press and among the new social scientists who launched the Pittsburgh Survey, the older heroic images of the working body had to compete with images of 'broken and wasted bodies (some of them female), no longer masters of huge machines but mastered by them.

In the early chapters, the author relies heavily on scholarly work by David Brody, Susan J. Kleinberg, Paul Krause, Maurine W. Greenwald, John F. McClymer, and this reviewer, among others, to construct a picture of Pittsburgh and its workers. He notes that southwestern Pennsylvania's main industries—coal, metals, and glass—were peculiarly male-dominated, which led to an exaggerated emphasis on brawn in representations of labor. However, as long as these trades, especially the last two, required a great deal of craft skill, both literary and graphic depictions of workers' bodies incorporated signs of intelligence. These references to mental acuity often conformed to ethnic stereotypes: the intellectual traits ascribed to iron puddlers and glassblowers inhered in Northern Europeans, not in the newcomers who crowded the unskilled ranks of the new steel and glass mills.

The text's thirty visual images well illustrate some of the author's major theses, especially in chapter three on civic celebrations and chapter four on the Pittsburgh Survey. Unfortunately, Slavishak includes no images in chapter two on the Homestead Strike of 1892, which is surprising because there are many that would have reinforced his nuanced interpretations of print descriptions of the sometimes noble, sometimes out-of-control bodies of striking workers. Indeed, newspaper illustrations of labor disturbances, from the railroad riots of 1877 through the Homestead Strike, might have reinforced the argument that a momentous shift in the balance of power between labor and capital reset the terms for both literary and pictorial depictions of workers' bodies.

In his treatment of the Pittsburgh Survey, the author reads Joseph Stella's drawings and Lewis W. Hine's photographs of immigrant workers in subtle ways. On the one hand, the images sought to lend dignity to their subjects, emphasizing endurance and strength. On the other hand, they visually confirmed the social scientists' arguments that modern work enervated and exhausted the physical vitality that had once seemed to burst forth from images of working men. Occasionally, the author's effort to use the language of visual studies obtrudes. But in this chapter, and also in his fine discussion of the advertising strategies of artificial limb manufacturers, his attention to both verbal and visual language reveals the incompleteness of all efforts to resurrect an affirmative image of labor in the age of steel. In his epilogue Slavishak smartly suggests that the folk legend Joe Magarac, who was literally a man of steel, might have served as working-class satire. Bearing a name that

means “donkey” in Croatian, the legendary giant might have given workers a vestigial sense of their own power but also an ironic sense of their powerlessness: in the end, Magarac melts himself down in the blast furnace.

For the most part, organized labor’s voice failed to penetrate the public relations fog designed by both the political and corporate elites to make work seem noble in a new regime whose fundamental logic was to subjugate workers. This book offers forceful reminders of the appalling working conditions in steel mills early in the last century. But it also suggests that all efforts to address those conditions—self-serving corporate safety campaigns, politicians’ and reformers’ efforts to institute a workable workmen’s compensation system, artificial limb makers’ attempts to give hope to casualties of the blast furnaces and rolling mills—failed to compensate fully for the disempowerment of workers that resulted from deskilling and the destruction of effective labor unions.

FRANCIS G. COUVARES
Amherst College

REBECCA N. HILL. *Men, Mobs, and Law: Anti-Lynching and Labor Defense in U.S. Radical History*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2008. Pp. x, 413. Cloth \$89.95, paper \$24.95.

At the outset of this book, Rebecca N. Hill announces that she will tell “a history of both anti-lynching campaigns and radical defense from the era of abolitionism to the New Left” (p. 3). Taken together, violent abolitionism, the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), anarchists, socialists, communists, and the Black Panthers articulated both a “popular analysis of failures of justice” and questioned America’s democratic pretenses (p. 3). To Hill these efforts parodied crime fiction and heroic soldier stories, but they did more than merely caricature, they attacked the legitimacy Americans traditionally award non-state violence when carried out by crime fighters and heroic soldiers. At its most exciting, this book tests leftists’ rhetoric calling for “mass action” against popular arguments for vigilantism and lynching. Hill writes that leftists’ preference for natural law over “statute” law—a preference that glorifies the “goodness” of the people (p. 26)—echoes rhetoric justifying the worst lynching violence in American history.

Hill organizes her book around six case studies. The first chapter narrates John Brown’s violence. Hill usefully compares contemporary urban violence with slave revolts, finding that white newspapers regularly described black rioters as maddened by crazed passions while white rioters seemed rather more reasonable. The state responded differently as well, Hill writes. Even in the New York draft riots, speakers turned out to plead with the rioters to call off their violence. Rioting black slaves, by contrast, had to be shot immediately, as happened in Southampton. Republicans and others opposed to slavery nonetheless lionized John Brown as a hero. According to Wendell Phillips, Brown

did not revolt against democracy but rather carried out “unbridled democracy.” In words that many a lyncher would endorse, Phillips wrote that “law is nothing unless close behind it stands a warm public opinion” (p. 6).

Hill next turns to Haymarket. Interestingly, the author briefly analyzes Gustave Le Bon and Sigmund Freud’s critique of the savage or barbaric mob as a counter to anarchists’ mass action. For anarchists, the governmental tyranny naturally swelled violent popular feelings that beckoned revolution. Hill compares this oratory with lynching rhetoric, finds similarities, and castigates the anarchists for their “blind spot”—they could not see how their continued celebration of popular outrage resembled “the discourses of ‘heroic’ white vigilantism” (p. 107).

The next chapter introduces the “police-mob continuum” (p. 118). Originating with Ida B. Wells, the police-mob continuum theory argued that racist mob violence resembles state violence, setting up a critique that would become central to American labor defense. As Wells recognized, lynching rooted its violence in both populism and law, but actually acted from power, not powerlessness. W. E. B. Du Bois picked up this idea and continued it: “The police is the mob. The courts are the lynchers” (p. 128). Big Bill Haywood “collapsed” vigilantism into direct action, offering a “boisterous resistance to the trappings of law” (p. 140). Haywood and his allies then confused things by attacking the law and courts for more or less the same reason that lynch mobs rejected formal legal action: both groups calculated that direct action could be more effective than legal argument in court. Hill calls this a critical turning point in the history of violent labor defense.

Labor groups often faced mob hysteria even as they tried to mobilize the masses themselves. Hill explores this contradiction in her chapter on the Sacco and Vanzetti trial. Thereafter communists debated the anti-lynching campaign, deciding, at first, that lynching was only sporadic and therefore not worthy of their full attention. For them, lynching was not true direct action but rather an exercise of class power. In her final chapter, Hill examines the Black Panthers, focusing on the case of George Jackson.

Brilliantly conceived, this book has much to offer. Very few studies of lynching match Hill’s creative scope. Examining lynching and opposition in the context of direct action is challenging and imaginative, asking questions historians should consider. *Men, Mobs, and Law* offers many insights into gender and race and America’s traditional legitimization of heroic violence. Martyrdom becomes more fascinating when considered at the juncture between lynching and labor violence. But there certainly are shortcomings here as well. The author continually cites other historians, sometimes two and three times on a single page, a habit suggesting defensiveness and uncertainty about her own arguments. This book includes many pieces not always tightly stitched together. Discussions of gender, for example, are scattered throughout the narrative and

never come together into a single strong and coherent section that would drive home the author's overall finding. Nevertheless, despite such shortcomings, this book should usefully provoke scholars into moving lynching scholarship closer to the center of the American history narrative.

CHRISTOPHER WALDREP
San Francisco State University

BRUCE E. BAKER. *This Mob Will Surely Take My Life: Lynchings in the Carolinas, 1871–1947*. New York: Continuum. 2008. Pp. xii, 242. \$26.95.

In this book Bruce E. Baker reminds readers of the complexities that often lay behind the narratives of these hideous murders. Baker analyzes seven different cases of lynching over sixty years, connecting the murders to the changing contexts of Reconstruction-era politics, the rise of the New South, and post-World War I reactionary conservatism. As the author notes, scholars have pointed to issues of economic stress, struggles over political power, and threatened masculinity as factors in their multi-angled analyses of lynching. But Baker also examines lynching episodes that sprang from personal grudges ranging from disputes over church building funds to family slights to attempts at covering up secret sexual activity. Baker's inclusion of these incidents helps him make a point. While he accepts that historians need to continue connecting these acts of violence to their larger historical context, he also urges historians not to lose sight of the often-personal motivations that led to murder. Baker is certainly correct that one should not overlook the personal motivations involved, but the result is that some chapters have more to offer historically than others. Therefore Baker's book points to a sad, blunt truth: while all these killings were tragic, they do not all shed light equally on Carolina history.

Baker builds his book from an especially outrageous lynching incident involving the Ku Klux Klan and the mass murder of members from an African American militia unit in South Carolina in 1871. With this, he wisely goes beyond the usual periodization of lynching as a post-Reconstruction phenomenon. Baker later identifies the creation of a progressive state government in North Carolina as a critical turning point in the reduction of lynching. Governor Robert Glenn's open criticism of a 1906 lynching made him one of the first prominent white southern politicians to speak out against this particularly gruesome form of murder. Gradually as the North Carolina and South Carolina state governments, with popular support, began actively to prosecute lynchers (usually not successfully: all thirty-one white men charged in a 1947 South Carolina lynching went free), the attacks largely sputtered to an end. As Baker concludes: "Eventually a combination of the efforts of African American activists, both within and beyond the South, liberal whites in the South who could speak as insiders to their fellow southerners, and determined state governments and local officials, pri-

marily governors and sheriffs, stopped lynching" (p. 191).

Baker's study also draws attention to the differences between North Carolina and South Carolina. Momentum to discourage lynching built much sooner in North Carolina than its southern neighbor. South Carolina was unable to muster the political will to act aggressively against lynching until after World War II, a shocking reminder of that state's reactionary modern history. Still, neither state covered itself in glory fighting against this kind of culturally sanctioned murder.

While not breaking a lot of new historiographical territory, Baker nonetheless recounts these murders vividly, placing proper emphasis on the terror that accompanied the act and the construction of durable narratives that also coexisted with the killing. Even for historians accustomed to reading about and researching despicable acts, Baker's chapters still pack a punch. As a researcher, he appears to have the doggedness of a fine investigative journalist, as he was often able to find the all-critical "back story" to several of his cases. In this regard, Baker's effort to make the reader "feel its impact" (p. 6) is an unquestioned success and his book will be very effective in a wide range of U.S. history courses.

CHARLES J. HOLDEN
St. Mary's College of Maryland

FRANCESCA BORDOGNA. *William James at the Boundaries: Philosophy, Science and the Geography of Knowledge*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2008. Pp. x, 382. \$39.00.

In this book Francesca Bordogna inquires into William James's motivations for transgressing the disciplinary divisions that increasingly marked intellectual life in the late nineteenth century. With James as the central figure, Bordogna explores questions about the evolution of scientific inquiry, about efforts to define and shape the social sciences, and about the nature of truth. Her study contributes to our understanding of the development of intellectual authority in both philosophy and science during a period of profound and unsettling change.

James resisted the move toward intellectual specialization that had arisen in philosophy and especially in the newly emerging fields of the social sciences. He believed that such professionalization circumscribed inventive thought and excluded individuals—including amateurs—who might fruitfully participate in intellectual discourse. Moreover, he believed that narrowing disciplines bred habits of mind that could lead to stagnation. In short, James saw disciplinarity as a potential hindrance to the pursuit of knowledge.

Bordogna focuses on James's presidential address, "The Energies of Men," delivered before the American Philosophical Association in 1906, as exemplary of his broader views. By taking seriously mind curers and popular notions of spiritualism and mental hygiene; by questioning the value of experimental psychology that

privileged record-keeping and laboratory machinery over clinical observation and introspection; and by extolling various techniques that might liberate human energy—yoga, fasting, hypnosis, and stimulants, for example—James puzzled many of his listeners who expected a more conventional philosophical presentation. No doubt many of his contemporaries, like later scholars, deemed the talk an aberration, and even an embarrassment.

Bordogna, however, sees James's decision to focus on human energy as strategic, consistent with his work overall. Energy was of interest to psychologists, physiologists, neurologists, physicians, psychological researchers, social reformers, and certainly ordinary men and women who may have suffered from the rampant blight of neurasthenia, characterized by unremitting fatigue. James brought this topic to the attention of philosophers, Bordogna argues, to inspire them to "reimagine philosophy as a 'theory of action'" (p. 268). This moral imperative for philosophy surely interested James throughout his career. Bordogna believes that James wanted to inculcate a sense of moral responsibility in all of the social sciences: that responsibility, she argues, made him call for a "pragmatic anthropology" (p. 11), for example, and a sociology that would inform progressive change. What, he asked, were practical implications of knowledge in these fields? How would they affect individual conduct and society?

Besides examining "The Energies of Men," Bordogna gives insightful consideration to other of James's popular talks and essays, such as "The Gospel of Relaxation," "The Moral Equivalent of War," and "The Will to Believe." In these works, just as in *The Principles of Psychology* (1890), Bordogna argues persuasively that James insisted on fluid realms of knowledge. Although he felt certain that scientists and naturalists could broaden an understanding of human nature and the biology of mind, he also called for collaboration between laboratory workers and philosophers. Responding to a prevailing anxiety of the time about the fragmentation of one's self, James posited "an open self surrounded by uncertain and leaky contours" (p. 192). James imagined the self as protean and unstable, and he believed that this conception of selfhood would affect positively the possibility of knowing others, shaping relationships with others, and affecting one's potential for intimacy. An open, pluralistic self would make possible an open, pluralistic community.

Bordogna's argument has important implications for our understanding of James as a precursor of modernist impulses, and also for understanding James's political and moral theories, such as his notion of civic responsibility. Bordogna reads James afresh, with new and thorough attention to many works that other scholars have dismissed as peripheral to James's "major" works. She expands and enriches the analyses of such scholars as Charlene Haddock Seigfried, George Cotkin, James T. Kloppenberg, and Richard M. Gale, all of whom have grappled with apparent inconsistencies and vagaries of James's philosophy. Most impressively, she brings

to her studies important archival material from Germany, Italy, and Great Britain that expands the landscape of James's life and work. She knows James thoroughly, is in command of a wealth of related primary and secondary material, and, what is more, writes beautifully. Her scholarship makes a significant contribution to James studies and, more widely, to the history of philosophical knowledge and the human sciences.

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MARJORIE N. FELD. *Lillian Wald: A Biography*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2008. Pp. viii, 303. \$35.00.

Marjorie N. Feld's biography of Progressive-era activist Lillian Wald aims to do more than retell the life of a reformer who is often overshadowed by her more famous counterpart Jane Addams. While certainly drawing attention to her achievements, Feld explores Wald's universalism, the growth in her thinking, and the ways in which she has been remembered by popular and academic historians. Feld shows how Wald's vision has been segmented by those who claim her as a "Jewish Florence Nightingale" and by women's historians who tend to portray Wald as a female activist devoid of ethnicity. This focus leads not to an exhaustive overview detailing the intimacies and innermost thoughts of its subject but results rather in an intellectual biography that ultimately cautions against simplistic renderings of complex issues of identity.

In five concise chapters Feld traces the development of Wald's universalist vision, beginning with her childhood in Rochester, New York. Here, Feld argues, Wald learned her "hometown lessons," growing up in an assimilated German Jewish family, members of which affiliated with the liberal Reform synagogue B'rith Kodesh and the Eureka Club. Both these institutions modeled themselves on those of the city's Protestant elite. Wald herself received no formal training in Judaism. After graduating from a secular school, she opted not for the path of her elder sister, marriage and childbearing, but instead attended New York Hospital Training School for Nurses. In New York she experienced, in her own words, a "baptism of fire" through her encounters with the Social Gospel movement (p. 37). It is this movement, Feld argues, that most fundamentally informed her future work. Professional connections through nursing in the Jewish community, however, led her to her benefactor and mentor, the philanthropist Jacob Schiff, who provided her with funds to launch what would become the Henry Street Settlement. Through the settlement Wald became a central figure in various networks of Jewish and progressive activists.

Covering material appearing in other biographies, Feld underscores in her examination of Wald's multifaceted work an underlying commitment to Americanization and assimilation. She shows too that Wald expanded on ideas of her assimilationist youth by embracing a pro-labor stance, working closely with Jew-

ish immigrants, and helping to establish the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Analyzing her work in these years, Feld labels Wald an "ethnic Progressive." In World War I, Wald moved further beyond her Rochester origins, becoming actively engaged in anti-militarism and international politics and by making her universalist vision truly global. In these campaigns, as well as in the settlement house movement, Wald worked closely with female reformers and pacifists such as Addams. Again, this section of the book highlights activities covered by other historians but utilizes them to explore the complexity of Wald's ethnic and gender identities.

In the postwar years, Wald faced many challenges to her ideas about identity and her embrace of notions of female difference. Debates regarding the Equal Rights Amendment are well known to women's historians. Less well known is how her commitment to universalism led Wald to support the Bolshevik regime even once information regarding Soviet abuses came to light. Well into the Great Terror, Wald refused to disavow Joseph Stalin or the Soviet system. This element of Wald's legacy, unpopular and, at best, naïve, does not figure prominently in studies of her life. Similarly, even though it is crucial to understanding her as a person, Wald's anti-Zionism is rarely examined in other studies, especially those claiming her as a "great Jewish American." While her ideals led her to support a nation ostensibly committed to universalism through communism, it also forced her to decry what she saw as the particularism of political, or even cultural, Zionism.

The last decade of her life was a difficult time for Wald. Feld reveals a woman struggling to articulate her vision and cement her legacy. At the same time, however, others began to claim her as one of their "own" in ways that she herself would not have embraced. Feld's biography concludes with a discussion of Wald's changing status in popular and academic histories. While women's historians have tended to ignore Wald's Jewishness, as complicated as it might have been, Jewish historians have often subjected her to what Susan Glenn calls "Jewhooing," claiming a person for Jewish history in a way that ignores her own understanding of that identity. While the emphasis on the public persona can at times leave the reader wishing for a greater feel for who Wald was as a private individual, this biography succeeds in placing Wald in "the space between" the women's and Jewish communities of her era (p. 202).

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JEFFREY B. PERRY. *Hubert Harrison: The Voice of Harlem Radicalism, 1883–1918*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2009. Pp. xx, 600. \$37.50.

For many years cognoscenti in all fields of African diaspora studies have foreseen and rejoiced at the coming of this brilliant masterpiece, in which Jeffrey B. Perry has reconstructed the early career of Hubert Harrison

(1883–1927), the radical socialist and prophet of the New Negro Movement. Harrison, born in St. Croix, Danish West Indies, to parents he described as of "unmixed African ancestry," migrated to the United States at the age of seventeen. Working as a bellhop, elevator operator, and stock clerk, he earned his high school diploma with distinction, picking up interscholastic prizes for excellence in Latin and history conferred by the New York Board of Education. Unable to attend college for economic reasons, he was, in Perry's words, "a true autodidact—self-motivated and purposefully self-directed in his study, inspired by other autodidacts, and free to roam" (p. 57). Harrison was a founder of the traditions of frayed-cuff intellectualism and step-ladder radicalism that flourished on Harlem street corners from the *fin de siècle* through World War I, and he attempted to alloy black militancy with radical socialism before the so-called Harlem Renaissance.

Passing the post office's entrance examination "with ease," Harrison found steady employment for four years as a postal clerk, beginning in 1907. The income was modest but livable; nonetheless he experienced economic difficulties resulting from his passionate nature, which expressed itself in politics and other areas. In 1909, at age twenty-six, he married his thirty-year-old pregnant sweetheart, Irene Louise Horton, with whom, over the next eleven years, he had five children. He apparently loved the children of his marriage, but he was never able to provide adequately for them. Perry reports that Harrison had numerous extramarital adventures and romantic episodes, including one with Marcus Garvey's first wife Amy Ashwood, although Perry is not specific as to the date or intensity of this relationship or whether it was adulterous. In politics, Harrison was a socialist; in religion, an agnostic; and in sexuality, a libertine who "at times, practiced a double-standard" (p. 17).

Harrison attacked Booker T. Washington, whom he considered "subservient," and Washington's Tuskegee machine struck back in 1911, when its New York confederate Charles W. Anderson used his influence with the New York City postmaster to have Harrison dismissed. According to Perry, this "dastardly" action had a devastating impact on Harrison's ability to provide for his family. He augmented his income as a lecturer throughout Manhattan, sometimes delivering eight talks a day. Harrison also offered his services in German and Yiddish-language newspapers and as a private tutor in English. Whether he had any takers Perry does not report, but "Hubert received little money from tutoring" (p. 206). His lecturing talents flourished, however, leading to popularity with socialists, and in the presidential campaign of 1912 Harrison spoke on behalf of Eugene V. Debs's candidacy. He also wrote a series of articles on "The Negro and Socialism," anticipated by W. E. B. Du Bois's article under that same title in 1907. Perry is justified in identifying Harrison as "America's leading Black socialist" from 1911 to 1914. Harrison was disappointed by Debs's insistence that the African American struggle was only one aspect of the

class struggle, which was colorless, and agreed with Du Bois's later assessment that the "Negro Problem . . . [is] the great test of American socialism" (p. 143). Increasingly disenchanted with the Socialist Party's failure to address race and aware that some party members were downright hostile to African Americans, Harrison moved to the left, agitating along with William D. "Big Bill" Haywood, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, and the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) in support of the Paterson silk workers' strike of 1913. When the strike was broken and the IWW came under attack from some socialists, Harrison broke with the party in 1914.

Perry's archival brilliance—one third of his six hundred pages are dedicated to notes and index—illuminates not only the life of his subject but discloses much about black Manhattan before the Harlem Renaissance. He has dug up so much about Harrison that only the most remarkable serendipity is likely to reveal anything new about this brilliant but tragic model of the *lumpen* intellectual. J. A. Rogers, the dean of African American popular historians, acknowledged that Harrison had little influence on American institutional life, once comparing him to William Shakespeare as a man so little regarded in his own time that there was no surviving contemporary biography of him. Thanks to Perry, we now have a somewhat proximate record of Harrison's strivings, offering evidence that obscure, self-taught geniuses are capable of analyzing the complex forces that determine global historical events and control the realities of their own existence.

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DALE E. ZACHER. *The Scripps Newspapers Go to War, 1914–18*. (The History of Communication.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2008. Pp. x, 285. 45.00.

Wars are not usually the best of times for the mass media, and World War I was no exception. Faced with strict censorship restrictions and new government-run propaganda agencies determined to present a unified and seamless account of the war in order to manage public opinion and boost morale, newspapers in the nations involved in the war struggled to provide readers with news yet retain their independence. Newspapers in the United States faced particularly vexing problems, as Dale E. Zacher notes in this detailed, well-researched book on the Scripps newspaper chain's efforts to cover the war. With twenty-one daily newspapers, a growing wire service (the United Press, which served non-Scripps papers too), and an increasingly popular and profitable features syndicate (the Newspaper Enterprise Association [NEA]), the Scripps organization reached a large audience of readers, particularly in the Midwest and the West Coast. Having achieved success by catering to working-class readers and promoting "progressive" causes likely to be favored by their audience, publisher E. W. Scripps and his able lieutenants

were at the peak of their power and influence when war broke out in Europe in 1914.

Sensitive to the fact that a substantial number of their readers were German Americans or were ambivalent about the war, the Scripps papers at first sought to provide relatively balanced coverage. Indeed, in some respects the war created a distraction for Scripps, who had long been determined to use his papers to promote social reform and saw the election of Woodrow Wilson as a chance to leverage his chain's public reach into real influence over the new administration's policies. But as the United States was drawn toward entry into the war and issues of military preparedness occupied Wilson and Congress, the Scripps organization was compelled to shift its focus. Zealously committed to Wilson, the "Concern," as the company's top editors and executives called it, abandoned its longstanding policy of political independence and aggressively backed Wilson in his bid for re-election in 1916. Like many American progressives, they hoped that Wilson's re-election would keep the U.S. out of the war and ensure that social reform continued. Having strenuously backed Wilson, however, the organization now felt awkward about criticizing him, and when Wilson led the United States into the war, the Scripps papers and especially the NEA became stridently pro-war, publishing editorials and features that the organization would later regret. The new pro-war editorial policy upset editors accustomed to a measure of local autonomy—fearful of alienating local sensibilities—and gave rise to new rifts within the organization. These rifts were soon exacerbated by Scripps's determination to pass on control of his media empire to his sons, who did not work well together and whose conflict eventually resulted in the secession of a number of West Coast papers in the early 1920s. In the end, the Scripps organization was deeply chagrined by its unabashed support for Wilson and the war, and in its wake, the chain, with E. W. retired, became increasingly commercial and conservative.

Zacher's account of all this is detailed and often absorbing. Based on scrupulous research in the Scripps organization's archives, he leaves few stones unturned. But for scholars who are not specialists in journalism history or particularly interested in the historiographical debates regarding the putative independence of the American press during World War I, the book under review has less to offer. Zacher does a creditable job of situating the Scripps organization within the larger context of the early twentieth-century United States and discussing its links to social reform. Yet this book is too much an institutional history for my liking, heavy on the intrigues and agendas of Scripps and his top executives, which certainly had an important bearing on the editorial content, but weak on the wider political and especially social currents they had to navigate in order to build and keep an ethnically diverse working-class audience. The Scripps papers matter because they were widely read, and the rhetorical strategies and modes of address that they employed to reach their readers need to be acknowledged as part of the social and cultural

history of modern America, not just the history of journalism. The techniques they employed to reach readers were especially important during World War I, when an important gulf appeared between many middle-class progressives—I would put the Scripps editors and executives in that camp—and many of the working-class people who had joined them in various reform crusades in previous years but were alienated by pro-war boosterism. “Selling” the war, then, was a bit more complicated than Zacher suggests, and may well have created an additional set of external pressures that led the Scripps organization down the road that it would take in the 1920s.

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ELAINE F. WEISS. *Fruits of Victory: The Woman's Land Army of America in the Great War*. Dulles, Va.: Potomac Books. 2008. Pp. xi, 315. \$29.95.

Employing popular periodicals, government reports and propaganda, oral histories, and material from dozens of archives on both sides of the Atlantic, Elaine F. Weiss draws new attention to the 20,000 members of the World War I Woman's Land Army (WLA) who replaced male farm laborers called to military service or munitions factory employment. As the number of published memoirs and histories cited in her bibliography indicates, Weiss is not the first author to chronicle the story of the women popularly known as “farmerettes.” She does, however, provide the most extensively researched and far-reaching examination of the Land Army to date.

Weiss's exhaustive study is a “long history” of the WLA that includes discussion both of its predecessor (the Women's Land Army of Great Britain) and its descendant (the American Women's Land Army of World War II). Like its British prototype, America's WLA allowed women to serve in uniform during the Great War and prove their worthiness as citizens. Weiss does an excellent job of demonstrating the central role that British and later American suffragists played in creating their nations' Land Armies. Denied the role of soldier, women could prove their patriotism and commitment to democracy by tilling the home front soil and providing necessary food for the Allied troops and starving civilians on the war-torn European continent. In part as a reward for their Land Army and other wartime service, women obtained the right to vote in both Britain (1918) and the United States (1920) and paved the way for greater participation in the next war. In the United States, women's World War II service would include noncombatant roles in all branches of the American military and participation in a new and expanded Land Army. Among the numerous illustrations that enrich Weiss's study is a photograph of a middle-aged woman posing in her World War I Land Army uniform alongside her daughter wearing the uniform of America's World War II WLA.

In addition to doing their part for the war effort and helping set the course for the expanded role of women after World War I, the farmerettes had a significant impact on popular culture. Wearing trousers and doing work typically performed by men, WLA volunteers captured the public's attention as symbols of the liberated New Woman. A precursor to the flapper of the following decade, the farmerette showed up in popular songs, movies, the Ziegfield Follies, and as one of illustrator Charles Dana Gibson's celebrated “girls.” She even secured a small place in American popular culture beyond the World War I era. According to Weiss in one of her endnotes, the “Bushel and a Peck” number in the frequently produced stage musical *Guys and Dolls* is something of an homage to the Great War's female farm laborers.

The fact that well-to-do urban women attending Seven Sisters colleges were among the most publicized members of the WLA furthered the image of the farmerette as a liberated New Woman. But this type of publicity limited her popularity among the nation's farmers. In the South, gender and racial taboos caused most land owners to reject the all-white WLA in favor of local African American field workers. Families on mid-western grain and livestock farms preferred to expand the agricultural duties of wives and daughters rather than rely on presumably inexperienced city women. The WLA received its most enthusiastic welcome in areas requiring immediate and large-scale harvest labor, such as the fruit orchards and vegetable fields of California and the Northeast.

As a journalist, Weiss is adept at gathering and organizing a voluminous amount of information and reporting it in a lively manner. She does, however, make a few historical errors, such as referring to William Howard Taft as a former vice president. Her narrative nevertheless provides a wealth of material that scholars and teachers of U.S. women's history, American agricultural history, and the American experience in World War I will want to have at their fingertips.

KATHERINE JELLISON
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NIKKI BROWN. *Private Politics and Public Voices: Black Women's Activism from World War I to the New Deal*. (Blacks in the Diaspora.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 194. \$29.95.

African American clubwomen in the first half of the twentieth century have been the focus of much historical inquiry. Many historians claim that African American women's clubs were particularly active prior to World War I but lost their prominence when the Universal Negro Improvement Association and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) advanced masculinist ideologies. Nikki Brown challenges these arguments by positing that middle-class African American women's experiences in World War I incited them to adopt more po-

litically based campaigns for equality in the postwar period.

Brown contends that "World War I produced an alchemy of opportunity, agenda, and motivation that reinvigorated black women's politics, so that their lives and their experience entered a new phase after 1920" (p. xii). Relying mainly on records from the National Association of Colored Women (NACW), Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), NAACP, and federal offices as well as a few local black newspapers, she argues that African American women became discontended when they first encountered local organizations' refusal to provide opportunities for paid or volunteer war work and then discovered that the federal government and the national YWCA and Red Cross boards were not interested in solving the problem.

Brown's study examines key figures and movements both during and immediately following World War I to illustrate the ways in which black clubwomen equated their community efforts and war work with demands for citizenship. Local clubwomen conserved food, participated in nursing programs, supported soldiers in YWCA hostess programs, and bought bonds. In so doing, they highlighted the racism of local and national war relief organizations that refused to hire enough black women to support the troops in segregated units, thus leaving it to the black community to make up for the shortfall. Brown examines the disillusionment of Alice Dunbar-Nelson and Mary Church Terrell, women whose investigative work researching these problems with national organizations was summarily cut short and ultimately ignored during the war.

Brown also focuses on the efforts of black nurses and relief workers who continued to fight for paid and volunteer positions with the YWCA and Red Cross despite hostility from national leaders and local executive boards. She engages in a close examination of Addie Hunton and Kathryn Johnson, who, along with one other paid worker and a handful of volunteers, attempted to provide services to all of the black soldiers in France. She examines how the women's co-authored memoir of their experiences testified to the blatant prejudice that they witnessed among the YMCA staffers, in the practices of the military, and in the way Americans encouraged the French to emulate their racial hierarchy. The women involved in these efforts shared a common middle-class status and educational background, and they had reputational capital in both the black and white communities. These factors enabled them to engage directly with elite whites as both challengers to the racial order and as "diplomats" to the white community. Their status gave them clout, but it also gave them a blind spot when trying to understand the situation of poor black women, who were more worried about economic opportunities than abstract notions of citizenship.

Brown suggests that, after World War I ended, these women focused their efforts on gaining the vote and then using their political power to fight for change. Al-

though they were not successful in securing an anti-lynching law, black clubwomen did have enough clout to stop an attempt by the United Daughters of the Confederacy to erect a monument to "mammy" in Washington and a national anti-intermarriage bill. These women did not fall into the public/private paradigm espoused by the male-focused "New Negro" discourse in the postwar period. Instead of focusing on social and community work, they put their newfound political power to good use and worked to get out the vote in their neighborhoods with the hope that they could build broad-based efforts to challenge African Americans' second-class status.

Brown's book provides important details about the ways in which African American clubwomen who had originally challenged "racism and white supremacy" became representatives of "black women's empowerment" (p. 119) by the mid-1920s, mainly through the vote. The study, however, fails to provide a comprehensive analysis of the Great Depression years. It would be interesting to know how the severe economic dislocation of African Americans throughout the country may have affected the efforts of the NACW and other organizations to fight for civil rights and social welfare prior to the creation of New Deal policies. In addition, Brown seems to undermine her argument in several key places by asserting that these women may not have had as much power as they thought. For example, she claims that elite black women's focus on using the vote "diluted" efforts like the anti-lynching campaign, which resulted in failure, just before she convincingly argues that the vote was an important mechanism for change. Finally, the organization of the book tends to be redundant, as Brown addresses many of the same issues with citizenship and war work in separate chapters. Nevertheless, her study provides important new information about elite African American women's activities during and immediately after World War I.

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PAUL A. LOMBARDO. *Three Generations, No Imbeciles: Eugenics, the Supreme Court, and Buck v. Bell*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2008. Pp. xiv, 365. \$29.95.

Paul A. Lombardo's book is a welcome addition to the burgeoning literature on the history of eugenic sterilization. In the United States, a key event in that history was the Supreme Court decision in *Buck v. Bell* (1927) upholding the constitutionality of a Virginia statute authorizing the sterilization of institutionalized "mental defectives" deemed likely to produce "socially inadequate offspring." Although Indiana had adopted a sterilization law as early as 1907, with several other states soon following suit, fear that such legislation would be struck down by the courts acted to curb the passage of new statutes and the implementation of existing ones. The decision in *Buck* opened the floodgates. In the de-

cade following, more than a dozen states adopted sterilization laws and the number of procedures climbed.

Buck's impact was amplified by the rhetorical skill of Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., who authored the terse decision. Holmes memorably wrote: "We have seen more than once that the public welfare may call upon the best citizens for their lives. It would be strange if it could not call upon those who already sap the strength of the State for these lesser sacrifices . . . in order to prevent our being swamped with incompetence . . . The principle that sustains compulsory vaccination is broad enough to cover cutting the Fallopian tubes . . . Three generations of imbeciles are enough." But as it turned out, Carrie Buck was not an imbecile, nor was her daughter Vivian, who was a mere eight months old when she was examined by the "expert witness" who testified that, like her mother and grandmother, she was mentally sub-par. In theory, the Virginia statute provided for multiple procedural safeguards. Patients had rights to attend sterilization hearings, place witnesses under oath, receive a written record of the evidence, and be represented by a lawyer. In his opinion, Holmes claimed (and likely believed) that Carrie's rights were scrupulously guarded. But as Lombardo shows in depressing detail, these and other protections proved empty. Inmates were often not even informed that they were to be or had been sterilized. In Carrie Buck's case, the lawyer served the interests of the institution, not his client. Indeed, the entire trial was a sham.

The heart of this book is a detailed analysis of the circumstances leading up to the case, its prosecution, and its aftermath. But Lombardo also shows just how broad was support for the decision, with newspapers across the United States endorsing Holmes's opinion. The author also includes a fascinating chapter on *Skinner v. Oklahoma*, the 1942 case that overturned a law allowing sterilization of three-time recidivists for certain crimes. That case has often been interpreted as in effect overturning *Buck*, but Lombardo shows that it was not intended to interfere in any way with the sterilization of the insane or mentally defective. (Victoria Nourse also makes this point as well as emphasizing that *Skinner* was neither argued nor decided on the issue of rights in her recent, richly detailed analysis of the case, *In Reckless Hands* [2008]). Here and elsewhere in the book, the value of Lombardo's dual expertise in law and history is evident.

Lombardo is perhaps less successful in getting into the minds of his historical actors and explaining how the world looked to them. Thus he asks how seven other Supreme Court Justices, including William Howard Taft and Louis D. Brandeis, could have failed to dissent in any way from Holmes's decision. That important question is not really answered, although we are helped to better understand Holmes's own assumptions. Wounded three times during the Civil War, Holmes's service with the 20th Massachusetts Regiment clearly informed his stance in *Buck*. But Lombardo makes no real attempt to explain the more challenging case of the privacy advocate Brandeis or of the scientific authori-

ties consulted by William O. Douglas in preparing his opinion in *Skinner*, none of whom condemned sterilization *tout court*. Lombardo notes that even psychiatrist Abraham Myerson, one of the most influential critics of existing sterilization laws, believed that there was no reason for hesitation in operating on the feeble-minded. This book effectively exposes the social prejudices and political and legal machinations at work in *Buck v. Bell*, but it does not fully illuminate why assumptions now considered abhorrent seemed, not long ago, eminently reasonable to so many people whom we otherwise generally admire.

Occasionally, the book reads like a lawyer's brief, especially in the discussion of scientific issues. Eugenists are portrayed as willfully ignorant of developments that undermined their case. They are faulted in particular for failure to acknowledge that the Hardy-Weinberg principle had exposed the pointlessness of eugenical sterilization. (When traits are rare, most of the responsible genes are hidden in apparently normal carriers who cannot be touched by policies of segregation or sterilization.) But eugenicists, as Holmes's opinion in *Buck* illustrates, feared being swamped by feeble-mindedness; they hardly considered the trait to be rare. Moreover, even if sterilization would not eliminate mental defects in a few generations, as most eugenicists acknowledged by the mid-1920s, that did not seem a good reason for failing to do what one could. In the book's epilogue, Lombardo acknowledges that the fact that the case against Carrie Buck was specious may make our moral judgments too easy. But it is also too easy to dismiss eugenics—a cause after all embraced by many eminent scientists—on the grounds of scientific futility.

These reservations notwithstanding, the book under review represents a major contribution to the historiography of eugenics and American social history more generally. Lombardo has performed a major service in tracking down many hitherto unknown details of this landmark case, situating it in its legal and social context, and tracing both its immediate reception and long-term impact. This painstakingly researched book will surely be the definitive study of *Buck v. Bell* for many years to come.

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KRISTEN WHISSEL. *Picturing American Modernity: Traffic, Technology, and the Silent Cinema*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 272. Cloth \$79.95, paper \$22.95.

Kristen Whissel uses the theme of traffic to examine the relationship among early cinema, modernity, and American nationalism. Starting with a theoretical foundation laid by Walter Benjamin, Georg Simmel, Michel Foucault, and others, her study attempts to look "beyond the urban settings familiar in early film studies and outward toward systems and networks of traffic" (p. 10). What sets this book apart from previous work on this

topic, she argues, is detailed attention paid to "the national specificity of the experience of *American modernity*" (p. 11).

Whissel first considers the connection between cinema and empire in an opening chapter that looks at the ways early silent films covered American involvement in the Spanish-American and the Philippine-American wars. She then devotes a chapter to live battle reenactments such as William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody's Wild West show and "how the cinema borrowed the reality effects of the live reenactment to place its own spectators on the simulated 'scene' of history" (p. 15). A third chapter deals with the 1901 Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo and sets early film and modern traffic into the larger context of the spread of electrification. Chapter four examines the way early twentieth-century films sensationalized the white slave trade and helped to fuel a moral panic. A concluding chapter covers, all too briefly, cinema on the eve of the American entry into World War I.

This work rests on a blend of previous research and new sources. A major strength is Whissel's command of the secondary literature. She follows the lead of such scholars as Charles Musser, Richard Abel, Tom Gunning, and Richard Slotkin in cinema history; Walter LaFeber in U. S. diplomatic history; and a wide range of other historians who have written about such themes as masculinity, racism, and modernity. Whissel also uses new sources to build on the work of these researchers. In discussing films, she makes good use of descriptions that appeared in the catalogues that passed between manufacturers and exhibitors. In her examination of the Buffalo Bill Wild West show and the Pan-American Exposition, she draws on programs and guidebooks prepared at the time of these events. In addition, she uses a number of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century magazines including *Century*, *Everybody's Magazine*, and the *Atlantic Monthly*.

The primary weakness of this work is stylistic. It is a densely written book with sometimes lengthy paragraphs (one runs from page 49 to page 53). Names of secondary authors appear often in the text, and they are quoted extensively throughout. There are errors, too. For example, the quotation (p. 21) attributed to Captain John W. Philip of the USS *Texas* in *Century* (August 1898) was actually from Captain Francis A. Cook of the USS *Brooklyn*, who was writing in the same magazine in May 1898.

But such mistakes do not undermine the author's overall story, and readers who stay with this work will be rewarded with a number of interesting insights. The opening chapter is absorbing for its account of the sheer number of films made during the Spanish American War and because of how they contributed to a "new image of martial masculinity on moving picture screens" (p. 23). In chapter two, Whissel shrewdly explains how battle reenactments in the Buffalo Bill Wild West show and moving images of Theodore Roosevelt's Rough Riders reflected different phases of American expansionism and how together they "solidified a sense

of historical continuity between the new overseas imperialism . . . and its earlier continental phase" (p. 83). Whissel also examines how cinema at the turn of the century tried to incorporate women into U.S. imperialism and in so doing "helped transform perception of their work in the public sphere" (p. 109). Of particular interest is her discussion of "the heroic femininity embodied by the Red Cross nurse" (p. 104). Her chapter that sets cinema and American modernity within the context of what one film called "liquid electricity" (p. 156) is insightful. One only wishes that Whissel had expanded her conclusion to deal with cinema and World War I in the same detail that she uses to discuss the Spanish-American and Philippine-American conflicts.

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PATRICK BURKE. *Come In and Hear the Truth: Jazz and Race on 52nd Street*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2008. Pp. xiii, 314. \$35.00.

Beginning in the late 1930s, publicists and writers proclaimed the 52nd Street block to the west of Fifth Avenue to be "Swing Street," the jazz capital of New York City. Only steps apart, the Famous Door, the Onyx Club, Kelly's Stable, Jimmy Ryan's, the Three Deuces, and many other nightclubs brought celebrated musicians together almost every night. Historians of jazz have explored in general terms how the music came to inhabit a unique arena of American cultural expressiveness and race relations, and now Patrick Burke's excellent study investigates the particular historical significance of jazz's best-known (and now eradicated) address.

Focusing on the street's most vital decades, the 1930s and 1940s, Burke characterizes its musical venues as tablets on which were written important vignettes of cultural change and controversy. 52nd Street had been an elite residential block, one replete with brownstones, until the expansion of midtown nightlife in the 1920s (assisted by a sympathetic municipal zoning board) drove out wealthy families. It is perhaps unfortunate that Burke does not explore this "prehistory," as it would help to set the stage for the ambivalence in later years of white musicians and audience members toward nonwhites and the working classes. In the 1930s the brownstones offered intimate sites for dining, drinking, and listening, and as its fame as a jazz center grew, 52nd Street helped to move '30s swing away from its reputation as a music that mainly resounded in large dance halls.

Early in the decade, Burke shows, the jazz story on 52nd Street was begun at the Onyx Club, where white big-band musicians "jammed" after hours to their hearts' content, having no need to conform to mass musical tastes. Soon, though, these "private" jam sessions also attracted paying audiences, and other clubs imitated the Onyx's format. African American musicians, ranging from the comedic jazz violinist Stuff Smith to

the classically refined bassist John Kirby and vocalist Maxine Sullivan, soon found employment in the street's clubs. Their presence presented an illusion of racial harmony to many whites, but employment opportunities for black players on the street remained limited and the audiences were almost entirely white. After 1940, strenuous arguments among jazz critics and some musicians over the future of the music—and over the relative value of nostalgic 1920s “Dixieland” jazz, 1930s swing, and the new ensemble style called bebop—helped to determine the offerings of specific nightclubs and the general character of 52nd Street.

Burke's study examines significant places and moments in time in the 52nd Street story that particularly illuminate jazz's uneasy traversal through the territory of racial identity. He argues that “white musicians' exposure to black music involved complex negotiations of physical space and social norms rather than uncomplicated meetings across the color line” (p. 28). For African Americans, the street became a site on which they could confront whites' assumptions about their self-presentation in performance and their music. Kirby and Sullivan, as well the piano virtuoso Art Tatum, the bebop pioneer Dizzy Gillespie, and others, all sought to challenge the monopoly of 1920s “hot” and 1930s “swing” music traditions out of which white critics were then constructing the dominant jazz “canon.”

Burke effectively uses musical examples to illustrate how musicians' artistic choices reflected their negotiations of this contested biracial terrain. His analyses of these examples are incisive and inviting enough to encourage readers to seek out the relevant recordings. An appendix listing the jazz clubs on 52nd Street in the 1930s and 1940s is also a welcome reference. Through these strategies, Burke has produced an examination of a time and place in jazz history that can serve as a model for the interdisciplinary analysis of music in society. He leaves out a good deal of the social and political context surrounding the street, some of which is covered in my book *Nightclub City: Politics and Amusement in Manhattan* (2007). Nevertheless, Burke's focus on musicians' positions within the shifting racial contours of Swing Street is admirable and fruitful. His book encourages readers to perceive jazz history with greater nuance and with a more critical view of both the jazz canon and relations among musicians and audiences across the color line.

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LUIS ALVAREZ. *The Power of the Zoot: Youth Culture and Resistance during World War II*. (American Crossroads.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2008. Pp. xiii, 318. \$34.95.

In this book Luis Alvarez examines the zoot suit and the World War II urban riots that revolved around it. Popular culture scholars and fans know of the style's emergence and association with Malcolm X, Cab Calloway, and the mysterious narrator in Luis Valdez's play *Zoot*

Suit (1978). Alvarez explores the phenomenon's origins, contemporary ideas about it, and the Los Angeles and New York riots in particular. He reveals how the identities of white soldiers, sailors, and Angelenos and New Yorkers were shaped by their perceptions of the identities of blacks, Chicanos, white immigrants, and anyone else who dared don the zoot suit.

This study is one of the most meticulous and exhausting examinations of the zoot phenomenon. It utilizes government records and individuals' archives as well as newspaper reports and, most importantly, material from and interviews with former zoot suiters and their friends—both women and men. Besides examining the zoot suit itself and the “politics of cool,” Alvarez analyzes the role of gender as a core cause of the riots. Both military men and locals exchanged claims about the harassment of women, and in the Deep South it was believed that a black man had raped a white woman. Alvarez deftly extracts the zoot suiter's point of view from different kinds of documents that reveal how, despite the style's origins among African Americans, it became significant for the identities of a variety of ethnic groups and provided them with a powerful sense of dignity.

In his conclusion Alvarez addresses the riots—in which whites attacked blacks—on the Gulf Coast, in New York City, and Detroit and discovers similar political, social, economic, gender, and racial aspects. The struggle by blacks to maintain their dignity and the rights taken for granted by other citizens was shared by the zoot suiters, a variety of civilians and wartime workers, and other youth.

Unfortunately, postmodern cultural analysis often obscures this fine work. Its application to this particular topic does not empower or enhance the humanity of the zoot suiters but rather renders them into physical sites or beings, if not victims. One can see the conflicting approaches of postmodern cultural studies on the one hand and the ideas expressed by those who were young participants during the war years on the other.

Arguments such as “For many nonwhite youth, jazz and the zoot suit functioned as a subaltern counterpart” and “Far from being silent . . . zoot suiters mobilized their own bodies and claimed public space to challenge the demeaning and negative discourse about themselves that stemmed from debates over the politics of youth” (p. 151) are not supported by the zoot suiters' testimony. One wonders what they would have thought of such statements. If Alvarez had verified these theories in his interviews, this part of his analysis would be more convincing. Why a twenty-first-century historian sensitive to the popular culture stylings of blacks and Mexican Americans employs the term “nonwhite,” that relic of former eras, to refer to these groups is indeed curious. Bandleader Billy Eckstine's name is misspelled, and so is the name of *Down Beat* magazine.

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MARILYN E. HEGARTY. *Victory Girls, Khaki-Wackies, and Patriotutes: The Regulation of Female Sexuality during World War II*. New York: New York University Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 251. \$45.00.

This book is one of a growing number of works to examine the relationship between sexuality and war. Drawing from numerous archival sources, including a variety of federal, state, military, and social hygiene records, Marilyn E. Hegarty argues that American women's sexuality was both mobilized and controlled during World War II. The strength of this book rests on the massive amount of archival research that the author has conducted. However, this is also a weakness, as Hegarty becomes so consumed with her specific findings that she fails to acknowledge the broader, and more nuanced, picture that emerges.

Hegarty repeatedly emphasizes that the state, in its efforts to repress prostitution and prevent the spread of venereal disease, expanded its "interventionary role" by reaching deep "into the everyday life of the American people" (p. 43). Yet she never sufficiently substantiates this statement. For example, when discussing the May Act of 1941, which gave federal authorities the right to take action against prostitution in military and defense-related areas, she fails to note that this act was invoked only twice during the war years. Instead, she examines its enforcement at Camp Forrest, Tennessee, in May 1942 and Fort Bragg, North Carolina, in July 1942 as if these were regularly occurring events. As Allan M. Brandt has argued in *No Magic Bullet: A Social History of Venereal Disease in the United States since 1880* (1985), the enforcement of the May Act was avoided if at all possible, although it did serve as a stimulus for local officials to "clean up" their communities or face intervention by federal authorities.

Hegarty further suggests that the federal Social Protection Division (SPD), established late in 1941 to help crack down on prostitution, served as a "watchdog over women's morals" and resulted in women across the United States coming under the surveillance of the state (p. 6). Suspects included war wives who followed their husbands to distant military postings, female war workers, women in public spaces, and, of course, prostitutes and "victory girls." Had Hegarty examined women's wartime memoirs, guidebooks, and personal correspondence, she would have discovered that these sources rarely address topics that support her claim that the state regularly intruded into the lives of women. For example, Barbara Van Doren Klaw's best-selling book, *Camp Follower: The Story of a Soldier's Wife* (1944), reported on crowded wartime train travel, the wartime housing shortage, "making do" on scarce resources, and many other challenges encountered by "camp followers." However, Klaw provided little evidence to suggest that wartime women feared surveillance by SPD authorities or other representatives of the state.

Hegarty's discussion of the government's effort to support the suppression of wartime prostitution as a way to reduce the spread of debilitating venereal dis-

eases is well taken, and she clearly demonstrates that the spread of venereal diseases was unjustly blamed on "promiscuous" women. Wartime propaganda posters regularly featured alluring women as carriers of disease who posed dangers for servicemen. Even the typical girl-next-door could be a carrier of infection (p. 57). What Hegarty does not explore is how the wartime poster campaign also focused on "responsible masculinity." She includes a poster that features a sailor preventing his buddy from seeking the services of a voluptuous woman in the background, and the image bears the caption "A sailor doesn't have to prove he's a man!" While the woman in this poster is portrayed as the "evil temptress" and the cause of the venereal disease problem, the poster also implies that it is the responsibility of the sailor not to seek her services (p. 49). Venereal disease posters also emphasized "responsible masculinity" by urging soldiers to protect themselves for the sake of their country. Other wartime posters directed at servicemen accentuated the importance of prophylaxis and equated venereal disease with helping the enemy (p. 102).

There are a number of errors in this book. Hegarty credits the "Lanham Account" for providing funding for the acquisition of former Civilian Conservation Corps camps for quarantine and detention facilities that would house prostitutes. She evidently meant the 1942 Lanham Act, which gave emergency assistance (mostly in the form of child care appropriations) to communities hardest hit by the war. An endnote cites Allan M. Winkler's 1974 Ph.D. dissertation, "Politics and Propaganda: The Office of War Information, 1942-1945," rather than his 1978 Yale University Press book with a very similar title. Hegarty is evidently unaware that, during World War II, the term "camp follower" referred primarily to wives who followed their husbands to their military postings.

While many historians will agree with Hegarty's conclusion that wartime women were "neither victims nor docile bodies," she unfortunately avoids any significant discussion of this complicated and important topic (p. 161). Most importantly, her book needs more careful editing. It is repetitive, at times disorganized, and often hyperbolic in tone.

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REGINA KUNZEL. *Criminal Intimacy: Prison and the Uneven History of Modern American Sexuality*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 371. \$29.00.

Prison sex, Regina Kunzel observes, has been considered the exception that proves the rule. The same-sex sex of prisoners lies so far outside sexual norms that it can be explained only as an indicator of the queerness of prison itself. In this splendid monograph, Kunzel flips that cliché on its head by showing how discourses of prison sex have been used to naturalize modern sexuality's "distinctive fictions" (p. 5) of a homo/heterosexual binary and fixed sexual identities. She reveals a

complicated sexual world that requires the rethinking of accepted historical narratives of the creation of modern sexuality.

From the early nineteenth century, prisons were designed to inhibit indulgence in perversions, but by the 1920s, penologists had shifted from emphasizing contemplative solitude to sociable rehabilitation, inadvertently providing greater opportunities for same-sex sex. Prison authorities turned to segregating the "fairies," whose non-normative gender presentation marked them as "true" homosexuals, in order to protect the "normal" men in the general prison population. But as studies of prison culture yielded recognition that the stereotypically more masculine "wolves," "jockers," and "punks" also engaged in same-sex sex, mid-century prison experts invented the concept of "situational homosexuality," thereby setting off prison sex as a "world apart" (p. 94). In this way they normalized some same-sex sex as a reasonable response to the experience of incarceration and sought to "contain the disruptive meanings of sexual acts apparently unlinked to, and therefore unsettling of, sexual identity" (p. 102).

While the prevalence of men among prison populations yielded greater attention to male homosexual acts, by the 1950s and particularly the 1960s, both penologists and popular audiences turned their attention to women in prison. Just as social scientists applied the concept of situational homosexuality to restore stability to notions of heterosexuality, they explained women's same-sex sex in terms of attachment to traditional heterosexual femininity, suggesting that imprisoned women created fictive kin structures and romantic relationships within prison in order to construct a world like the one they had left outside. A rash of women's prison films, however, tended to contain and, often, exploit lesbianism by identifying it with the figure of the sadistic female warden. As in discussions of men's prison sex, expert and popular discourses both converged and, importantly, differed, suggesting the "impossibility of a unified, coherent, or finally authoritative" exposition of sexual identity (p. 148).

By the late 1960s, the civil rights and social justice movements were changing the terms of the debate about prison sex. Increasing concern about sexual violence in men's prisons yielded interpretations of prison sex as an act of interracial rape expressing African American resentment and lack of access to "appropriate" indicators of masculinity, interpretations that tended to resignify African American sexuality as primitive and, Kunzel implies, deflected attention from the institutionalized violence of prison itself. They also focused on the trauma to heterosexual men's sexual identity rather than the pronounced vulnerability to violence of those men who identified (or were perceived) as homosexual. Such accounts used race to "explain away" both "the discomfiting fact of the participation of heterosexual men in homosexual sex" and "the unsettling possibility of love between men" (p. 189), more complex realities that Kunzel suggests through her effective use of prisoners' own writings. The gay libera-

tion movement, by contrast, sought through prison activism to refocus attention on the victimization of gay prisoners and attempted to build community between those inside and outside the walls. But these efforts often worked to impose an increasingly hegemonic version of gay identity upon a diverse prison sexual culture. Prison sexual culture, Kunzel concludes, "undermined presumptions of stable homosexuality as thoroughly as it did heterosexuality" (p. 224).

This brief account cannot do justice to Kunzel's rich and provocative analysis, which embraces rather than minimizes complexity and does so while presenting a clear and compelling argument. Her copious research reveals both the ways that experts responded to the perceived problem of prison sex and the sexual culture that prisoners made. In its breadth, the book must sacrifice some specificity—for example, while Kunzel attends to the ways that the history of prison sex is also a history of class and race, she can only briefly nod toward regional variation. More fundamentally, on the whole Kunzel treats the histories of male and female prisoners separately, a decision that makes sense given their uneven representation within the prison population and continues the conventions of lesbian and gay history. Still, I could not help wondering if a more explicit comparison of these histories might productively foreground the ways that gender, as a system, was implicated in understandings and practices of prison sex and modern sexuality itself. But such quibbles merely propose an agenda for those scholars who will undoubtedly follow the lead of this important book.

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LAURA WITTERN-KELLER and RAYMOND J. HABERSKI, JR.
The Miracle Case: Film Censorship and the Supreme Court. (Landmark Law Cases and American Society.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2008. Pp. xiii, 233. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$16.95.

Joseph Burstyn is one of the unsung heroes of American motion picture history. In the mid-twentieth century, he almost single-handedly created interest in "foreign" films, helping to nurture the art house circuit. Burstyn also pushed for freedom of the screen by attempting to defeat state and local motion picture censorship through the court system. Despite a forty-year history of legal precedent that supported censorship and with great personal financial cost, Burstyn's challenges to film censorship led to the Supreme Court decision *Burstyn v. Wilson* (1952), the first chink in the armor of constitutionally protected film censorship.

Laura Wittern-Keller and Raymond J. Haberski, Jr. have taken this critical Supreme Court decision and constructed a thoughtful historical narrative that contextualizes it for a popular audience. Their book is accessible public history that demonstrates the importance of the Supreme Court in regulating public taste. While *Burstyn v. Wilson* has long been recognized as

seminal to the eradication of governmental motion picture censorship, not much has been known about Burstyn or his attorney Ephraim London. As the authors argue, "Little attention is paid to the people involved [in the *Miracle* case], the individuals who bought suit, the lawyers who argued the case, the justices who made the decision" (p. 1). A great deal of print has been given in recent years to the relationship between the Production Code Administration (PCA) and the Roman Catholic Church, but there has been less focus on the role of the courts in sanctifying and then ceasing to protect governmental regulation of motion pictures. This volume attempts to rectify the historical omission.

The book begins with an introductory chapter on the origins and early challenges to motion picture censorship, a field that has been mined extensively by film historians in recent years. What follows is a lively, illuminating chapter on the origins of movies as art. The authors resurrect important "makers" of film culture such as Gilbert Seldes, Iris Barry, and Bosley Crowther. Wittern-Keller and Haberski demonstrate how there was a direct relationship between a developing American taste for foreign films immediately following World War II and the restrictions of Joseph Breen's Production Code Administration. Burstyn's importation of *The Bicycle Thief* (1948) revolutionized American film culture and demonstrated that foreign films could be accessible to American audiences. Breen's demand that two innocuous scenes be cut infuriated Burstyn and *New York Times* film critic Crowther, creating a new platform on which to challenge the PCA. Roberto Rossellini and Federico Fellini's short film *The Miracle* was the film in which the gauntlet was thrown down. In dramatic fashion, the authors illustrate how Breen, Cardinal Francis Spellman, and conservative Catholics were on one side, demanding that the blasphemous film be banned, while prominent Jewish and Protestant clergy, film aficionados, and First Amendment protectors insisted that the film be exhibited. Wittern-Keller and Haberski have a remarkable grasp of all of the major parties involved in the struggle over *The Miracle* but never paint any one group with a broad brush. They meticulously illustrate the complexities of the case. The authors trace the long and winding legal road to the Supreme Court and also describe the composition of the 1951–1952 Court, detailing the religious background and legal philosophy of each of the justices, particularly as they related to First Amendment cases. Burstyn and London's legal strategy is described in detail for the first time, greatly aiding film and legal scholars. In a decade of precedent-shattering legal decisions, *Burstyn v. Wilson* was recognized as a landmark case, and much of the Catholic press despaired that screen censorship was coming to an end. The authors do a fine job of demonstrating how Cold War ideology, particularly fear of the spread of communism and the demand for more adult motion pictures, shaped the culture in which the decision was handed down.

A chapter on Burstyn's legal progeny demonstrates

that "the Court moved into a new role of actively surveilling the nation's censors" (p. 124). The Court heard seven more cases by the end of the 1950s, chipping away at the restrictive powers of the censorship boards.

The author's concluding bibliographic essay is critical for anyone currently working on American motion picture history. It not only introduces readers to the key books and articles on motion picture censorship and archives related to the subject, but it also includes references on the creation of an American audience for foreign films.

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SUSAN SMULYAN. *Popular Ideologies: Mass Culture at Mid-Century*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2007. Pp. 202. \$35.00.

What do the following have in common: amateur minstrel shows, nylon and nylon stockings, Hollywood films exported to Occupied Japan, and advertising novels published by Madison Avenue professionals in the fifteen years after World War II? According to Susan Smulyan, all of these goods and diversions show how "powerful groups and institutions (white middle-class people, DuPont, the federal government, bestselling authors)" used cultural forms to convey complex ideologies about race, class, gender, nationhood, and consumption (p. 15).

Smulyan, whose book grew out of efforts to convince students that popular culture is not simply escapist, is particularly interested in the power dynamics associated with mass culture. (She quotes John B. Thompson's definition of ideology: "meaning in the service of power" [p. 14].) As she notes, cultural historians have often emphasized the role of the audience in "the meaning-making happening in popular culture." As a result, they have tended to downplay "the role, and the real strength, of the cultural producers" (p. 8). Smulyan seeks to refocus attention on these powerful players by drawing her four case studies from the middle decades of the twentieth century, years when popular culture was giving way to a "commodified mass culture" that was "less open to audience input" (p. 4).

The book's first chapter uncovers a fascinating—and hitherto unknown—episode in American culture. As Smulyan reveals, minstrel shows did not disappear at the turn of the twentieth century, as historians have long suggested. Instead, they turned amateur. Even as vaudeville acts and silent films drew audiences away from professional minstrelsy, college and community groups drew on nationally marketed manuals and pre-packaged materials to stage amateur minstrel productions. Instruction books, sold through the late 1950s, advised players on how to "black up" and costume a show and also provided jokes, songs, and staging advice. The same publishers who sold the manuals also offered everything from burnt cork and minstrel wigs to bones, clappers, and tambourines. As Smulyan notes, "[p]er-

formers could perpetuate ugly stereotypes easily when one company supplied all the necessary materials" (p. 73).

The author further argues that such amateur minstrel shows worked to solidify white middle-class identity in the twentieth century just as professional minstrelsy helped to forge a white working-class identity in the nineteenth century. Through such shows, she writes, "white middle-class people constructed, expressed, and reinforced their racialized class positions while not taking responsibility for their actions" (p. 17). Smulyan's argument is intriguing and she well may be right, but it is hard to tell from the evidence presented. She tells us little that is specific about the groups who performed such shows, about the demographic makeup or racial history of communities in which they were performed, or about the attitudes of the performers themselves. She rightly notes that such social history is difficult to uncover. Still, without such context, it is difficult to assess whether and how amateur minstrelsy shaped group identity.

Smulyan's second chapter, which examines the invention of nylon and the engineering and marketing of nylon stockings, is similarly tantalizing but elliptical. Soon after DuPont scientists created nylon, corporate strategists realized that it might replace Japanese-made silk, particularly in the fast-growing women's hosiery market. The company focused subsequent development on giving nylon the luster and elasticity needed to outline the female leg. As Smulyan writes, "Nylon had ideas about femininity, and to a lesser degree ideas of race and nation, built into its molecular structure" (p. 50). During World War II, U.S. authorities diverted nylon to military uses, thus leading to shortages that sparked highly publicized "nylon riots." Smulyan argues that women wanted not just more stockings but stronger ones; if nylon could be used for parachutes and bomber tires, surely stockings could be made that would not get runs in them? DuPont, however, believed that creating more durable nylons would cut into corporate profits. Both the company and the popular press portrayed the riots as being simply about supply and cast female consumers "as desperate and frivolous, interested in fashion more than in quality." Smulyan sees this fight "as a conflict, between producers and consumers over who would hold the power in a consumer society" (p. 70). This novel chapter suggests new ways of looking at material culture. Yet this reviewer hungered for more concrete evidence of roads not taken in the lab and of strategizing by DuPont decision makers.

Smulyan's final case studies are less innovative, but still interesting. She argues that the most important ideological messages carried by Hollywood films to Occupied Japan came not in the scripts but in the ways in which the films were produced and distributed. She presents postwar advertising novels as critiques of mass culture and consumption that were akin to those delivered by the New York intellectuals, social scientists,

and Beats. This is an insightful book, but one that raises as many intriguing questions as it answers.

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SUSAN SESSIONS RUGH. *Are We There Yet? The Golden Age of American Family Vacations*. (CultureAmerica.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2008. Pp. xii, 240. \$29.95.

In this book Susan Sessions Rugh explores road trip culture in the United States during the postwar era. Taking the years between 1945 and 1973 as her period of study, Rugh considers the rituals and routes of the family holiday as it developed through changing political and social scenarios. Under a saccharine-coated banner of "togetherness," the family vacation witnessed a boom period from the 1940s, prompted by the conjoining of increased affluence and leisure time, car ownership, and suburban values. Americans in droves (almost half of the population, according to a 1954 Gallup poll) loaded up the family station wagon with guidebooks, games, and condiments and hit the asphalt in pursuit of play.

Interested in navigating how "tourism transformed the traveler" (p. 6) and how codes of citizenship and education informed the holiday experience, Rugh focuses as much on goings-on inside the family sedan as the drive-by scenery beyond the windshield. Through the lens of the vacation, we see the supremacy of car culture, the nuclear family, and consumption as badges of American identity. Accordingly, she argues, life on the road provided its own "cocoon of domestic space" (p. 5) that insulated mom, dad, and the kids from nuclear fear while also providing cultural space for materialism, group bonding, and the confirmation of patriotism via mechanisms of mobile citizenship. Such themes are developed in chapters one and two, where Rugh considers how vacationing played into modish patterns of consumer spending: a vacation demanded a comfortable ride, dedicated travel goods, and a suitable wardrobe. Motels and fast-food joints catered to a nation moved by wanderlust. Meanwhile, the educational qualities of vacationing lent the enterprise a moral and patriotic agenda as families ensconced in Ford's self-proclaimed "schoolhouse on wheels" (1959) participated in a pilgrimage to the nation's historical landmarks, aided in the quest by Rand McNally, *National Geographic*, and the American Automobile Association. Notably, as chapter three points out, the freedom to "hit the road" was proscribed by racial boundaries.

In the second half of the book, attention shifts to several idealized locales of vacationing. Chapter four considers the lure of the "Wild West," a space as much imaginary as physical, which captivated travelers with its heady folklore of family values and heroic justice. Dude ranches and theme parks catered to an audience caught up in the craze for western films and television. Panning for gold, evading hostile Indians, and the "high

noon" gunfight emerged as entertainment staples. Meanwhile, as chapters five and six elaborate, popular desire to reconnect with nature and the pioneer past facilitated public interest in the great outdoors. Visitation to America's national parks skyrocketed in the 1950s, transforming Yellowstone and Yosemite into "windshield wildernesses" full of bear-jams.

Rugh's book provides an insightful account of post-war vacationing. The chapters are full of intriguing ideas and peppered with lively source materials. The author adeptly builds on the scholarship of Cindy Aron, Marguerite Shaffer, and Hal Rothman to craft a colorful presentation of suburban middle-class vacationing based on copious research. On her drive-by tour of auto-Americana, she touches on issues of Cold War hysteria, middle-class conservatism, and codes of consumption as well as class, race, and gender norms. Issues of memory and popular nostalgia are at the forefront as Rugh conjures visions (both historical and personal) of sibling spats, card games, homemade sandwiches, air-conditioned, chrome-trimmed vehicles, and the clocking up of mass mileage.

The culture of the road, that annual rite of packing up the family sedan and heading onto the asphalt for an automotive adventure, informs the text. That said, the tremendous breadth of coverage leaves the reader feeling, at times, that some analytical ground remains unexplored. To perpetuate the metaphor, this book sits (with engine running) at the interchange of several academic highways: western history, environmental history, and cultural history. How, for instance, did visitors navigate the transition from Disneyland's Frontierland to Tomorrowland? How do the Old and New West relate in vacationers' popular memories? Does the predilection for visiting national parks reflect popular environmental awareness, and how does that juxtapose with auto-driven cultures of consumption? Such caveats aside, this is a captivating and provocative read that fills a gap in the history of American tourism. Of particular interest is Rugh's argument that the family vacation represented a space for character building and patriotic affirmation—something akin to reading Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis while cruising Route 66. One thing is certain: this book makes a convincing case for the centrality of the road to American culture.

KAREN R. JONES
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PHYLLIS PALMER. *Living as Equals: How Three White Communities Struggled to Make Interracial Connections during the Civil Rights Era*. Nashville, Tenn.: Vanderbilt University Press. 2008. Pp. x, 299. Cloth \$69.95, paper \$27.95.

In this book Phyllis Palmer offers what she terms a "counter-memory" to the dominant historical narrative of the post-World War II years that focuses on white resistance to desegregation. In some ways Palmer's story is an institutional history that examines how certain "organizations enabled new moments of confron-

tation, caring, and change," but in other ways it is a social history that, thanks to scores of interviews, emphasizes the voices of ordinary people who participated in interracial movements. Focusing on three case studies of Brotherhood Camps, an interracial housing organization, and an alliance dedicated to political reform and social justice, Palmer makes the case that scholars should pay closer attention to the experience of white Americans who "responded hopefully to the civil rights era's promise of a freer and more equitable nation" (p. 6).

In her first case study, Palmer details a series of summer Brotherhood Camps sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews (NCCJ) from 1957–1974. These camps, held in the New York City, Newark, New Jersey, and Los Angeles areas, brought together between 125 and 300 students in an effort to break down taboos about interracial association. Into the mid-1960s the camps' chief goal, Palmer argues, was not to help minorities integrate, to acquire white norms, but was instead to help everyone better understand the ways that race shaped American society and also to give high school students the opportunity to have "disagreements and conflicts that would help students recognize old habits of ignorance and animosity and experience new feelings of curiosity and friendship" (p. 35). The spirit of the camps shifted in the late 1960s when urban riots and the rise of black power made them more contentious. At that point fewer whites chose to attend. The camps, Palmer admits, were but a "momentary contrast" to typical social relations, but they did offer a place for whites to interact with Americans of other races.

Palmer's second case study examines the history of Neighbors, Inc. (NI), a Washington, D.C. neighborhood organization opposed to housing discrimination. Situated in the Brightwood, Takoma, and Shepherd Park areas of the District, NI attempted from the late 1950s to the mid-1970s to stabilize its neighborhoods by offering attractive housing, urban amenities, and good schools to white and black residents. The area's white residents described themselves as "practical idealists," people who rejected the pervasive belief that safe streets and good schools required segregated suburban living (p. 106). Throughout the period under study, NI managed to keep the area integrated, but often by actively recruiting white families, which aggravated many African Americans who thought the housing should be open to all. The 1968 riots that followed the death of Martin Luther King, Jr., increased tension in the NI community, but most whites kept the faith. Although the community overcame the riots, the decline of the area's schools ultimately led many white families to pull their children out of the public school system. The community's housing remained integrated, but the children of black and white families increasingly led separate lives.

While Palmer's first two case studies focus largely on white-black relations, her third story unfolds in San Antonio, Texas, with its large population of Mexican an-

cestry. There Palmer finds a generally progressive Catholic Church headed by Archbishop Robert Lucey that pushed for racial justice for Mexican Americans. The church worked with poor minorities to help them gain the benefits of Great Society programs and campaign for the right to form unions. Most Anglos, especially those outside the Catholic Church, stayed away from this alliance until the late 1970s, when it became apparent that the decisions of political elites were harming the city's poor as well as much of its middle class.

The strength of Palmer's book—her fine-grained, localized case studies that rely on oral interviews—is also its weakness. The three institutions Palmer examines do help counter the narrative of a monolithic white reaction to desegregation, but it is often unclear how large their reach was and how much they did to reshape American society. The Brotherhood Camps may have brought in some 25,000 people over nearly two decades, but Palmer admits that that is a small number, and she does not say how much the camps actually shaped participants' lives or if the lessons learned there translated into changes in the broader society. Similar issues arise with Neighbors, Inc. and San Antonio's Metro Alliance, where Palmer shows how some whites formed interracial connections but says little about how many people were involved or the influence the organizations had on the broader city. The impact of these organizations, in fact, appears to have been slight. If that is the case, then the hopeful tone of this book is misplaced; instead it seems the story Palmer tells is a dispiriting one of a few interracial activists fighting a losing battle against the tide of the broader society.

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WENDELL E. PRITCHETT. *Robert Clifton Weaver and the American City: The Life and Times of an Urban Reformer*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2008. Pp. x, 433. \$30.00.

Robert Clifton Weaver was arguably one of the most significant and influential African Americans of the twentieth century, yet scholars have paid him scant attention. Wendell E. Pritchett attempts to remedy that with his comprehensive and balanced study of Weaver's crucial role in race relations and urban policy in twentieth-century America.

Pritchett convincingly portrays Weaver as a racial liberal who believed that the federal government should protect the rights of African Americans and other minorities and that professionals working within key federal institutions could use rational methods to accomplish social change. In other words, Weaver was an inside reformer, not an outside activist. Weaver was a true believer in the possibilities of integration and worked his entire career to see that happen, particularly in the controversial and contested arena of public housing. As a liberal, integrationist, light-skinned black man, Weaver often found himself caught between both the political Right and Left and between blacks and

whites, particularly over the contentious issues of civil rights and public housing in the 1960s. As a result, Weaver's life and career reflect what Pritchett calls "the ambiguities of race in America" (p. 6).

Weaver grew up as part of the black elite in Washington, D.C., and received his Ph.D. in economics from Harvard University. After arguing against differential wage codes in the National Recovery Administration (NRA) during the New Deal, Weaver landed his first of many jobs in the federal government when he was hired as Advisor for Negro Affairs. In that role, Weaver became a key member of President Franklin Roosevelt's "Black Cabinet." In 1938, Weaver was appointed to a position in the new United States Housing Authority where he dealt with the issues of race and housing that consumed much of his career.

Weaver further established himself as an expert in the fields of civil rights and public housing with the publication of two significant books in the 1940s: *Negro Labor: A National Problem* in 1946 and *The Negro Ghetto* in 1948. In addition, Weaver and his colleagues at the American Council on Race Relations provided much of the social science research used in the landmark *Shelley v. Kraemer* (1948) open housing case. After helping to create the National Committee against Discrimination in Housing in the early 1950s and becoming the first black cabinet official in the state of New York in 1955 as Rent Administrator, Weaver had clearly positioned himself as the leading expert on race and housing in the United States.

That experience and acknowledged expertise led to his appointment as head of the Housing and Home Finance Agency (HHFA) by President John F. Kennedy. Weaver agreed to accept that appointment on the conditions that JFK would pursue an executive order banning discrimination in federal housing programs (a Kennedy campaign promise) and that Weaver would be considered to head a new federal department of urban affairs. Kennedy signed a narrow and limited executive order, belatedly, in November 1962, but the department of urban affairs never came to fruition during his presidency. Instead, Weaver spent much of his time in the Kennedy administration defending urban renewal—something he had been critical of in the 1950s. In the 1960s Weaver argued that a shift from demolition of buildings to rehabilitation would serve more minorities and avoid destroying the vibrant, inner-city, racially diverse communities that had seemed to be the target of urban renewal in the 1950s.

The pinnacle of Weaver's career was his appointment as the first Secretary of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), and thus the first black cabinet member, by President Lyndon B. Johnson in 1966. His term as HUD Secretary (1966–1968), as Pritchett effectively demonstrates, was marked by racial turmoil and urban violence as well as significant critiques of Weaver's personality and brand of liberalism, which centered on moderation and belief in government expertise. Indeed, Weaver often found himself caught in the middle of conservative politicians who saw any federal housing

program as socialism and fair housing activists who argued that federal housing policies were hurting, not helping, African Americans and other minorities. Despite these critiques, Pritchett argues, Weaver achieved his two major goals: passing a federal fair housing law and significantly expanding federal housing programs, in part through the Model Cities Program. He credits Weaver's housing policies for the accessibility of suburban housing to the growing black middle class in the post-civil rights era and criticizes Weaver's focus on urban planning and professional expertise for ignoring grassroots efforts by African Americans.

Pritchett's book provides a welcome examination of an underappreciated and understudied civil rights and fair housing leader and urban planner. It is a well-conceived and much-needed study, not only of Weaver, but of race, urban policy, and liberalism in the twentieth century United States.

ROBERT BAUMAN

Washington State University Tri-Cities

SUSAN YOUNGBLOOD ASHMORE. *Carry It On: The War on Poverty and the Civil Rights Movement in Alabama, 1964–1972*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2008. Pp. xiv, 398. \$24.95.

THOMAS KIFFMEYER. *Reformers to Radicals: The Appalachian Volunteers and the War on Poverty*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2008. Pp. xi, 284. \$40.00.

These two studies of how President Lyndon B. Johnson's War on Poverty played out in Black Belt Alabama and Appalachia argue that, for the most part, entrenched local power structures succeeded in controlling the federal Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO)'s Community Action Programs (CAPs) that were designed to incorporate and respond to the needs of the poor in a creative partnership with local authorities. Johnson's self-proclaimed Great Society assumed that, with the shackles of segregation and disfranchisement removed by civil rights legislation, education and training programs would lift Alabama's African American poor out of poverty, just as they would also equip Appalachia's poor whites to join the American mainstream. The OEO's planners believed that racial problems were essentially economic in nature and that both the black and white poor needed to be remade because they shared and passed on to the next generation a culture of poverty that blunted aspiration, ambition, and achievement.

But poverty, these studies find, was less a matter of personal responsibility than a function of an economic system—run by white plantation owners in Black Belt Alabama and coal mining businesses in Appalachia—that had traditionally required cheap, unskilled labor and continued to work in close alliance with local politicians when mechanization and diversification made such labor increasingly expendable. Except for a few CAPs that succeeded in bypassing local power struc-

tures, OEO programs, whatever their framers' intentions, largely functioned as additional sources of patronage for local political machines. Susan Youngblood Ashmore and Thomas Kiffmeyer both suggest in their respective books that only a fundamental restructuring of economic and political power could have ended poverty and produced social justice.

In making their case, the two authors rely on a similar mix of personal and organizational papers, federal and state government papers, newspapers, and oral histories. While both of them use the War on Poverty to frame and structure their accounts, Ashmore provides a much more detailed discussion of federal policy and the machinations of federal agencies than Kiffmeyer, who instead places the federally funded Appalachian Volunteers (AVs), drawn from the ranks of college students, at the center of his story.

Rather loosely, Ashmore regards civil rights and black power as interchangeable terms in Black Belt Alabama and maintains that the region's rural African American population expressed black power in the second half of the 1960s "through small and large decisions—to register to vote, to develop antipoverty programs through the Office of Economic Opportunity, to create a third political party, to file a lawsuit, to join a cooperative, to run for elected office" (pp. 4–5). She is firmly in line with, and augments, recent historiography by arguing that after the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, "In many ways, the civil rights movement carried on, but so did the forces of white supremacy" (p. 15).

Ashmore's findings are similar to those of John Dittmer's *Local People: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Mississippi* (1994). With the withdrawal of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee from the Alabama Black Belt after 1966, local African Americans remained the backbone of the struggle for racial equality, although that backbone increasingly fractured along class lines. Traditional African American leaders and the black middle and upper classes worked with whites in the Alabama Democratic Conference and the Alabama Independent Democratic Party (AIDP) while other blacks and some whites formed the National Democratic Party of Alabama (NDPA), which drew its strength primarily from African Americans in the Black Belt. The AIDP and NDPA competed in challenging the regular state Democrats at the Democratic National Convention in 1968, with the more moderate AIDP emerging victorious.

Despite opposition from white politicians, the OEO funded the Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative Association (SWAFCA) in the Black Belt to provide small farmers—mostly African Americans but also a few whites after they recognized the economic benefits of membership—with the skills, training, and commercial networks to survive at a time when agribusiness was expanding at the cost of small farms. Throughout the period, federal policy was divided against itself as the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) aided and

supported the interests of big business and the OEO assisted small farmers. With a membership that peaked at two thousand, the SWAFCA also served as "the economic arm of the civil rights movement" (p. 12) by providing and supporting candidates in elections for local political office and agricultural boards, and also by giving members a means to stay when white plantation owners evicted them because of mechanization, crop diversification, and opposition to growing black assertiveness.

Alabama's white politicians increasingly realized that overt opposition to OEO-backed initiatives, such as SWAFCA, was more likely to solidify than induce withdrawal of federal support. Largely satisfied by any moves to incorporate African Americans in an area notorious for their exclusion, the OEO often accepted CAPs that left white authorities in control by co-opting amenable blacks and ensuring ineffectual minority black representation. The Alabama Office for Economic Opportunity was a tool of the state's governors, and the OEO's southeast regional office in Atlanta provided inadequate oversight of local CAPs, which enabled local political structures to use the programs as sources of patronage and for their own economic benefit. SWAFCA and other cooperatives helped African Americans running under the NDPA banner to achieve local office (but still not in proportion to black demography), and Black Belt poverty required solutions that exceeded the powers of local officials. In the early 1970s, most African American voters returned to the now-reformed state Democrats, the NDPA withered, and SWAFCA declined as the OEO reduced its funding before poor business decisions brought about its collapse in 1980. Although blacks benefitted from the establishment of public health facilities and access to better-equipped, formerly white schools, segregation continued in practice, white economic dominance remained, and racial discrimination persisted in USDA programs.

Kiffmeyer's history of the Appalachian Volunteers, an organization that preceded the OEO but soon became dependent on it for funding, is also one in which county officials largely controlled CAPs, notwithstanding some exceptions. Inspired by President John F. Kennedy's call to service, the AVs developed from an initial cohort of Appalachian college students to a large majority of non-native volunteers by 1965. They engaged in programs of school renovation and curriculum development in the belief that education and a broadening of horizons would enable young Appalachians to escape a culture of poverty that restricted their potential. Opposed by local school superintendents, county-administered CAPs, and city officials who were often in league with coal operators, the AVs had radicalized by 1966, regarding the poor as victims of an exploitative social, economic, and political system. Accordingly, the AVs focused their efforts primarily on organizing communities "around such issues as school system reform, welfare rights, and anti-strip-mining legislation" (p. 135), and in the process became "a professional polit-

ical organizing institution" (p. 176). The AVs overextended themselves, however, moving rapidly from one location to the next without time to insure a proper follow up. Consequently, those they sought to help felt let down, a feeling only exacerbated when the AVs decided to withdraw from many areas in favor of a more concentrated approach.

The AVs' problems increased when local and state authorities mounted a counterattack. In 1967, a Pike County, Kentucky, grand jury indicted AV Joe Mulloy and three members of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, with whom he was working in an anti-strip-mining movement, with sedition. Although the charges did not survive a constitutional test, Mulloy became the center of another controversy when he refused induction into the army after Kentucky revoked his occupational deferment following his earlier arrest. When Mulloy refused to resign from the AVs, the Kentucky AV staff fired him by a margin of one vote, indicative of a split on the issue that appeared among AVs more widely. In 1968, the state legislature created the Kentucky Un-American Activities Committee, which immediately held hearings into AV activity in Pike County and accused the group of fomenting strife. Severely weakened by these attacks and others by the governors of Kentucky and West Virginia, the AVs had only fifteen workers in the summer of 1968, compared with five hundred volunteers at the organization's peak. Bereft of funds, the AVs collapsed during the summer of 1970.

While sympathetic to the AVs' intentions, Kiffmeyer also argues that members sometimes presumed to speak for those whom they sought to help and viewed them paternalistically. While he analyzes the attitudes of AVs to the indigenous poor, he is less successful in the admittedly difficult task of discerning poor people's own perspectives and outlook. For example, he is left to assert, rather than prove, that "Mulloy's and his supporters' stance discredited the Appalachian Volunteers, as a whole, with many mountain residents" (pp. 211-212).

Nevertheless, between them Ashmore and Kiffmeyer offer a powerful indictment of the operation of the War on Poverty on the ground, contribute to an understanding of public policy issues, and, in Ashmore's case, add to our knowledge of the civil rights movement after its glory years.

MARK NEWMAN

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ANNE M. VALK. *Radical Sisters: Second-Wave Feminism and Black Liberation in Washington, D.C. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2008. Pp. xiv, 253. \$40.00.*

Anne M. Valk's new book bravely enters the fray in continuing to document and weave together the analytical threads of the 1960s and 1970s social movements. Her study joins important local scholarship in delineating how national struggles took root, sometimes withered,

but more often flourished at the grass-roots level. Adeptly mining the archives and adding original oral history interviews, Valk makes the case for "a cross-fertilization of ideas" across the radical feminist, black liberation, welfare rights, anti-poverty, lesbian feminist, civil rights, and anti-violence movements that were active in Washington, D.C.

Valk's focus is on radical women: "women whose activism connected to the broader demands articulated by the New Left, who generally prioritized grassroots issues and sought to transform, rather than reform, society" (p. 7). This definition does not hold across all of the many groups and organizations that she weaves into her narrative and is, in fact, the point of her book. In the process of trying on the many ways of imagining and applying radical feminist politics, some groups maintained a doctrinaire approach that meant their eventual dissolution. Other groups, for example, Rape Crisis Center and My Sister's Place, found ways to work with the system. In both cases, these feminist groups affected their own brand of revolution; thus, we might consider transformation as a matter of degree for social movements.

Scholarship on the second-wave women's movement mainly focuses on race, class, and sexual orientation as key determinants in the movement's expansion and contraction. Valk's examination of activism and its overlaps in Washington, D.C., offers a fresh perspective. One could make the case that Washington-based activists were both nowhere and everywhere. As Valk reveals, the city's position as the nation's capital offered unique access to the seat of government power in terms of physical sites of protest and lobbying. However, residents' "limited political autonomy" as far as voting and representation were concerned resulted in area-specific problems that are highlighted to great effect within the text (pp. 6–7). Washington, D.C. groups, such as the Citywide Welfare Association and the D.C. Women's Liberation Movement (DCWLM), fought local restrictions on abortion and created a questioning climate around abortion provision laws that presaged the *Roe v. Wade* decision in 1973. In the process, they modeled difficult alliances across race and class that would serve to expand the movement into one for reproductive rights defined broadly. In this sense, Valk's analysis of the alliances and tensions amongst District activist groups is finely tuned to the differences between local organizations and the meaning of these tensions in ideology and practice for the efficacy of the larger, national movement. The chapters on welfare and reproductive rights are the strongest because they demonstrate the importance of local and regional politics to an analysis of the women's and black liberation national struggles.

Less effective are chapters such as the one on the women's liberation movement, which tends to make tenuous connections between District activism and national initiatives. Key speeches and events did take place in Washington, D.C., but direct links to the activists and organizations Valk considers are sometimes loose. One might make a better case for the *climate* to

which these activists contributed in their struggle to make their respective audiences more conducive to social change. Because Washington, D.C., is the seat of government lobbying and congressional testimony, some of Valk's assertions would be stronger if they had more supporting evidence. For example, she notes New York congresswoman Shirley Chisholm's speech at Howard University on the need for safe abortion, but she gives no indication how local groups, such as a Howard's black women's liberation group, responded. At times, proximity stands in as concrete evidence to the influence of Washington, D.C., activists on the larger social movement scene.

Although this review focuses on the organizations Valk researched, she also includes valuable examinations into the local and national personalities. Importantly, her book delves into the conditions of women's leadership within movements. A strength of this study is that Valk reveals the Achilles' heel of social movements: a reticence to engage in self-critique. The failure, for example, of *The Furies* to apply revolutionary ideals to their personal lives resulted in the dissolution of the group. Though many of its members continue to influence feminism, the disconnect between theory and practice is a hurdle that many social movements have found difficult to clear. Similarly, in her discussion of the welfare rights movement, Valk notes welfare rights activists' insistence on the primacy of motherhood above all else. Unlike lesbian feminists who were challenged on their absolutism around female supremacy, there is little mention made of how women receiving welfare benefits envisioned their obligations to the state both as mothers *and* as citizens.

Despite the scholarly impulse to focus on success and failure, the cases that Valk presents offer us the opportunity, in the long view, to follow radical feminist groups as they tried on and accepted or rejected various approaches to formulating a feminist agenda.

KIMBERLY SPRINGER
King's College London

RICHARD ITON. *In Search of the Black Fantastic: Politics and Popular Culture in the Post-Civil Rights Era*. (Transgressing Boundaries.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. 424. \$29.95.

Following recent work on the relationship between African American politics and culture, Richard Iton offers a heavily theorized investigation of the "black fantastic" in black popular culture. His aim is to "identify exactly how we might situate . . . black popular culture . . . in relation to both the formally and informally political . . . [and] to consider the implications of reading culture as politics in the context of the post-civil rights era" (p. 4). The black fantastic of the title refers to the "minor key sensibilities generated from the experiences of the underground . . . [including] attempts to fuse dream worlds and everyday practices and bridge the politics/culture divide" (p. 16). Ranging from Marcus Garvey through Bob Marley to Hurricane Katrina, this book

draws bold links among politicians, comedians, rappers, visual artists, and cinema directors. For Iton, the artists who create these cultural expressions occupy a singular role in the public sphere, one that complicates and destabilizes our notion of politics and political discourse. Thus, African American politics can only be understood if cultural expressions as well as traditional electoral politics are analyzed.

Iton's introductory chapters note that the exclusion of most African Americans from mainstream political discourse prior to the civil rights movement led to cultural artists such as Paul Robeson and Amiri Baraka assuming significant political roles. The author offers a sympathetic reading of Robeson's very public political stance, arguing that he acted as a lightning rod for other African American public figures like Jackie Robinson to articulate their own political views. Moving forward, Iton is critical of Baraka's attempt to use his position to reconfigure radical politics as a hyper-masculine form of black nationalism in the late 1960s and 1970s. This gendered nationalism continued to inform African American politics into the 1990s; as Iton notes, the Clarence Thomas-Anita Hill controversy in 1991 provoked black women to reconsider the tensions between gender and racial solidarity.

The text's central chapters reveal further tensions within the black community that were exploited and exacerbated by hip-hop artists such as Public Enemy and hip-hop-influenced artists such as the comedian Chris Rock. The 1990s saw class stratification in the black community on the increase, and Iton notes hip-hop's central role in commenting on this phenomenon. He sees the decline of racial solidarity in the black community being expressed in various ways—from Spike Lee's exploration of the growing schism between working- and middle-class blacks in *School Daze* (1988) to Rock's controversial and less subtle denunciation of "niggas" in his comedy routines.

The final chapters broaden the discussion to appreciate the extent to which Caribbean politics and culture have informed African American cultural and political expression, bringing the notion of the black diaspora to the fore of Iton's argument. He holds a fluid notion of this diasporic identity. Rather than using it as a means to link black Americans with Africa, he sees the diaspora as a site on which a postcolonial and possibly post-national black identity is being forged. This fluidity—between race and nationality, politics and culture—is central to Iton's black fantastic and is a theme that runs throughout the book.

Unfortunately, the author spends too much time and energy examining the period before the 1970s. Consequently, many significant cultural productions of the post-civil rights era, including *The Cosby Show*, graffiti art, and African American literature, receive short shrift. Iton is also fascinated by cultural studies linguistics and frequently cites neologisms that may send readers scurrying to the Oxford English Dictionary for clarification. While the scale of this book is hugely ambitious (as demonstrated by the extensive foot-

notes), the argument will not be unknown to readers familiar with recent work on black popular culture by authors such as Robin D. G. Kelley, Guthrie P. Ramsey, Jr., and Mark Anthony Neal. Like them, Iton takes hip-hop culture seriously and argues persuasively that popular culture is a vital arena for public discussion of politics. The book under review is brimming with ideas, from the role of television and the music video in creating a visible black "superpublic" to the impact of Jamaican culture on gender tensions and musical culture in black America. It offers thought-provoking insights throughout its 400 pages and will certainly stimulate further work in numerous areas of African American history.

JOE STREET
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JOSEPH E. LOWNDES *From the New Deal to the New Right: Race and the Southern Origins of Modern Conservatism*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 208. \$35.00.

Joseph E. Lowndes's new book is among the latest texts that consider the rise of modern conservatism as it relates to southern and national political developments in the post-World War II era. Traditional accounts have placed the New Right in the context of a backlash movement originating out of the cultural clashes of the 1960s, including the civil rights movement, feminism, and opposition to the Vietnam War. The backlash theory, in its most simplistic state, suggests that white southerners flocked quickly to the Republican Party as soon as the national Democratic Party embraced the civil rights movement. Lowndes finds this backlash thesis to be simplistic; he asserts that racism was more complex and pervasive as a cause, and exaggerated patriotism was but one of a list of major effects of the conservative ascendancy within American politics. For Lowndes, the construction of a modern conservative political identity was an evolving phenomenon born of southern but also northern influences, interconnected with the overt and coded language of economic conservatives, and replete with electoral and programmatic ramifications, not the least of which was a profound anti-statist sentiment.

Lowndes places Alabamian Charles Wallace Collins in the vanguard of the conservative elites who sought to link the political goals of white supremacist southerners to a cadre of northerners who had misgivings about economic and political centralization. Liberals, Collins suggested, might establish a reign of terror under a centralized police state that would employ a vast secret police system to track down individuals who have been charged with the violation of the rights of other individuals (p. 23). Collins focused his attention on presidential elections, and Lowndes credits this, in part, with fueling the unsuccessful Dixiecrat bolt in 1948. For Collins, the outcome in 1948 made even clearer the need to link southern and northern conservatives into a stronger coalition. "The respect and admiration that began to flow from northern conservatives," Lowndes

argues, "did not save Jim Crow, but it did begin a long-term political shift in American politics" (p. 44).

Lowndes devotes ample consideration to other conservative stalwarts of the Cold War era, including *National Review* editor William F. Buckley Jr., Arizona senator and 1964 Republican presidential candidate Barry Goldwater, and Alabama governor George Wallace. The Goldwater campaign cultivated white supremacists behind the scenes and non-southern conservatives in full view until, as Buckley wrote in 1963, "what is anti-Negro and what is traditionally American are apparently the same thing" (p. 70). Wallace, according to the author, was both populist and anti-statist in his presidential campaign rhetoric, a combination that helped court northern ethnic voters. Neither Goldwater nor Wallace gained the presidency, but both reshaped the "silent majority" that Richard Nixon, and others, ultimately capitalized on. Lowndes breaks little new ground on Goldwater or Wallace, but his discussion on Buckley is compelling and suggests that the recently deceased conservative icon would be an excellent subject for a scholarly biography.

One of the smallest chapters in the book, an essay on former Wallace speechwriter Asa Carter and his Outlaw Josey Wales fictional character, is liable to generate the most discussion. For Lowndes, Wales, an un-Reconstructed Confederate soldier turned menacing avenger, became a cultural manifestation of a conservatism that surged beyond race to include anti-government appeals. Wales's hatred of the Union Army and the federal government intersected with that of the Comanche Indians, who had their own historical reasons to distrust the U.S. government. "Guvmint's lie," Wales tells the Comanche chief Ten Bears, "promise . . . backstab . . . eat in yore lodge and rape yore women and kill when ye sleep on their promises. Guvmint's don't live together . . . men live together" (pp. 152–153). Lowndes clearly understands that politics and political expression manifest themselves across the broader culture into the realm of mass media. This chapter would have been stronger if it had had a wider discussion of other cultural changes in the 1970s and 1980s that fit the racist and anti-statist model of conservatism. Even so, Lowndes deserves credit for swinging for the fences and including a perspective that some scholars are unwilling to attempt.

Lowndes's work is concise, readable, and applicable for advanced undergraduates and graduate students interested in the rise of modern conservatism and the U.S. South's role in post-World War II politics.

JEFF FREDERICK

University of North Carolina at Pembroke

LAWRENCE RICHARDS. *Union-Free America: Workers and Antiunion Culture*. (The Working Class in American History.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2008. Pp. x, 245. \$40.00.

Many labor historians have tried to explain why unions have declined so precipitously in the United States dur-

ing the postwar era. They have posited several causes, including employer opposition, a hostile National Labor Relations Board, unions' narrowed agendas, broader structural changes since World War II, and the pull of individualism. Lawrence Richards acknowledges each of these explanations, but he also offers scholars a new focus: workers' opposition to unions that is rooted in a pervasive anti-union culture. Part one of his book charts the contours and evolution of this culture, and part two explores the ways it functioned to undermine union organizing campaigns with respect to three specific case studies: blue-collar textile workers in Charlottesville, Virginia, in 1980; pink-collar clerical workers at New York University (NYU) in 1970; and white-collar teachers during the 1970s and 1980s.

One of Richards's goals in exploring this history of union decline is to uncover workers' agency. This is long overdue. He notes that "it is rather ironic that labor historians who focus on worker self-organization during the '30s have not extended this analysis to include worker responsibility for union decline in the postwar period." Although historians have been concerned with doing history from the bottom up since the 1970s, "this focus on agency has not been extended to explanations of union decline." While Richards rightly does not reject other explanations for this phenomenon, he states that his work "will focus on just one: worker opposition" (p. 4).

Before Richards addresses that opposition, he lays out the "content of antiunion culture," providing a description of what essentially is a middle-class expression of hostility toward unions constructed in popular magazines and the works of cultural critics like C. Wright Mills and Daniel Bell. The assumption—bolstered by the use of polls and sociological studies—is that workers came to share the negative images of unions expressed in these publications. As Richards implicitly argues, antiunion sentiment was part of a hegemonic culture that had a particularly broad reach in the postwar era of homogenized mass culture. He notes how those who were on the receiving end of this anti-union culture were people who had become assimilated into a widening American mainstream after World War II, at the same time observing the significant exception of African Americans who remained culturally ghettoized and who comprised the one group that remained most pro-union in the postwar years.

But while such observations ring true, can we really get at the concerns of workers by looking at expressions in the broader culture to which they presumably had access? Was there no working-class mediation of this hegemonic culture? In the second half of the book, Richards partially illuminates the link between this broader anti-union culture and workers' rejection of unions. Interviews with workers at the Ix plant in Charlottesville (pp. 96–122) and the letter from "J.R." during District 65's organizing campaign at NYU (pp. 145–146) demonstrate such connections. Yet, for the most part, the author presents the words and deeds of employers and union leaders in these organizing fights. He

says that the literature (in the form of leaflets and pamphlets) produced by those outside of the rank and file reveals what most concerned workers (pp. 6, 92). But this type of inverted reading is problematic. Eventually even Richards admits that, when it came to explaining why workers opposed organizing campaigns, "it is impossible to say exactly what the source of this antiunionism was" (p. 149). The relationship between the hegemonic antiunion culture and the attitudes of the rank and file remains unclear.

What is clear in the second half of the book is how the assumptions voiced by employers and union leaders in the pro- and anti-union campaigns drew from, and contributed to, the construction of a broader anti-union culture. Those campaigns shared many of the same negative images of unions that were central to the wider American anti-union culture (e.g., that unions were corrupt, prone to strikes, bureaucratic, and threatened the harmony of workplace relations). One of the significant contributions of Richards's study is his demonstration of how willing union leaders were to cede the discursive ground to employers in these campaigns by engaging in narrowly reactive rhetoric rather than providing an independent message about the value of unions for the greater good of society. In this way he deepens our understanding of the failure of unions in the postwar period; not only did they narrow their agendas (focusing on wages at the expense of broader social issues), but they also hemmed themselves in by the very language they used, thus allowing their opponents to set the terms of the debate and effectively to disarm them.

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GAIL M. HOLLANDER. *Raising Cane in the 'Glades: The Global Sugar Trade and the Transformation of Florida*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2008. Pp. xviii, 348. \$45.00.

Gail M. Hollander has written a fascinating book about the role of "big sugar"—the American Sugar Trust that took shape in the 1880s and the large producers that have dominated the industry since then—in the transformation of the Florida Everglades. Hollander argues convincingly that while modern environmentalists bemoaning the ongoing demise of this national ecological treasure "were not especially original in pointing an accusatory finger at the sugar industry," they were "significantly original" in pointing to the environmental transformation's *international* dimensions (p. 1). She shows how calls for the drainage of the Florida wetlands were, from the late nineteenth century on, inspired by the anxiety that boosters, developers, and producers felt—or at least discerned and exploited—regarding the place of the United States' sugar industry in the global sugar trade, and especially regarding the nation's dependency on sugar imports. By the beginning of the twentieth century, particularly at the time of World War I, sugar was cast as an indispensable part of Amer-

ican soldiers' rations, so sugar boosters could depict the U.S. dependency on imports of this source of energy as a matter of national security during global conflagrations. By the middle of the century, when the Cold War was in full swing, the Cuban Revolution hammered home the need for sugar independence in a divided world. Until that time, Cuba had served as the nation's primary source of imported sugar and had been at times the beneficiary of U.S. sugar quotas at the expense of domestic producers (American demand and quotas had driven the rapid expansion of Cuba's sugar production). By the end of the twentieth century, when Brazil was making rapid strides in the use of sugar as an alternative fuel, anxiety about foreign oil dependency prompted calls for further support of the U.S. sugar industry. This interplay of international forces and domestic interests drove the creation, through extensive drainage and irrigation, of the Everglades Agricultural Area—an area of some 700,000 acres that contains most of the 403,000 acres in southern Florida now cultivated by big sugar and smaller growers.

At the heart of Hollander's story is the sugar industry's prolonged public relations campaign aimed at garnering not only state and federal support for drainage and cultivation of the Everglades but also protection of the growing domestic cane sugar industry. Industry spokesmen found themselves in conflict with sugar cane growers in Louisiana, the developing beet sugar industry, lobbyists from Cuba and other sugar-producing nations, producers of the high-fructose corn syrup that increasingly replaced sugar in food processing, labor advocates denouncing the exploitative labor practices that existed in southern Florida's cane fields, and, increasingly, environmentalists who called for protection of the remaining Everglades and restoration of drained wetlands. Proponents of the industry used what Hollander calls an "imagined economic geography" and other discursive practices to create and maintain a profitable position in the domestic and global sugar trade (p. 17). This ranged from aggressively depicting southern Florida as the nation's "Sugar Bowl" long before a viable sugar agri-business had actually taken root there to "[h]eading off . . . dietary warnings" to "go easy" on added sugars" issued by the Department of Health and Human Services in response to "increased rates of diabetes and health problems associated with obesity" (p. 269). Using the industry's many publications, extensive government records, and private correspondence, Hollander unearths a century and a half of lobbying, propagandizing, and political maneuvering aimed at strengthening and protecting southern Florida's cane sugar industry in the face of increased globalization of food and labor markets, as well as at keeping sugar an essential part of the American diet in the face of growing health awareness and changing tastes.

Perhaps somewhat underemphasized in this book is the physical transformation of the Everglades, especially in terms of the dire environmental and ecological consequences of drainage and cultivation. Hollander shows more clearly the environmentalist vilification of

"big sugar" than the changing environmental conditions that served to mobilize "a new consortium of environmental groups," the Friends of the Everglades (p. 245). Then again, other scholars have already told that story, most notably David McCally in *The Everglades: An Environmental History* (1999). What Hollander illuminates so successfully in her text is that, while environmental transformation and degradation are often the product of a human desire to dominate nature and bring to bear on it the powers of greed and reason, environmental change is inextricably intertwined with, and therefore shaped by, unpredictable political, cultural, and economic developments that reach far beyond the ecosystem at hand—be they European wars, Latin American revolutions, a growing preference for artificial sweeteners, or increased appreciation for wild wetlands.

TYCHO DE BOER

St. Mary's University of Minnesota

CHIOU-LING YEH. *Making an American Festival: Chinese New Year in San Francisco's Chinatown*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2008. Pp. xiv, 315. \$24.95.

Chiou-Ling Yeh's monograph is a welcome addition to the ever-growing field of Asian American studies. The book offers its audience a detailed investigation on the New Year celebrations of the Chinese inhabitants of San Francisco from the 1880s well into the early 2000s, but its primary chronological focus is the period from the 1950s to the early 2000s.

Utilizing archival manuscripts, private collections, and ethnic newspapers and newsletters along with English newspapers and magazines, television broadcasts, government records, and oral history interviews of twenty-nine individuals, Yeh sets off to make sense of Chinese New Year celebrations in the second half of the twentieth century. Beginning with San Francisco's Chinese New Year celebration in 1953, she explores the political implications of the event, stating that, in the context of the Cold War, the celebration was a response to the direct impact of American foreign policy on the ethnic community. The city's Chinese inhabitants intended to use the event to register opposition to communist China, to defuse anti-Chinese sentiment in the United States, to unify noncommunist Chinese Americans, and to revitalize Chinatown businesses. Yeh reveals how the ethnic group's leaders also seized the opportunity to transform being Chinese American from a racialized category into an assimilable ethnic position. As part of their strategy, they appropriated the idea of a model minority and articulated it through the Miss Chinatown U.S.A. beauty pageant. In addition to American foreign policy of the Cold War era, Yeh also observes that transnational politics and economies affected Chinese American identity formation and the Chinese New Year celebration, as did the impact of globalization.

The text is organized chronologically and themati-

cally. In chapter one, Yeh briefly recounts the pre-1950s Chinese New Year celebrations and argues against the notion that the ethnic festival was a transplant of the Chinese tradition. On the contrary, it served social, political, and economic purposes for Chinese Americans by bonding members of the community, demonstrating their anti-communist stance, and attracting tourists to Chinatown. Along the same line, chapter two examines how ethnic leaders exoticized the festivities to generate political and economic resources for their own gains and profits. In response to Cold War rhetoric, the Chinese New Year celebrations echoed the American containment policy and demonstrated ethnic cultural expression and anticommunist convictions by showcasing Chinese American war veterans. The celebrations also incorporated the exotic elements of Chinatown into the parade to lure tourists from the larger San Francisco community.

Chapter three explores how ethnic leaders articulated Chinese American identities through the Miss Chinatown U.S.A. beauty pageant. The beauty pageant redefined womanhood and celebrated Chinese beauty and modern American education. It portrayed the model minority narrative and helped ethnic leaders integrate their community into the larger society while simultaneously structuring neo-patriarchal authority and manhood within the ethnic community. However, the model minority position angered male and female community activists who were dissatisfied with how a law-abiding, middle-class, feminized identity was constructed through ethnic beauty queens.

Chapter four investigates the conflicts between the image promoted by festival organizers and the militant yellow power deployed by a number of youth groups. While the Chinese New Year celebration served as a stage for the Chinatown establishment to showcase Chinese Americans as loyal and acculturated citizens, college students, radicals, and youth gangs challenged the control of Chinatown leaders through demonstrations, grass-roots movements, and violence.

Chapter five examines how different groups used the ethnic beauty pageant to achieve their own ends. While contestants entered the Miss Chinatown U.S.A. beauty pageant to pursue personal interests, many Chinese Americans in the San Francisco Bay area gradually lost interest in the contest after the 1970s once the civil rights movement, the ethnic identity movement, and Asian American women's movement opened up more diverse channels for them to counter the racial hierarchy and gender inequality. Chapter six addresses several competing cultural productions that strove for authority within the group's ethnic identity formation. By illustrating the impact of conflicts between China and Taiwan, American foreign policy, and diverse constituencies within the community, Yeh displays the many ways in which the Chinese New Year celebrations were filled with contradictory meanings.

Chapter seven focuses on how commercialism and the mass media entered the terrain of ethnic identity formation. The commercialization of the festivities re-

veals the relationship between globalization and localism. While the organizers wanted to expand a local event into a mainstream celebration by seeking corporate sponsorship, multinational corporations attempted to utilize the local event to reach area and multinational consumers. Finally, chapter eight addresses how leaders excluded gay and lesbian Chinese Americans from the public celebrations until 1994. The eventual inclusion of ethnic members of San Francisco's GLBT community in the Chinese New Year parade reflected the growing acceptance of non-normative ethnic sexuality.

A well-structured and effectively argued work, Yeh's monograph will serve as an important reference on Asian American studies, especially on the subject of ethnic cultural identities.

HUPING LING
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MARK PAUL RICHARD. *Loyal but French: The Negotiation of Identity by French-Canadian Descendants in the United States*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press. 2008. Pp. x, 388. \$34.95.

If one can read only one book on Americans of French Canadian descent, Mark Paul Richard's is it. The past generation has produced a number of community studies of Franco-Americans—northeastern Americans of French Canadian ancestry. Nearly all of those studies by Americans have focused on the immigration and settling-in process of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as preparation for eventual assimilation. Studies by Canadians have emphasized the influence of French-speaking clerics, lawyers, and men of letters in preserving *survivance*—the retention of French language, the Roman Catholic faith, and the traditions of Quebecois rural society in the face of assimilation.

Richard rewrites that history of Franco-Americans in two ways. First, he carries their story from immigration and settling-in to the present day. Secondly, he abandons the *survivance* v. assimilation debate. To do so, he focuses on Lewiston, Maine, perhaps the most persistently Franco-American city in the United States. Franco-Americans constituted sixty-five percent of the city's population by 1931. Richard exploits census, property, and city directory data, the papers of the city's religious orders, naturalization and voting records, diocesan archives, and a complete run of Lewiston's French-language newspaper, *Le Messenger*. These sources allow him to examine Lewiston's entire Franco-American society, not just the articulate elite. What he demonstrates for that city applies in most ways to any Franco-American community.

French Canadians came to Lewiston from throughout Quebec to work in the textile and shoe factories. Their large numbers turned much of the city into a *petit Canada* with French-speaking parishes, orphanages, hospitals, and a Democratic newspaper. Initially, the new arrivals struggled to retain the values they had brought with them. Richard's great contribution is that

he shows that Lewiston Franco-American gave up trying to retain *survivance*, the values of rural Quebec. Yet, they did not yield to assimilation—the abandonment of their French language and values. Rather, they negotiated what he terms “acculturation,” which means that they learned English while successfully retaining their mother tongue. They actively participated in American politics and institutions and, in doing so, turned Lewiston into Maine's most Democratic stronghold. At the same time, they retained their French culture through parish life, Franco-American institutions of hospitals, credit unions, and service organizations, working-class organizations, and ethnic festivals. Richard shows that this shift from *survivance* to “acculturation” was more likely to occur in parishes served by French Canadian or Franco-American clergy. “Assimilation” more likely occurred in parishes served by French from France or by Irish American clergy.

A key measurement of “acculturation” rather than “assimilation” was in Franco-American labor militancy. Lewiston French-speaking workers were not passive anti-unionists, the so-called “Chinese of the Eastern States.” Many of them had even joined the Knights of Labor. Union membership picked up in the 1920s, and the 1930s and 1940s found Lewiston gripped in strikes. Richard is able to tell this story because of French-language sources, often overlooked by other historians, and oral histories taken in the 1980s. Moreover, this rising working-class mentality reinforced ethnic identity, leading to “acculturation” rather than “assimilation.”

By the late twentieth century, the textile mills and shoe shops that had attracted the French Canadian immigrants to Lewiston and brought them into the labor movement had shut down. Their Franco-American workers had moved into the service occupations of office work and teaching, as well as the legal and health professions. Young Franco-Americans began choosing life companions from other ethnic groups. In many ways, they had become indistinguishable from other Americans. Yet, many could still speak French, enjoy *le jour de St. Jean-Baptiste* and *tourtières*, and show a renewed interest in modern Quebec. One still leaves Lewiston's downtown parking garage past signage reading “Exit/Sortie.”

Sound and thorough as his work be, what Richard says for Lewiston may not apply to every Franco-American community. The Dominican order dominated Lewiston's religious life, often to the dismay of Maine's Irish American bishops, but such bishops exercised more authority in other Franco-American dioceses. The militant Democratic party stance of the long-running French-language *Le Messenger* newspaper surely shaped political loyalties in Lewiston, but Republican French-language newspapers may have had a different effect elsewhere. Its female-dominated textile and shoe industries were bound to make Lewiston different from Franco-American towns characterized by male-dominated paper and lumber manufacturing centers. Still, Lewiston's continuing cultural ties to *la mère patrie* in

Quebec do not seem any more or less strong than those of the Franco-American cities of Manchester or Woonsocket.

Saying that does not deny that Richard's book tells us more about the Franco-American experience than we had known before. This splendid and mature work will be the standard study of Franco-Americans for years to come.

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LISA M. BURNS. *First Ladies and the Fourth Estate: Press Framing of Presidential Wives*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 205. \$32.00.

There was a time when most historians who wrote about first ladies came from what we could call the "tea and crumpets school," which chronicled what presidential spouses served and wore. Today, the "separate spheres and sexism school" is ascendant, treating first ladies as representative American women. The challenge in writing about first ladies, then, becomes how to avoid stating the obvious without denying the obvious while remembering their unique position. Lisa M. Burns's book is too frequently predictable. Still, its spirited overview demonstrates how the press covered the presidents' wives and adds some fresh insights.

Burns, a feminist media critic and former reporter, puts her experience to good use by focusing on "the journalistic practice of gendered news framing" (p. 4). Press framing is journalistic shorthand, a term that signifies media conventions that "organize stories into quick, concise packages" (p. 7). Burns shows how journalists have framed the first lady as "presidential escort, leader of social protocol, social advocate." Well into the twentieth century, presidential wives filled these traditional roles. More recently, the first lady has functioned as "policy maker and political advisor," too.

Burns offers a short, colorful guided tour of first lady coverage from Martha Washington to Laura Bush, but she concentrates on the twentieth century. The book is divided into five chronological chapters framed by an introduction and a conclusion. In the first chapter, "Representations of Womanhood in the American Press before 1900," the author characteristically blurs coverage of presidents' wives with perceptions of American women. The second chapter examines "[t]he First Lady as Public Woman, 1900–1929." Here, Burns argues convincingly that, by depicting Ellen Wilson and Florence Harding as model women, reporters made them less controversial when they overstepped traditional boundaries and shaped their respective husbands' careers.

The third chapter, "The First Lady as Public Celebrity, 1932–1961," is bookended by the star turns of Eleanor Roosevelt and Jackie Kennedy. It should end in 1963, especially because the next chapter begins with 1964. Burns shows that Bess Truman and Mamie Eisenhower, despite being cast as traditionalists compared to

Roosevelt and Kennedy, also helped women progress. The "two-person career frame" in the 1950s and the 1960s emphasized that the presidency, like most challenging careers, was a team effort. This notion, along with the growing celebrity worship of the first ladies and women's power as consumers, actually reflected increasing respect for women. Here, Burns addresses broader historiographical issues too, insisting that "the struggle for women's rights" was not "limited to" the gains achieved during feminism's first and second waves.

Unfortunately, the last two chapters are less fresh analytically and are already familiar to most American political observers. The fourth chapter, "The First Lady as Political Activist, 1964–1977," shows how Lady Bird Johnson, Betty Ford, and Rosalynn Carter reflected women's growing power during the 1960s and 1970s, with Pat Nixon as the lone throwback. The final chapter, "The First Lady as Political Interloper, 1980–2001," describes the criticism that Nancy Reagan and Hillary Rodham Clinton endured as powerful, path-breaking first ladies.

The broader conclusions in this book are not very original. Burns says that she "discovered . . . that press coverage of president's wives is a rich source of information, not only about the history of the first lady institution but also about evolving gender roles, women's political participation and media coverage of women in politics." She identifies factors that shaped the relationship between first ladies and the media, "including the dispositions of the individual women holding the position, the social norms governing women's publicity, the marketability of women's news, and institutional structures regulating journalists' access to first ladies" (p. 4). Burns concludes that presumptions about gender interacted with reportorial stereotyping to frame the portraits of these women, whose private lives became public property thanks to their husbands' position.

Historians should be wary of treating first ladies as representative American women. The expectations and fears surrounding the president's wife usually reflected that position's peculiarities more than the general status of women in the United States. Before the feminist revolution, the first ladies' prominence usually made them more independent than their peers. Since the 1960s, however, first ladies have often been less empowered than other women. Note how circumscribed and controversial Hillary Rodham Clinton was as first lady. Once she launched her own political career as a senator, a presidential candidate, and, now, secretary of state, much of the resistance to her independence disappeared.

Clinton's experiences are instructive—and a warning against ghettoizing first ladies studies. First ladies should be studied in the context of the history of the presidency. Burns's book illustrates the valuable insights that can emerge by studying the history of first ladies with a sensitivity to gender as well. But without rooting that analysis in its appropriate and unique institutional context, we risk making the first ladies mir-

ror our assumptions about the history of women in the United States rather than appreciating the unique expectations that burden presidents and their spouses.

GIL TROY
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CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

VINCENT BROWN. *The Reaper's Garden: Death and Power in the World of Atlantic Slavery*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2008. Pp. x, 340. \$35.00.

Jamaica during the time of slavery was a demographic catastrophe. No one, white or black, enslaved or free, could expect to survive for more than a few years after arrival. Historians have long known this statistical truth but have usually examined its implications either for whites or for blacks, not for both. Vincent Brown is the first to take Jamaica's "extravagant death rate" as the starting point for an investigation of a whole society. His vision of the death rate as "the landscape of culture itself . . . the principal arena of social life" (p. 59) undergirds this extraordinarily powerful rewriting of many familiar narratives in the history of Caribbean and Atlantic slavery.

This monograph, Brown tells us, is a "materialist history of the supernatural imagination" (p. 5). Its early chapters are thematic and synchronic, using analysis of funerals, mortuary rituals, and inheritance practices to examine the relationship between the living and the dead. The rest of the book presents a chronological narrative. It takes the reader from Tacky's Revolt of 1760 and its aftermath of torture and spectacular execution through the development of the abolitionist movement, which Brown interprets in the light of changing British attitudes toward death, showing how abolitionism was built through its participants' imaginative relationships with dead Africans such as those thrown overboard from the slave ship *Zong*. The author then proceeds to the work of missionaries, whose own rapid death rate, he argues, influenced the development of African Christianity in Jamaica. Finally, Brown discusses practices of memorialization in the 1830s, both by slave owners in response to the small numbers of white deaths during the 1831 rebellion and by freed slaves who conducted symbolic funerals for slavery as part of Baptist communities. He shows that each of these developments can be understood differently by considering their connection to death—both to mortality rates and, even more interestingly, to living people's understanding of the role of the dead in their own lives and those of others, whether as ghosts, ancestors, or martyrs.

This is a rich and multilayered book, and different readers will take different things from it. For me, one of its greatest strengths is its consistent investigation of parallels and intersections between enslaved and free people's experiences and understandings of death. One example is Brown's examination of the coffin divinations that took place at many funerals of enslaved peo-

ple, rituals at which the spirit of the deceased was thought to take hold of the pallbearers to indicate responsibility for death. He reads beyond the dismissive descriptions of these rituals in the sources to investigate their meanings. In the same chapter, he applies similar analytic questions to coroners' inquests, arguing that these, like coffin divinations, "laid out the axes, boundaries, and values of community" (p. 78). In this way, and in his examination of many other parallels, Brown demonstrates the potential of interpretations that place enslaved people and free people, Europeans and Africans, within a single analytic framework and a single Atlantic world. Rather than examining white-organized inquests as part of a modern world of law while considering coffin divination in relation to questions about cultural survival, he analyzes both for what they tell us about the ways in which people dealt with questions of responsibility in a world where death was ubiquitous. He makes concrete the claim that modernity was not a straightforward secularizing process, that "the modern world was still an enchanted one" (p. 258).

Treating Jamaica as a society formed by death produces a grim and gloomy view, albeit one that functions as a corrective to some recent work in slavery studies that celebrates the ability of enslaved people to overcome adversity. This is part of a wider shift toward texts that pay more attention to the damage and destruction caused by slavery; Brown's work joins books by Walter Johnson and William D. Absinberre, among others, in this regard. It should be influential, and not only for studies of Jamaica. Through the title, which eschews mention of Jamaica, and in an epilogue, Brown suggests that other slave societies could also be seen through the lens of "mortuary politics" and that the story of colonial Jamaica was integral to the world that produced the United States. He is less direct in presenting *The Reaper's Garden* as a story of an evolving British world, but it is that, too. It is also a beautifully written, evocative, and often elegiac book.

DIANA PATON
Newcastle University

LOUIS A. PÉREZ, JR. *Cuba in the American Imagination: Metaphor and the Imperial Ethos*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 333. \$34.95.

Louis A. Pérez, Jr. has dedicated a good part of his prolific scholarship to the study of the complex effects of North American imperial policies in Cuba. This book expands on this long-term interest, but from a different angle. The goal here is to analyze how, since the nineteenth century, North Americans produced a body of knowledge about Cuba that naturalized the imperial project in a narrative of selfless sacrifice, generosity, and moral rectitude. This language of power rested on a number of self-confirming metaphorical constructs that made common sense of North American interests and rendered the imperial project both plausible and palatable. By studying how these metaphors—of gender, race, age, family, and geographic proximity—were

manufactured and invoked, Pérez's book offers a fascinating view into the inner "workings of domination as a moral system" (p. 17).

Such metaphorical constructs linked Cuba's future to the well-being of the American union since the nineteenth century. Images of proximity turned Cuba into a territory that naturally belonged to the United States. Cuba was "contiguous" to or "at the doors" of the United States, "in sight" or "within sight" of the American shores. Cuba was so close, in fact, that people in the United States could "feel," "hear," and "see" what was happening on the island. When the Cubans launched another war of independence in 1895, it was taken for granted that the United States had to come to the assistance of a neighbor in distress. The North Americans went to war with Spain in 1898 not to pursue imperial interests, but because they were "obeying the laws of nature" (p. 43). Representations of Cuba as a woman or a child abused by a Spanish regime that violated the canons of proper manhood added moral indignation to this ingrained sense of purpose.

Inevitably, these images raised questions about the manhood of Cuban males as well, men who, after all, had not been able to protect their own families from the abuses of Spanish colonialism. The Cuban War of Independence of 1895 challenged these imperial narratives and the metaphors on which they rested, however. On the one hand, the war called into question the ingrained assumption that Cuba was to be part of the American union. On the other hand, it challenged the notion that Cuban males were incapable of discharging their responsibilities. Consequently, after 1899 Cuba was frequently depicted as a woman who required the protection of Uncle Sam against Cuban males or as a child who required guidance and education. That this child was frequently depicted as black only added to the common-sense assumption that it was the United States' moral duty to stay on the island and to use its authority to guide the Cubans into political adulthood.

Gratitude was central to the system of colonial control. The alleged beneficiaries of these efforts towards civilization and progress were to show proper appreciation for the sacrifices incurred by the imperial agents. That they did not baffled the North Americans. From the 1920s on, a new generation of Cubans began to contest the self-congratulatory North American narrative that posited that Cuban independence was a U.S. achievement. Nationalist intellectuals described independence as a Cuban deed that had been aided (at best) or thwarted (at worst) by the intervention of the United States in the war. In the 1940s, the Cuban Congress officially changed the name of the war from "Spanish-American War" to "Spanish-Cuban-American War." The leaders of the 1959 revolution took this critique farther, claiming that the revolution was the culmination of a long struggle for independence that the United States had frustrated in 1898. Prisoners of their own imperial knowledge—a knowledge that had been articulated for decades in films, song lyrics, monuments, and commemorations—most North Americans found this

Cuban narrative incomprehensible. One of the interesting findings of this book is to show the endurance of certain historical truths and how they continued to inform U.S. actions vis-à-vis Cuba even after the revolution of 1959. U.S. officials and commentators continued to invoke 1898 to decry the Cubans' lack of gratitude and to justify retaliation against them.

Many of these metaphorical constructs were reproduced in hundreds of cartoons and caricatures that reinforced the consensus that the black Cubans/children needed help and that the white North Americans/adults had no choice but to sacrifice blood and treasure on their behalf. The dozens of caricatures reproduced in the book are extremely effective—to the point that it is almost possible to follow the book's narrative through these images. Both the author and the University of North Carolina Press are to be commended for their publication.

This is, in short, a text that will be of great interest to students of American expansionism specifically and to students of empire generally. For scholars of Cuban history, it is a must read.

ALEJANDRO DE LA FUENTE
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MARÍA ELENA MARTÍNEZ. *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2008. Pp. xiv, 407. \$65.00.

In her study of *limpieza de sangre*, María Elena Martínez examines the methods and impact of the transatlantic exchange of ideology between Spain and the Spanish Americas. The author deploys the multilevel methodology of critical race theory to analyze this concept of purity of blood. Within this framing, she undertakes a three-part investigation of the social and institutional formation of the ideology and its linkage to gender and sexuality, its early colonial implantation in the Americas, and the resulting creation of late colonial genealogical archives. Based in a detailed analysis of primary documents from archives in Spain and Mexico, Martínez elucidates the trajectory of a concept that initially identified purity of faith but over time and space shifted to undergird cultural and political identity in viceregal Mexico.

The book's initial section examines the origins of *limpieza de sangre* in fifteenth and sixteenth-century Spain. Based in the medieval construct that identified blood as the vehicle by which certain characteristics and religious proclivities were transferred to subsequent generations, *limpieza de sangre* initially identified Old Christians, those free from the stain of Jewish or Muslim blood. Evolving into a broader discourse, the efficacy of Christian conversion came into question and resulted in the formation of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, which specified beyond doubt who were Old Christians and, thus, who could be members of exclusive ecclesiastic and secular communities. Relying on legal procedures and formulas that traced the ge-

nealogies of individuals, this institutionalization promulgated purity of blood statutes in order to produce *probanzas de limpieza de sangre*, certifying credentials that relied upon both official documents—e.g., birth certificates—and depositions from local communal memories of an individual's ancestors. Consequently, the Spanish obsession with blood purity created a myth of a pure Christian Spain and blurred the lines between religious and cultural practices as well as reinforced notions of racial exclusion and the need to manage female sexuality.

The next section of the book traces the transfer of *limpieza de sangre* and its associated matrix of concepts and genealogical practices to early colonial Mexico. Purity of blood became tied to Spain's Christianizing project in the Americas because Spanish authorities required that Spaniards who immigrated were Old Christians. Subsequently, Martínez explains, indigenous groups, deemed naturally pure and assigned to the *República de Indios*, a Spanish colonial sociopolitical formation, adapted these blood concepts and associated legal processes. They constructed their own genealogical histories in order to determine and affirm their religious and judicial status and rights. Likewise, creoles, New Spain-born elites who belonged to the *República de Españoles*, sought to retain access to public and religious offices through claims of purity certified by *probanzas de limpieza de sangre*. Over time, the author argues, these practices shaped a discourse of nativeness, coalescing into a creole genealogical and historical consciousness that asserted both linkage to the Spanish Old Christian community of blood and attachment to the native land. Consequently, Spaniards born in Spain and living in New Spain came to be viewed as foreigners and New Spain's *castas*, individuals of Indian and African descent, were deemed impure. These claims and exclusions were supported by expanding archival practices that created genealogical knowledge about New Spain-born elites and *castas* and framed the emergence of the *sistema de castas*, an entirely New Spanish construct that adapted the ideology of blood purity in order to reify local social categories.

In the book's final section, Martínez follows the further transformation and expansion of *probanzas de limpieza de sangre* in New Spain in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Spanish authorities attempted to create secular and religious hierarchies in the Americas by increasingly deploying certification of blood purity precepts to manage a growing *casta* population. By the end of the eighteenth century, colonial institutions' increased exclusivity intensified the Mexican elite's obsession with lineage and biological inheritance, not just purity of faith, and their anxiety about blood mixing. As a result, *limpieza de sangre* concepts were kept alive long after the original impetus—certification of purity of faith—had dissipated.

This book provides detailed information about how ideas and information circulated across the Atlantic. Throughout the text, Martínez uses primary documents judiciously and well; particularly fascinating are the de-

scriptions of the processing of *probanzas* in both local and transatlantic contexts. The text, especially in the final section and conclusion, is dense at times; this is due in part to the chronological and spatial span as well as the multilevel analysis required by critical race theory. Each chapter's introduction and conclusion, however, provides clear guides to the complex information presented and associated arguments.

Martínez's work expands the current literature on *limpieza de sangre* and the *sistema de castas*, which scholars from various fields have addressed—but none with such comprehensive detail or compelling analysis. She offers nuanced understandings of the genealogical fictionalization of a late colonial Mexican elite identity in contestation with the reality of a growing *casta* population. More broadly, by tracing the complicated interlocking as well as shifting of the transatlantic discourse of purity of blood, Martínez establishes a framework for further research on the colonial situation as a multifaceted and often convoluted exchange.

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RODOLFO F. ACUÑA. *Corridors of Migration: The Odyssey of Mexican Laborers, 1600–1933*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 2007. Pp. xvii, 408. \$49.95.

This book tells the epic history of the northern, transnational movement of workers across the borderlands between the United States and Mexico. Through this narrative, the venerable Chicano historian Rodolfo F. Acuña argues that ethnic Mexican communities were repeatedly uprooted by the demands of capital but carried their local memories with them to recreate new barrios—*Chihuahuitas*—reflective of previous homelands. In tracing this movement, Acuña organizes the book based on the workers' migratory routes, a structure that unfortunately breaks down in the closing chapters. Despite this, the book is a worthy contribution to the study of the successful planting of Mexican working-class communities in the borderlands against challenging odds.

Beginning in the colonial era, the story moves from the silver mining gateway of Zacatecas in north central Mexico to the San Joaquin Valley of California of the 1930s. Eschewing routes into Colorado, Texas, and the Midwest, Acuña delineates what he calls the *Camino Real* corridor to Santa Fe, the *Mesilla* through southern Arizona, the Sonoran route branching to Hermosillo, and the Cotton route to central California. These provide the northwestward paths for Mexican labor. He uses a murdered striker, Pedro Subia, and his ancestors to give the epic a personal perspective, but it is to limited effect as the subplot is not sufficiently sustained. For the first third of the book the geographical structure works well, but it, too, begins to lose narrative power. Unfortunately, the last five chapters become an episodic narrative of strike after strike, common to much labor history. Failing to fulfill the corridor anal-

ogy, the book ends rather abruptly, likely resulting from the author's having to cut much of the original manuscript for publication. Despite this structural weakness, the content sustains the book.

Following the geographical structure, Acuña's approach remains traditional labor history from a Chicano transnational perspective. As the author lists events and processes he examines, analyzes, and interprets them, usually using inductive reasoning. Though clearly influenced by many theories of class and labor, his method is to examine the facts to arrive at conclusions, rather than imposing any particular theoretical framework. Acuña does advance one generalization consistently: "significant social change does not come about without opposition to the established order, and that raising the issue of radicalism in one form or another is a pretext to destroy all opposition" (p. 280). Of course, the book's transnational perspective derives from Chicano studies, since the field of necessity developed the approach from the Spanish borderlands school of Herbert E. Bolton, through to Carey McWilliams's *North from Mexico* (1949) and subsequently Acuña's own *Occupied America* (1972). One cannot survey ethnic Mexican history without crossing national boundaries.

Like Acuña's other works, this one is thoroughly researched in primary and secondary sources, international collections included. In addition to standard archives in the United States, such as the Bancroft Library's Paul S. Taylor Collection, Acuña draws from Mexico's repositories, such as the famed Archivo General de la Nación, and Spain's local collections, such as that at the Universidad de Alicante. In addition to interviews and periodicals, the bibliography contains a full range of books and articles in English and Spanish, from Peter Bakewell's *Silver Mining and Society in Colonial Mexico* (1971), through Rubén Osorio's *Tomóchic en llamas* (1995), to the latest internet version of the *Quarterly of the National Archives and Records Administration*. Acuña offers truly bilingual, transnational scholarship.

Maps and photographs are distributed throughout the book, rather than grouped in a pictorial essay. This is a far more effective pattern because it fully integrates the illustrations into the text. For example, an early map of the corridors of migration essentially delineates the book's major theme (p. 3). The pictures generally present laborers and strikers, but several show evolving Mexican American life, most strikingly a 1921 photo of a young soldier in the U.S. Army (p. 275).

Acuña's writing style is typical of his work, designed to reach a broad audience—from professional scholars and undergraduate students to the general public. Short sentences and paragraphs help make his statistical information digestible. Unfortunately, frequent typographical errors suggest the press could have proofed the text better. In terms of tone, enough of the author's signature passion echoes, but not overwhelmingly; for example, one subtitle announces "the Death of Chihua-

huita" (p. 264). Ultimately, Acuña supports his rhetoric with facts.

The book is similar to and a welcome update of Juan Gómez-Quiñones's *Development of the Mexican Working Class North of the Rio Bravo: Work and Culture among Laborers and Artisans, 1600–1900* (1982) and *Mexican American Labor, 1790–1990* (1994). All three are valuable surveys by eminent Chicano labor historians, volumes deserving of places on the bookshelves of specialists and in the book bags of students alike.

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JAMES ALEX GARZA. *The Imagined Underworld: Sex, Crime, and Vice in Porfirian Mexico City*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2007. Pp. x, 220. \$45.00.

James Alex Garza's elegantly crafted monograph examines how elites in Porfirian-era Mexico City (1876–1911) "imagined, forged, and populated [an] underworld of crime and vice" (p. 3). Employing discursive and material techniques of rule, urban officials attempted to impose rigid class and moral boundaries between a centrally located upper class and an underclass in the city's periphery. Along the way they hoped to steer a perceived vulnerable middle class away from the "contagious and degenerate" practices of their working class counterparts in Mexico's modernizing capital. Yet, before the loyal patrons of President Porfirio Díaz could cast their official narrative of the city's criminalized underbelly, the elite storytellers themselves—through acts of crime and dishonor—disrupted the foundations of these fragile, dichotomous discourses of good and evil. Corrupt government and police officials and other members of the scandalous ruling class undermined the imagined underworld by being a constituent part of it in the first place.

Creatively engaging a wide range of source material, including judicial archives, newspapers, travel accounts, and love letters, Garza's study builds on a rich historiography of the Federal District in the pre-Revolutionary years. A student of William Beezley's work on the "Porfirian Persuasion," Garza expands on excellent work by historians of the capital city such as Pablo Piccato, Robert Buffington, Claudia Agostoni, Katherine Elaine Bliss, John Lear, Carmen Ramos Escandón, and Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo.

In exquisite and often gruesome detail, Garza reconstructs the scenes of numerous murders and other illicit acts, employing an inductive narrative that moves from intimate details of the crimes and their alleged perpetrators to broad sociological analyses and contextualization. Reading like a seductive "ripped from the headlines" detective tale, each chapter examines different themes of Porfirian crime and criminality. The book begins with a discussion of the cultural topography of the capital and the ways in which elites sought to transform the perception of working class areas into spaces of vice. Garza uses the grim history of the rapist and murderer Francisco Guerrero (aka "*El Chale-*

quero”), throughout the book to underscore the thesis that elites strategically utilized such characters to represent “an anti-Porfirian trope,” one that supported upper-class pretensions of moral righteousness against a backdrop of their degenerate and dangerous lower-class opposites. While few lines are devoted to an analysis of racial and ethnic determinants of criminality, the book does examine the categories of honor, gender, and sexuality and how they were used by elites to define and circumscribe the movements and behaviors of the city’s lower classes. Other chapters explore how science and medicine became tools of rule by describing how the bodies of deceased poor women served as precautionary examples of the “dangers of illicit sex and crime” (p. 138). In concert, the chapters’ case studies provide a window into the social relations within and between the city’s social classes. For example, in the detailed discussion of the Brilanti gang in chapter four, we learn of the urban poor’s intricate social networks of families and friends that existed alongside the diverse agents of the Porfirian state.

Yet for all Garza’s nuance and precision narrating the crime scene, the analysis often seems to have been carried out with a blunt weapon. Missing in the narrative of class differentiation and distinction in the imagined city is an examination of how the economic variables responsible for class formation underwent rapid change during the Porfirian embrace of global (specifically U.S.) capital. How did demographic expansion combine with capital intensification to impact the class standings of the city’s inhabitants? We know from other studies of Porfirian Mexico City that prerevolutionary tensions played out in significant ways among the laboring classes. Similarly, what kind of economic impact did so-called vice have on the daily lives of urban dwellers? If “pulque was big business” (p. 24), how did lower-class entrepreneurs and city regulators capitalize on vice industries to turn a profit and hence perpetuate the very crimes they pretended to eradicate? Furthermore, if designations of degeneracy and dishonor were critical to the elites’ invention of their lower class counterparts, then what role did the resurgent Catholic Church play in mediating and defining the behavior of the city’s inhabitants? Garza briefly mentions the editorial comments of a Catholic newspaper (p. 95), but he neglects to elaborate on that institution as a central arbiter of honor and urban propriety. Finally, the study reinforces the old adage that “*fuera de México, todo es Cuauhtitlán*,” perpetuating the synecdoche of Mexico City for the nation. To be sure, *capitalino* culture was predominant in crafting a “national identity,” but Mexico’s many states, cities, and regions had something to add on that count.

These critiques notwithstanding, Garza’s detailed case studies and alluring depiction of the construction and experiences of crime and criminality in Porfirian Mexico City will nicely complement courses on modern Mexico and the Mexican Revolution.

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DAVID DÍAZ ARIAS. *La fiesta de la independencia en Costa Rica, 1821–1921*. (Colección nueva historia.) San Jose: Editorial de la Universidad de Costa Rica. 2007. Pp. xxxviii, 328. Col. 5,500.00.

The historiography on the construction and development of the Costa Rican nation-state, Liberal elite, and export economy is extensive, with Víctor Acuña Ortega, Iván Molina Jiménez, and Steven Palmer among the field’s chief figures. Since 2002 David Díaz Arias has contributed several monographs and articles to the Spanish-language historiography. These deal with both elite and popular imaginings of the Costa Rican nation since the 1820s, with patriotic traditions intended to cultivate certain kinds of national identities, and with earlier phases of the Costa Rican historiography itself. Rooted in the theoretical perspectives of Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger’s edited volume *The Invention of Tradition* (1983) and Benedict Anderson’s *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983), Díaz Arias’s pathbreaking monograph discussed here focuses on the development of independence day festivities and discourses from Costa Rica’s independence in 1821 to the centennial in 1921.

Contrary to Héctor Pérez-Brignoli’s claim that Costa Rica enjoyed “early formation into a nation-state” based on its geographical isolation from the rest of Central America and its early success with coffee exports (*A Brief History of Central America* [1989], p. 93), Díaz Arias argues that it took many decades for a coherent celebration of September 15th to be established, for the celebration to become predominantly secular under state control, and for it to involve the popular classes in a meaningful way. Furthermore, he argues that elite discourses about independence and Costa Rican national identity remained fragmented into the early twentieth century. In part this was due to the ambiguous nature of separation from Spain. No war for independence occurred in Costa Rica, and the date of September 15, 1821 was determined by events in Mexico, to which Central America was appended from 1821 until 1823 when the United Provinces of Central America were founded. Costa Rica separated from that entity in the late 1830s, but the pull of an isthmian identity complicated national identity and independence celebrations as late as the 1910s, sparked then by the U.S. occupation of Nicaragua. Díaz Arias challenges Palmer’s view of the Central American campaign against U.S. filibusterer William Walker in the 1850s as crucial to the development of Costa Rican national identity due to its status as a surrogate war of independence. Instead, he argues that by the time that campaign was enshrined in national ritual and memory in the 1890s, the September 15th celebrations had gained coherence and continuity, so much so that they gave credibility and meaning to the new memorialization of the heroes of the 1850s. Further, he argues that the national elite elaborated a proud discourse of peaceful, bloodless independence before the 1850s, and that at times the

campaign against Walker strengthened that discourse, cast as the legitimate defense of the orderly, hardworking, peace-loving, progressive, and homogeneous (i.e., white) nation launched in 1821. When Costa Rica was cast in these terms, it was generally positioned against the rest of Central America.

Díaz Arias's research in government documents and newspapers is thorough, and he acknowledges the difficulty of reconstructing popular patriotic identities despite the existence of some workers' newspapers from the 1880s. The nature of the sources seems to have resulted in a strong tilt toward describing the evolution of elite festivities, although his discussion of the popular tradition of "*golpes libres*" (pp. 186–194) is intriguing. Across Costa Rica each independence day, non-elite men would indulge in spontaneous fist fights, perhaps settling feuds, sometimes attacking elite men, and often fueled by alcohol provided by political bosses. They assumed that their aggression would be overlooked by the authorities and was thus "*libre*," or free. Díaz Arias nicely links this to carnivalesque inversions of authority, but the tradition's obvious contradiction to the discourse of a peaceful independence and nation begs further analysis. The book would also benefit from more extensive coverage of elite discourses—including the racialization of the nation—which are the focus only of the final chapter. Most importantly, the book is geared for a particular Costa Rican audience, and could more consistently and specifically frame the independence festivities within the changing political and economic context of the nation. An English translation would definitely need to do this for audiences not immediately familiar with details of the coffee economy, political factions, suffrage laws, or even demography.

The broad chronology of the book, the author's serious attempt to include non-elites' perspectives and practices, his attention to festivities across Costa Rica, not just in San José, and his deep familiarity with the Costa Rican and Latin American scholarship to which he is contributing make this a welcome addition to the historiography of postcolonial nation-building.

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MARC BECKER. *Indians and Leftists in the Making of Ecuador's Modern Indigenous Movements*. (Latin America Otherwise: Languages, Empires, Nations.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2008. Pp. xxv, 303. Cloth \$79.95, paper \$22.95.

The Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE) is one of the most prominent and successful Indian organizations in contemporary Latin America, and its emergence as a major political player in national politics has generated unprecedented scholarly attention for this small north Andean nation. However, few scholars have searched earlier than the 1960s for the foundations of modern Ecuadorian indigenous movements. They claim that earlier indigenous actions

in the highland regions were focused on class rather than ethnic problems, and that non-Indian leftist leaders set the agenda for rural protests, treating indigenous peoples in a paternalistic manner. Marc Becker's book takes issue with this historical interpretation and traces indigenous activism back to the 1920s, asserting that "Ecuador has a longer and more diverse history of Indigenous movements engaging issues of gender, class, and ethnicity than most scholars and activists realize" (p. 16). He proposes indigenous activists and urban leftists forged an egalitarian alliance before the mid-1950s, in which they addressed ethnic as well as class problems and goals.

The book treats three distinct phases in the development of indigenous protests and strategies. From the 1920s-1950s, indigenous hacienda workers and leftist intellectuals (mostly from the Communist Party, or PCE) were natural allies against governments in which even those charged with protecting Indians typically sided with large landowners to perpetuate exploitative capitalist and racial systems. Leftist politics provided language that allowed indigenous leaders to put their struggles in a broader context, and PCE support influenced indigenous protestors to move from *levantamientos* (uprisings) against specific grievances to strikes demanding structural changes on large estates. This relationship resulted in the 1944 formation of the Federation of Ecuadorian Indians (FEI), which worked to address indigenous problems on a national scale. By the 1950s, leftists and Indians began to drift apart: leftist intellectuals focused on anti-imperialism, while indigenous activists sought land reform. It was in this period, Becker argues, that leftist leaders assumed a paternalistic stance with Indians and downplayed the impact of racism on capitalist exploitation, even though the 1964 and 1973 agrarian reform laws brought unprecedented public attention to race. The FEI was not able to develop new political tactics mandated by this more overtly racialized political atmosphere and went into decline. Becker notes that "activists outgrew the FEI" (p. 156) as a natural part of the evolution of indigenous activism. This led to a new and more overtly ethnic period of indigenous activism in the 1980s, culminating in the formation of CONAIE as an umbrella organization for the various highland and lowland regional indigenous movements.

Although Becker considers an impressive time span, his reinterpretation of the 1920s-1950s is at the heart of this book; it is in these chapters that he makes his most compelling, provocative, and occasionally problematic arguments. Central to Becker's overall argument in the book is his assertion that indigenous leaders and leftist intellectuals enjoyed an equal partnership from the 1920s to 1940s that reinforced and strengthened each movement. Becker demonstrates that PCE leaders, particularly Ricardo Paredes, took the work, wisdom, and wishes of now famous indigenous leaders like Jesús Gualavisí and Dolores Cacuango quite seriously. He adeptly breaks down the myth that the FEI was simply a peasant wing of the PCE, making a strong case that

indigenous peoples set much of the FEI agenda before 1960. What I find less convincing is Becker's argument that the PCE-indigenous relationship was egalitarian. His evidence for this is sometimes thin, and given the centuries of white-mestizo paternalism toward indigenous peoples I am skeptical that leftist intellectuals could completely discard stereotypes of Indians, despite their desire to build true partnerships with indigenous leaders. A more nuanced analysis of the achievements and challenges in working to overcome interethnic paternalism would have been more compelling. Similarly, while I think that Becker is correct that ethnicity informed indigenous peoples' class-based demands from the 1920s to the 1950s, he often left me wanting more specific details to support his point. I also wondered how deeply FEI influence was felt in the central and southern highlands, beyond its base in Cayambe (just north of Quito), particularly since central highland activists seemed slower to adopt new protest tactics.

However, if Becker has not entirely convinced me that interethnic paternalism was absent from Indian-PCE encounters, he has convinced me that it was not absolute, and that the two groups enjoyed a mutually beneficial relationship that made possible the formation of modern, nationwide indigenous activist movements. This book is an important read not just for Ecuadorianists, but for anyone interested in the history of Latin American social protest movements. Becker plays a key role in breaking down the arbitrary barrier between class and ethnicity in scholarly analyses of indigenous movements.

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JONATHAN D. ABLARD. *Madness in Buenos Aires: Patients, Psychiatrists, and the Argentine State, 1880–1983*. (Ohio University Research in International Studies, Latin America Series, number 47.) Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press. Calgary, Alberta: University of Calgary Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 319. \$32.00.

Madness has been a fruitful topic of study ever since Michel Foucault argued that reason needs unreason and civilization produces madness as a way to order that which is perceived as the frightening, disorderly excess of some people's minds. When Jonathan D. Ablard writes about madness in Buenos Aires he enters an ongoing conversation, not least because historian Mariano Plotkin's *Freud in the Pampas: The Emergence and Development of a Psychoanalytic Culture in Argentina* (2001) drew attention to the plethora of psychoanalysts in the country and the diffusion of psychoanalytic metaphors into the fabric of everyday lives. Ablard turns from the (un)comfortable couches of middle class neuroses to the grimy, teeming wards of state institutions, where sleeping on bathroom floors was the most benign of countless indignities. He traces the development of these institutions from the end of the nineteenth cen-

tury through the travails of the military regimes of the late twentieth century.

In his dissent from claims about social control that inform much of the literature about psychiatric institutions, Ablard argues instead that the capacity of the state was limited and that it was unable, in the end, to impose any kind of overarching regime of surveillance and internalized discipline. The two hospitals for the mentally ill, Borda for men and Moyano for women, were built in the nineteenth century by reformers who imagined them as spaces of modernity and humanity, with the backing of a state eager to be included in the exclusive ranks of civilized nations. But if the state was willing, its weakness, Ablard argues, impeded the progress of reforms. By the 1880s, the hospitals, though functioning, lacked funding to properly renovate buildings or hire enough staff for dangerously overcrowded facilities. As the number of patients increased and conditions became even more precarious to their health, cycles of disappointment and aspirations to reform continued. Bursts of activity in the 1920s and 1950s, characterized by the implementation of new biochemical procedures or theories such as the benefits of community reintegration, were eventually stifled in the face of political instability, distraction, and insufficient resources. The results were uneven in the best of times and tragic in the worst as sick people suffered neglect or abuse, or became even more ill in the chaotic conditions of their confinement.

Under these conditions patients' experiences resulted more from the interaction of family, social networks, and their doctors than from an abstract mandate from the state to regiment the lives of those deemed mad. There was no efficient state apparatus and so, Ablard contends, the Foucauldian metaphor of the all-seeing state simply does not hold in the Argentine case. Yet there might be a more important way to engage Foucault that addresses the quandaries raised by the author's own evidence. In particular, how did so many Argentines consent to the category of madness in the first place? Ablard documents the overcrowding of both hospitals, in which there were often two or three times the number of patients as available beds. The contradiction between a weak state apparatus and a powerfully pervasive discourse of madness (and practice of relegating people to that category) remains undressed. The book begins with the premise that some people were deemed mad but avoids the issue of how the ill themselves, their families, doctors, and reformers may have colluded in the creation of this category. This, a separate question from what happened to people once they were committed, might have been an interesting way to address (and refute, if that is Ablard's intention) the legacy of Foucault.

The state's interactions with madness become more fascinating during the period of the military dictatorships. The final chapter surveys the ways that the juntas politicized physical and mental health. Divisions emerged within the therapeutic community, whereby those who advocated biomedical therapies or more tra-

ditional confinement were aligned with the military and their erstwhile backers, right-wing elements in the United States. By contrast, some psychiatrists who supported treatment that included group meetings or recreational therapies found themselves in a leftist, nationalist camp associated with subversion. Additionally, attachments to socialism or other ideologies became the basis upon which people could be deemed mad, or at least fit for the asylum. The intersection of the military regime with the politics of madness became convoluted and might belie the general claim about the weakness of the Argentine state. This book is thoroughly researched and full of compelling case studies interwoven with convincing analysis. But the lean final chapter misses an opportunity to address these complexities as it heads toward the neatness of its conclusion.

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EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

T. P. WISEMAN. *Remembering the Roman People: Essays on Late-Republican Politics and Literature*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2009. Pp. 271. \$110.00.

This book, according to T. P. Wiseman's introduction (pp. 1–3), is intended as a counterblast to the twentieth-century consensus that the Roman Republic was in effect, if not in form, an oligarchy. It is not, however, a systematic piece of political analysis but “a sequence of particular studies with a common underlying theme, the self-image of the Roman people” (p. 3). The book presumes not only that there was a *popularis* ideology, but that the consciousness of this was not confined to a few leaders but spread through the *plebs* at large. If we could be sure of this, it would be of immense importance for the evaluation of republican politics in general and their crisis in the last century B.C., not least the civil wars. How much light does the author in fact shed?

First, Wiseman shows that for the Romans a pro-*plebeian* ideology did in fact exist, and he traces the stages by which it has been washed away by modern scholarship. He is professedly agnostic about the stories told about the early republic (pp. 17–18), as one would expect from the author of *Clio's Cosmetics* (1979), but reiterates his belief that the *popularis* presentation of aspects of the early republic in the surviving histories from the Augustan period goes back to the (now lost) annals of Licinius Macer, written perhaps in the first century B.C. (79–80). Chapter two is an imaginative attempt to explain why Gaius Licinius Geta, consul in 116, was expelled from the senate the next year by the censors but reached the censorship himself in 108: speculative, but the notion that Geta had been an associate of Gaius Gracchus is attractive. The third chapter returns to Licinius Macer and discusses his interest in the records from the temple of Juno Moneta on the Capitol in the light of his coinage and recent archaeological work. In “Romulus' Rome of Equals” Wiseman argues

that the “capsule” with Romulus's constitution in Dionysius's account is in fact based on Marcus Terentius Varro's *Antiquities*; this is plausible except for his title, since the constitution is not only regal but highly stratified. “Macaulay on Cicero” uses Thomas Babington Macaulay's marginalia and his letters and journals to illustrate the view of one eloquent and experienced politician about another. Chapters six and seven bring us back to Varro. The first argues that politically, although both supporters of Pompey, Marcus Tullius Cicero and Varro were far apart: this certainly seems to have been true at the end of Cicero's life, but the evidence for Varro as an opponent of optimate ideology is weak. The second centers on what little is known of Varro's Menippean satires, arguing that satire under the republic was intended to be performed and a popular genre, not just for the elite. “The Political Stage” explores how orators and politicians were performers both in the forum and elsewhere. This ends with Caesar at the Lupercalia—a cue for two chapters relating to Caesar's assassination: chapter nine sets the assassination against the precedents of earlier popular heroes that were brought down; chapter ten describes the deed itself and the aftermath in which the populace of Rome played an important role. A brief epilogue follows, eliciting commiseration for the undervalued republican *plebs*.

These chapters are a powerful rhetorical climax. There are weaknesses, however, in the underlying argument. The murder of a serving tribune, Tiberius Gracchus, by a private citizen, was indeed without precedent, but a preexisting tradition about the populist Spurius Maelius had him assassinated by a private citizen, Ahala, without public authorization, while of the two other alleged tyrant-demagogues in the annals, Cassius in one version was executed by his father, while Manlius was killed in an uprising. Wiseman should have turned his skepticism on the suspiciously bland presentation of the “Conflict of the Orders” in the Augustan historians. There was indeed a popular mythology about this period in the republic and it involved more violence than we find in Livy and Dionysius. Cicero in 65 B.C. (*Corn. fr.* 49–50), describes the return of the *plebs* to overthrow the *decemvirs* as the seizure of the Capitol under arms—in other words, a coup d'état. Nor do we need to overstress Licinius Macer as the source of such material: it was part of popular rhetoric earlier, to judge from Cicero's presentation of Marcus Antonius's defense of Gaius Norbanus in the 90s. Furthermore, the “republic of equals” is, I fear, Wiseman's myth, not that of Varro or the Roman *plebs*. The essence of the republic was liberty and the restriction of executive power. The populist Caesar genuinely offended against that canon.

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MARIOS COSTAMBEYS. *Power and Patronage in Early Medieval Italy: Local Society, Italian Politics and the Abbey*

of Farfa, c. 700–900. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Fourth Series, number 70.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. xvi, 388. \$115.00.

Marios Costambeys set himself several tasks: to explain why Farfa sought patrons and was itself a patron, and what impact patronage had on Farfa and its region; to provide for central Italy the kind of study recently accomplished for the northern areas of the Carolingian realm (he mentions Matthew Innes, Hans Hummer, and John Nightingale); to explore the political and social geography of liminal (i.e., frontier) monasteries. The book argues that Farfa as a distinct institution arose from the interplay of local elites among themselves and with the dukes of Spoleto, the Lombard kings, the popes, and the Carolingians. On the whole, the author acquits himself well of these stated goals.

After a rambling introduction that treats the source material on which the study rests, Costambeys turns to a series of seven chapters that rest on detailed analysis of the charters in the Farfa registers as well as other material gathered by Gregory of Catino in the early twelfth century. Costambeys also pays close attention to papal letters and the *Liber Pontificalis*. No scholar before Costambeys has worked so carefully through the Farfa materials in an attempt to reconstruct the monastery's holdings and the complex relationships among the local elites. The most original section of the book treats four major families that seem to have dominated the Sabina from the middle of the eighth century to the middle of the ninth. In other respects the book is original only insofar as it deals with Farfa. That is, most of what Costambeys discovered to have been true in central Italy was true for virtually all regions of the Carolingian world. Tensions between local and central authorities were rampant. Absentee management of estates was unsatisfactory. The wills—in both senses of the term—of testators frequently ran up against contrary interests. Marriages served both to create and to shore up social alliances. Courts of law proceeded by both formal procedures and informal compromises. Rights to specific pieces of land were constantly contested. Given his fragmentary evidence, Costambeys engages in a good deal of speculation. It is unfortunate that, as he candidly admits, almost nothing can be known about the structure of estates and about their agricultural output. This means that we cannot form an impression of what was at stake in all the political, social, and judicial contestation. Although the book is meticulously researched, it is frustratingly presented. The introduction does not really summarize the study as a whole, and the chapters rarely begin with clear introductions or end with succinct conclusions. Costambeys makes his readers work very hard to keep track of his book's central arguments.

In addition to its attention to Farfa, the book argues a thesis about “power” and how it worked in the early Middle Ages. From one point of view, Costambeys is simply following in the footsteps of other historians of

early medieval *Staatlichkeit* who are skeptical about the use of terms like state, government, administration, or policy. From another point of view, Costambeys is engaged in a lengthy, but courteous and respectful, argument with the central premises of my *The Republic of St. Peter* (1984). Our differences lie in the area of basic approaches. To argue that in the early Middle Ages there were no proper states but only “power” begs a lot of questions. What was power? How did one get or lose it? Who recognized it, how, and why? Costambeys never satisfactorily answers these kinds of questions. Costambeys says that there was no papal state with a “policy,” but he says that Farfa, Spoletan dukes and elites, Lombard and Carolingian kings, and individual popes had “policies.” While denying that states existed, Costambeys routinely uses such terms as central authority, central power, formal structures, administration, institutions, and governmental frameworks. If he can unproblematically use terms like these, why can he not use the term state? Why does he privilege Farfa's charters while dismissing much of the evidence in the *Liber Pontificalis* and papal correspondence as partisan? Costambeys casts aside the evidence of the papal-imperial *pacta* because it supports an argument for territorial rule, whereas Costambeys is only prepared to admit that very specific rights over land were adjudicated—in papal and imperial courts, no less—socially and politically, more or less on an ad hoc basis, always under the rubric “power.”

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ROSAMOND MCKITTERICK. *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. xviii, 460. Cloth \$90.00, paper \$29.99..

This book appeared originally in German as *Karl der Grosse* in the “Gestalten des Mittelalters” series of the Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft (2008). Rosamond McKitterick is well aware that major books on or circling about Charlemagne are about to appear: 2014 will be the 1300th anniversary of the great emperor's death. She makes her own contribution here, in a topical examination of the reign divided into five large chapters: “Representations of Charlemagne” (narrative sources, with special attention to the annals); “Pippinids, Arnulfings and Agilolfings: The Creation of a Dynasty” (including consideration of the expansion of the Frankish kingdom and of Charlemagne's design for his succession); “The Royal Court” (special attention to Charles's travels and to the royal chancery); “The King and the Kingdom: Communication and Identities” (special attention to the capitularies and to foreign relations); and “*Correctio*, Knowledge and Power” (the place of the Christian church in Charlemagne's kingdom and the attendant revival of learning). The fifty-five-page bibliography is a precious resource. No explanations of the subtitle and “European Identity” are given.

This book is most stimulating when McKitterick is fully engaged with the material. She is little concerned with Charlemagne's military exploits; similarly, the imperial title merits only four downbeat pages, and the diplomacy for its Byzantine recognition goes unnoticed. The book is not exhaustive. But McKitterick deals energetically with many topics: assigning an early date to Einhard's biography and exploring his non-Suetonian classical models; pondering how much of Hincmar's *De ordine palatii* is attributable to the lost earlier work of Adalhard of Corbie; weighing whether Aachen was a capital; demonstrating that Charlemagne's itinerary should not be reconstructed by a mechanical reading of the places of issuance of his charters; showing that Charlemagne's court cannot be properly called "itinerant"; observing that Charlemagne's pre-800 capitularies were programmatic and the later ones executive; closely scrutinizing Charlemagne's relations with Offa of Mercia; tracing the provenance of the books normally said to have been produced at Charlemagne's court; and more. Manuscripts of the sources discussed are often cited, with first-hand attention to their details; this may be the principal innovation of this book (the manuscripts are usefully indexed). Throughout, she makes clear her very positive appraisal of the reign (see, for example, pp. 245, 278) and her acceptance of the letter of the documentary sources—a sharp departure from the "diminished" Charlemagne typically associated with Heinrich Fichtenau.

McKitterick draws special attention to "the spate of books and collections of articles over the past decade devoted" to Charlemagne and his age (p. xii). Her book privileges recent publications: for example, more titles by Paul Fouracre are cited in the bibliography than by François-Louis Ganshof (d. 1980), once the giant of Carolingian studies. We are referred to M.Phil. theses by McKitterick's Cambridge students (once even to a short M.Phil. essay; p. 38, n. 125). Yet it may not be wholly inappropriate to say that persons moderately familiar with the Carolingians will not find themselves in a transformed landscape.

The prospective audience for the book is not easily identified. The nonbiographical design and high level of difficulty discourage the idea of classroom use. McKitterick is a doyenne in her field; her decades of tireless research and teaching have been poured into a steady stream of major publications on Carolingian subjects. This book will make it possible for those interested in the early Middle Ages to learn what she thinks about a host of pertinent topics and what recent work has met with her approval.

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ELIZABETH DACHOWSKI. *First among Abbots: The Career of Abbo of Fleury*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 299. \$69.95.

Given the spottiness and difficulty of our sources, it is hard to write a true biography of even the best-docu-

mented early medieval figures, which is why so many would-be biographers end up writing "life and times" studies around a figure. This has been Elizabeth Dachowski's tactic in her study of Abbo, abbot of Fleury (d. 1004). Certainly Abbo merits such a treatment, given how central his life was to his times. He was one of the most important leaders of monastic reform, an early defender of papal prerogatives, and an apologist for new Capetian power. He inserted himself into the thick of many of the most contentious events of his day, including the councils of Saint-Basle (which deposed Archbishop Arnulf of Reims) and Saint-Denis (which ended in a full-scale riot). He was also an important scholar who wrote letters and poetry, treatises on astronomy and computus (one of the latter re-dating the birth of Christ to show that the millennium had already passed without incident), and a fascinating piece of hagiography (the *Passio Eadmundi*), while also compiling an important early collection of canons. More than anyone, he built Fleury into a major intellectual center.

Although other studies have already treated him in some detail, Dachowski attempts to improve on the simple narrative of Dom Pierre Cousin (1954) and seeks a broader understanding of Abbo's life than that undertaken in Marco Mostert's still valuable discussion of his political theory (1987). In particular, she sees Abbo adapting over the course of his life, moderating not his goals but his means of obtaining them, becoming less obstreperous in their pursuit, learning to compromise with his kings, and aiming more at maintaining a balance of power between political leaders. The argument makes intuitive sense. Her book is often valuable for its detailed account of events and disputes too often passed over. Her final chapter on Abbo's death at La Réole is particularly useful, as is her examination of the way Abbo cultivated relations with the papal legate Leo. Yet a reader familiar with older literature may come away from Dachowski's book still thinking that Abbo kept grudges, that the antagonisms which developed around Gerbert of Aurillac persisted, and that Abbo's support of kings and secular princes remained at the end, as at the beginning, strong but highly qualified. In addition, writing a good "life and times" requires a great deal of knowledge about seemingly heterogeneous historical fields, and therefore the kind of relentless curiosity that pushes one to master fields one does not know. It is not an easy task in a first book, which may be why Dachowski makes a number of mistakes. The Carolingians were not restored in 923 (p. 83). Robert the Strong was anything but "a common soldier" (p. 26). Saint-Crépin lies in Soissons, not Poitiers (p. 145). There was no bishop of Gascony (p. 234). The leading monastery of Auxerre is Saint-Germain, not Saint-Germaine, and the great tenth-century archbishop of Tours was Teotolo, not Teotilo (p. 89). When summarizing Abbo's arguments in his *acta* of the council of Saint-Basle, Gerbert used *discernere* in its ordinary meaning of making discriminating judgments; Abbo was not arguing that the participants should somehow be "set apart in a general synod" (p. 111). An

attestation to a single diploma of Robert the Pious does not demonstrate that Abbo now had a place "at the heart of the royal court": nothing else indicates it; everything else argues against it (p. 145).

The bibliographic omissions are also significant. Renée Mussot-Goulard's excellent study on Gascony, *Les Princes de Gascogne* (1982), is not cited, despite its relevance to the events surrounding Abbo's death. Yves Sassier's and Laurent Theis's biographies of Hugh Capet (1987) and Robert the Pious (1999) are not mentioned. Some of J.-F. Lemarignier's works are cited, but not his famous article in *À Cluny* (1950) on monastic exemption, though it is largely devoted to the important privilege Abbo received from Gregory V in 997. Lemarignier also here argued that Abbo composed his *Collectio canonum* in a two-stage process, this being a quite different interpretation than Dachowski's.

Generally, Dachowski's understanding of monastic reform is dated; the old dichotomy of good abbots and bad bishops keeps reappearing. Nor is the peculiar position of Fleury ever explored in enough depth—particularly with respect to its ca. 930 reform—so that Fleury's preeminence under Abbo remains unexplained, apart from its claim to possess the body of St. Benedict. Finally, one thing that emerges in passing from Dachowski's treatment (as also from Mostert's *Political Theology*) is Abbo's repeated insistence on the authority of "books," where the books are books of canons and the canons often Pseudo-Isidorean. This is a clue to the historical depth and intellectual coherence of Abbo's thought and program of monastic reform that would have repaid attention.

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SAMANTHA KAHN HERRICK. *Imagining the Sacred Past: Hagiography and Power in Early Normandy*. (Harvard Historical Studies, number 156.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2007. Pp. x, 256. \$49.95.

This careful and well-presented book adds significant new dimensions to our knowledge of the formation and development of the tenth and eleventh-century duchy of Normandy. Its core is a detailed critical examination of three texts—the *Passio Nicasii*, the *Vita Vigoris*, and the *Vita Taurini*—which relate the lives of St. Nicaise, St. Vigor, and St. Taurin. These saints are associated with three major churches of the Norman duchy, the abbey of Saint-Ouen of Rouen and the bishoprics of Bayeux and Evreux; Vigor and Taurin were among the early bishops of the two dioceses, and Nicaise was reputedly the first evangelist of the diocese of Rouen, martyred before he could reach his episcopal city. Building effectively on the conclusions of others such as John Howe and Felice Lifshitz, Samantha Kahn Herrick confirms their dating of the composition of all three texts to the 1020s and 1030s. She then draws conclusions about the formation, evolution and identity of the Norman duchy by associating the texts with regions

within or just beyond its frontiers: the Vexin, Ponthieu, the Evrecin, and the Chartrain, and, in the case of the *Vita Vigoris*, also with Duke Robert the Magnificent's foundation in 1032 of the abbey of Cerisy in Lower Normandy, where ducal authority had been less tangibly present than in Upper Normandy.

Careful readings of the three texts and some very effective analysis of their themes and contents in the context of other *vitae* from early eleventh-century Francia enable Herrick to argue that the image they present of conversion and sanctity resonated with the eleventh-century Norman present. Further, the development of all three cults can be directly associated either with Duke Robert, who not only founded Cerisy but also attended Nicaise's translation into Rouen in 1032, or, in the case of Taurin, with Archbishop Robert of Rouen (989–1037), a man every bit as important as the dukes in the formation of the Norman duchy. All, she argues, reinforce the importance of the ruler as a defense against illegality. The result is a valuable reaffirmation that, after a shaky start, Duke Robert's rule was beyond doubt a constructive phase in the duchy's history and a clear continuation of direction from that of his father Duke Richard II.

In broader terms the book raises questions about the interrelationship of saints' cults and state formation, with Herrick slotting her analysis into a rather pessimistic estimate of the scale of ducal authority, especially in Lower Normandy. This may be true, but it is worth observing that other indicators, such as charter attestations and physical presence, suggest a different view. The sort of comparative discussion that is one of the book's strengths could have been brought to bear here: what, for example, are we to make of the relative absence of saints' lives in Anglo-Saxon England and of this absence's significance for state formation? Another comparative dimension worthy of exploration could have been to set the three texts against the saints' lives written in tenth-century Normandy, with Lifshitz's work pointing to a continuity that needs to be emphasised. There is the occasional error of presentation. In particular, it is unusual for Lyre to be rendered as Lyra and the distinguished historian of the duchy, the late Raymond Foreville, changes gender (see p. 208, note 39; and p. 226). Two valuable appendixes give details of the surviving manuscripts of the *Passio* and the two *Vitae*. Given the importance that must now be assigned to them, it is to be hoped that Herrick can proceed to produce modern critical editions of all three. Overall the book is a good example of how a thorough study of little-known texts can lead to conclusions of considerable significance for themes like state formation, identity, and power.

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M. CECILIA GAPOSCHKIN. *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2008. Pp. xvii, 331. \$45.00.

That historians have long regarded Louis IX of France as one of the central figures in medieval Christendom is surely due in part to the cult of the saint-king, which began during his lifetime and intensified in the years leading up to and following his canonization in 1297. The sanctity of Louis IX is of particular interest to historians of medieval religion, politics, and culture since he was the only king canonized during the thirteenth century and the last medieval monarch to be made a saint. In exploring what Louis's sanctity meant to his contemporaries, historians have largely relied on hagiographical accounts, including those by Jean de Joinville, Geoffrey of Beaulieu, William of Chartres, and William of Saint-Pathus. In his 1996 biography of Saint Louis, the great French medievalist Jacques Le Goff examined these different representations of the saint-king in a section of his book on "the production of royal memory." The splendid new study of "the posthumous Louis" by M. Cecilia Gaposchkin builds on the work of Le Goff and others but breaks new ground in using a rich array of unpublished liturgical texts and feast-day sermons for Saint Louis, which until now have largely been neglected by scholars. Gaposchkin uses these sources alongside the better-known hagiographical texts to trace Louis's evolution from king to saint following his death in 1270. This is the first book to fully explain how commemorations of Louis reconciled the paradox of his saintly and royal identities.

Gaposchkin's central argument is that the saint-king's "multivalent appeal" (p. 12) to different constituencies was reflected in the different images of him created in the decades following his death. Louis's Capetian descendants, for example, sought to royalize his sanctity. This can be seen in *Ludovicus decus regnantium*, which was probably commissioned by Philip IV (Louis's grandson) and was the most influential of the six liturgical offices composed for Louis's feast day studied here. Whereas some earlier saint-kings were depicted as being saints in spite of their royal office, this liturgical office emphasized that the very qualities that made Louis a good king (humility and justice) also rendered him a saint. Just as the Carolingians did in their liturgy, the Capetians used images of kingship from the psalms to link Louis, God's chosen king, to the ancient Israelite kings, and to suggest that France was the new Israel. Biblical typology, in short, was used by royal liturgists to lend sacral authority to the Capetian line.

As Gaposchkin illustrates, while the Capetians emphasized Louis's kingship, the Franciscans downplayed it, instead casting Louis as a Saint Francis figure who sought to renounce wealth and power and devote himself to charity. In their liturgy, moreover, the Franciscans interpreted Louis's two crusades as a pious rejection of family, wealth, and royalty, and an embrace of suffering and the possibility of martyrdom. Louis was a devoted patron of monastic houses, and Gaposchkin has found that among monastic liturgical representations of the saint-king, there were different versions of Louis, each corresponding to the values of a particular monastic order. Thus, the Louis of the Cistercians was

a contemplative ascetic, while the Louis of the abbey of Saint-Denis affirmed the special relationship between the monarchy and the monastery that possessed his relics. Even within Joinville's famous account of Louis, Gaposchkin posits that there are two distinctive portraits, one that Joinville wrote before Louis's canonization that is based on Joinville's personal experience, and another written post-canonization that is far more idealized.

While much of this book uncovers the ways that Louis's sanctity was constructed by different constituencies for their own political interests, Gaposchkin wisely cautions against seeing all acts of commemoration as purely motivated by political self-interest, acknowledging the intermingling of political and religious motives. She is also careful not to overstate the influence of the liturgical offices for Louis, which she concedes were mostly confined to the Paris region. Yet even if these texts represented a fairly limited cult, Gaposchkin succeeds in demonstrating that what was at stake in the process of "making" and remaking Saint Louis was far more than the image of this one man. The cult of Saint Louis engaged those with competing values and ideologies in a cultural discourse about what they believed constituted sanctity and kingship.

Although Gaposchkin is primarily interested in showing the fluidity of Louis's image and how it was refracted by different constituencies, she also illuminates the continuities among late medieval representations of Louis, how one liturgical office appropriated the language of another, or the thematic commonalities between the liturgy and the iconography of the narrative glass cycle at Sainte-Chapelle. She includes an appendix with the Latin texts of the offices for Saint Louis arranged in parallel columns, making it possible for specialists to compare texts and study the transmission of ideas and images between traditions. Since many readers may be unfamiliar with the Catholic liturgy, Gaposchkin also includes a short "excursus" (a bit oddly placed after chapter three) to introduce the structure of the liturgical office.

This elegant and thoroughly researched book makes a significant contribution to our understanding of late medieval sanctity, the relationship between sanctity and kingship, and the way that sermons, liturgy, and hagiography shaped the construction of memory.

ADAM J. DAVIS
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SUSAN L. EINBINDER. *No Place of Rest: Jewish Literature, Expulsion, and the Memory of Medieval France*. (The Middle Ages Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2009. Pp. 267. \$55.00.

Although medieval Jews were periodically expelled from cities and towns, from principalities and indeed from entire kingdoms, Jewish collective memory retains only the Spanish event of 1492. All others are left to historians to deal with. This is particularly true for France, where several banishments occurred from the

twelfth century through the end of the fourteenth century. Recent scholarly productions concerning France consist of, among others, the doctorate of Céline Balasse entitled *1306: L'expulsion des juifs du royaume de France*, (2008) and an M.A. dissertation at the University Lyon 2 by Étienne Collet, just sent to press, which reveals names of hundreds of Jews who crossed the Savoy border in the months that followed the decree of banishment. The last of the French expulsions, which occurred in 1394, was the subject of an international conference convoked by Gilbert Dahan whose proceedings were published in 2004, while in 1991 Elisabeth A. R. Brown made public the astounding discovery that there had been no expulsion in 1322, contrary to what was claimed in most books. Susan L. Einbinder works in this context and wishes to find out what memories of the 1306 and 1394 banishments can be discovered in the literary works of those who were expelled or of their descendants.

An accomplished Hebraist and a remarkable literary student, Einbinder courageously faces difficult texts, some of them hidden in archives and never discussed before. Few of us are able to do such challenging scholarly work. However, it is only "faint historical echoes" (p. 145) that can be obtained from the analysis of these texts, even from the hymns of Isaac ben Reuben (pp. 70–83). We do much better with the short but explicit pronouncements by contemporaries of the events like Kalonymos of Arles or Gersonides of Orange. The literary sources, unable to deliver more than their scarce content, become fascinating and of much interest when read in separate chapters under Einbinder's guidance. Thus a parody on the Easter story written (both in Hebrew and in Romance) by Crescas Caylar around the year 1327 naturally attracts much attention as Crescas also translated to the Hebrew in the same year the "Regimen Sanitatis" of Arnold of Villanova. Einbinder is right to point to the basic medical theories common in both pieces and to the similarity of the dietetics that they share. Another physician, Jacob ben Solomon Zarphati, lost three of his children to the pestilence that raged Avignon in 1382–1383. In a unique piece of medieval Hebrew literature entitled "Great Morning," he reports on the last hours of his beloved daughter Esther. This physician (who may have attended the medical faculty of Montpellier as some other Jews did) was in all probability aware of the efforts to promote the canonization of the saintly Peter of Luxemburg that were taking place in the region since 1387. It concerned the miraculous recovery of a daughter of Professor Jean de Tournamire from a cancer of the left breast. Tournamire, scion of a family with deep roots in Montpellier, was chancellor of that city's famous medical faculty and was exceptionally friendly to Jewish students (or rather auditors) at the university. The paths of the two physicians must have intersected more than once. They both shared the conviction that "rational" medical knowledge has its limits, and that calling for heaven's help behooved even professionals of the art of healing.

A third figure who catches the imagination of many

today is the poet Isaac ben Abraham ha-Gorni. Not much of his poetry is left, and the fact that only one manuscript of it is available to scholarship (MS. Munich 128) indicates in all probability that he was not very popular even during his lifetime eight hundred years ago. Einbinder deals with his writing as well as his struggles (were they real or just part of his "poetic persona"?). The fascination with his personality is obvious since Isaac is considered to be the only Hebrew troubadour that we know of. His Provençal Jewish contemporaries were allegedly repelled not only by his womanizing but also by his social critique and by his quest for material help: Einbinder titles him a "Gascon exile" in order to justify his prominent inclusion in her book. Allegedly he landed on Provençal soil as a victim of the expulsion from Gascony in 1287. But the late Bernhard Blumenkranz, to whom Jewish medievalism in France owes so much, has insisted (see *Les juifs en France, écrits dispersés* [1989], pp. 43–45) that the Hebrew term "Goren," which means threshing-floor and "Aire" in French, does not refer to the town Air in the west of France but rather to the Mediterranean city Hyères in eastern Provence. Hyères is not far from the town Le Luc that Isaac designates as his dwelling place, and is in the vicinity of Draguignan where our poet starts his belligerent itinerary. To make out of Isaac Gorni witness to the expulsion from Gascony is in my opinion to press a bit too hard evidence that hinges on one word ("Goren"). This book should be thanked nevertheless for calling readers' attention to his most interesting poetry.

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KATHRYN A. MILLER. *Guardians of Islam: Religious Authority and Muslim Communities of Late Medieval Spain*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2008. Pp. xiv, 276. \$45.00.

As the Christian Reconquest of Spain unfolded between the capture of Toledo in 1085 and the fall of Muslim Granada in 1492, large Muslim populations were incorporated into the expanding Christian kingdoms. Christians initially treated those subject Muslims, or *Mudéjars*, the way most Muslim states ruled their Christian and Jewish minorities: as a subject group who paid heavy taxes and suffered certain legal disabilities, but who were allowed to practice their religion and run their internal community affairs unmolested. That treatment changed, however, as Spanish Christian rulers developed an ideology calling for a purely Christian state. Jews in 1492, then Muslims in the 1520s, were forced to leave or convert to Christianity. Kathryn A. Miller's book focuses on Muslim legal scholars, or *faqih*s, under the crown of Aragon in the fifteenth century, after the more open period of tolerance had passed but before the forced conversions of the sixteenth century. Her particular interest is the role of that religious leadership in maintaining a distinctive Muslim community and culture under Christian rule.

This book makes important points about the difficulties of preserving a subculture in the face of pressures from the surrounding society. The book is particularly strong in its creative use of sources. For example, an examination of the surviving *Mudéjar* manuscripts points to the obvious conclusion that *Mudéjar* religious authorities prized certain frequently-copied Muslim legal and religious texts, often on contracts, marriage, and inheritance, areas in which *Mudéjars* enjoyed at least some autonomy. The author's analysis of colophons and marginalia, however, offers a more detailed idea of how those manuscripts were used, and where and when they were copied and circulated, giving us a sense of how *Mudéjar* communities were connected with one another and with Islamic lands. She also makes good use of rulings from religious authorities in North Africa and Granada, still a Muslim state at that time, commenting about the status of Muslim scholars living under Spanish Christian rule. The picture that emerges is of a group of *Mudéjar* scholars torn in two directions. On the one hand, *Mudéjar faqihs* saw themselves as part of the larger Islamic world; they were literate in Arabic, traveled to North Africa for study and to Arabia for the *hajj* (pilgrimage) as conditions permitted, and corresponded with authorities in Muslim lands. On the other hand, they lived under Christian rule, and served a population that was in daily contact with Christians and increasingly spoke Romance languages rather than Arabic. Those two realities were often in conflict; while some authorities in North Africa and Granada were sympathetic to the *Mudéjars*, most believed that one could not live a proper Muslim life under Christian rule, and that *Mudéjars* were obligated to emigrate to an Islamic country if at all possible. From the perspective of most scholars in Islamic lands, *Mudéjar faqihs* were not true religious authorities at all, since they lived compromised lives outside the Muslim world.

The author gives some fascinating instances of scholars struggling with their conflicting identities: for example, *Mudéjar faqihs* in dialogue with scholars in Granada and Egypt about the permissibility of translating Arabic sermons into Romance languages. Most *Mudéjars* other than the religious scholars did not understand Arabic. Arabic, on the other hand, was the traditional language of religious revelation and discourse. Some of the authorities found it acceptable for sermons to be delivered in Arabic but then explained in Romance languages. One Egyptian scholar, however, insisted that sermons be given only in Arabic, emphasizing Arabic's status as a language specially singled out by God as superior to others. The rulings left the *Mudéjar faqihs* in a difficult situation: they could give sermons that were unintelligible to those they hoped to instruct, or they could speak in Romance languages, thus increasing their community's separation from traditional Islamic practice.

Despite the book's many strengths and insights, it also has limitations. Once the author has laid out the *faqihs'* major concerns and the conflicting pressures they faced, the book tends to repeat those initial points

rather than reaching a deeper level of analysis. To provide a fuller picture of how religious leaders functioned in *Mudéjar* society, it would be necessary to dig more deeply in the *Mudéjar* sources by, for example, examining surviving sermons in more detail, work the author suggests still needs to be done. An alternative would be to offer more specifics about the relationship of *Mudéjars* to Christians, and the gradual acculturation to mainstream Christian society that the *faqihs* both resisted and accommodated.

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G. GELTNER. *The Medieval Prison: A Social History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2008. Pp. xviii, 197. \$29.95.

This slim volume, its body of text just over a hundred pages, is based on in-depth study in the archives of Venice, Florence, Bologna, and Siena. Its broad title, therefore, is a little misleading. Although G. Geltner promises to compare his Italian evidence with data from other parts of Europe, the result is not much more than occasional remarks like "conditions everywhere were more or less similar." The picture he presents of incarceration in the four cities studied, however, is lively and informative. Geltner opens with the story of a severe flood that occurred in Florence in 1333. It led the magistrates to decide to evacuate the prisoners of the lower wards, at the risk of escape, in order to save their lives. Apart from genuine altruistic concerns, the decision was quite understandable, since the majority of the inmates were propertied citizens and a mass drowning would have constituted a financial disaster. This would seem to confirm the familiar image of medieval prisoners as being primarily debtors, but in fact Geltner is bent on combating ancient stereotypes.

For one thing, he argues that incarceration was well-developed by the fourteenth century, with new structures being erected in many towns. These structures could be sizeable: Venice's prison occupied the entire ground floor of the southern wing of the doge's palace and Florence's *Le Stinche* was a huge compound comprising seven sections. Especially valuable is the elaborate picture of internal life that Geltner reconstructs. For example, prisoners were more likely to gamble than to attempt to escape, because that would only mean joining errant folks on the run. By contrast, prison life entailed frequent contact with the free world. Through the bars of their cells, which faced the streets, inmates could converse with citizens and beg for food. Thus, medieval jails were no dark dungeons where inmates languished forgotten by everyone. That is the first stereotype Geltner does away with, but it is perhaps more of a popular image than a scholarly view. From the historiography of madness, for example, we know that cages for the insane, too, faced the streets in order to allow the inmates to beg. I have argued that two elements distinguished prisons from (medieval and later)

jails: a regime intended to keep the inmates busy, as in forced labor or solitary confinement meant to facilitate contemplation, and a punitive character, i.e. the majority of prisoners were there to be chastised instead of for debt or provisional detention. That medieval jails lacked a regime is amply confirmed by Geltner, who describes boredom as the most common facet of internal life.

What about the second element then? Here it is a matter of interpretation. The only statistics Geltner presents, for Florence, clearly show that the overwhelming majority of inmates were incarcerated for debt, with provisional detention as the second largest category. However, Geltner argues that incarceration for debt, technically a coercive measure, also had punitive aspects. About half of the inmates in question, moreover, were public debtors and among them was a large group deprived of their freedom because they were unable or unwilling to pay the fines imposed by court or *podestà*. Legally, these persons were in jail to be coerced into paying their fines, but everyone knew that many never would. In practice, they served prison terms instead, being released at the occasion of a religious feast, for example. Venice even had a standardized tariff list, which converted fines into prison terms for various offenses.

In some ways, then, Geltner provides a revision of the scholarship about early modern imprisonment that stresses the distinction between prison and jail and sees the prison as emerging in the late sixteenth century. Strangely enough, he does not make this explicit, because he largely ignores this scholarship. Authors not referred to include Catherina Lis and Hugo Soly, Bernard Stier, and Joel Harrington. Geltner does briefly take issue with the older view that considered John Howard and Jeremy Bentham to be founding fathers of the prison, and he mentions Michel Foucault in passing. Yet, a consideration of the literature on early modern imprisonment would have enabled him to put his section on escape, and internal life generally, within a broader comparative perspective. That is a missed chance, but on the whole Geltner's book is a valuable contribution to the history of punishment.

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R. N. SWANSON. *Indulgences in Late Medieval England: Passports to Paradise?* New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 579. \$120.00.

Medieval indulgences (or pardons) have had a bad press. Many modern commentators see them as exemplifying both the cynical manipulations of church authorities and the gullibility of the laity. Revisionist scholars of late medieval religion, meanwhile, have often paid them little attention, regarding them as marginal to devotional life. R. N. Swanson's extraordinarily thorough and resourceful research sets out to overturn both the unreflective condescension and the "almost wilful amnesia" (p. 518) about the role of indulgences

in medieval England. He argues that pardons were not only ubiquitous but of very considerable economic, social, and spiritual importance in the centuries preceding the English Reformation.

Pardons—partial or complete remissions of the satisfaction due to God for sin—were rooted in a papally administered "Treasury of Merit," but most were issued by bishops for a variety of national and local purposes. These might take spiritual and devotional forms, function as encouragement to frequent sermons or pilgrimage sites, or buttress "social" activities, such as giving to the upkeep of roads and bridges. They were used to bolster the membership of guilds and other associations, or to privilege individuals: understandably popular were grants of the right to choose a confessor to convey a plenary indulgence at the point of death. Pardons could also be a response to personal crisis: they were issued to encourage charitable giving to those who had lost property in fires, or who needed ransoming from the Turks. The reciprocity of benefits here, Swanson intriguingly suggests, ameliorated the shame of begging at a time of growing social intolerance.

Paradoxically, the very ubiquity of pardons may have contributed to their historical invisibility; they were attached to innumerable aspects of religious life in ways that often did not need stating. Nevertheless, Swanson makes a heroic effort to track down their evidential traces in official and private documents, and in the residues of material culture. A chapter on the sources is well titled "Nooks, Crannies, Needles, Haystacks." What Swanson finds is a well-organized, consumer-oriented business with sophisticated marketing techniques. It had its unacceptable face—Geoffrey Chaucer's pardoner was a caricature with a foot in social reality, and aspects of the theory and practice perturbed not just radical Wycliffites. But Swanson finds the volume of criticism much less than one might have expected and exonerates the "law-abiding majority" (p. 199) of pardoners. He makes a valiant (though, he admits, doomed) attempt to estimate the total economic scale of the indulgence traffic, and concludes that it was an important lubricant of the money flow, keeping the late medieval economy moving.

Still harder to elucidate are questions of motivation, of what pardons meant to those who issued and purchased them (and probably the majority of indulgences were not paid for in cash at all, but issued in return for the recital of prayers). Pardons can look mechanistic, quasi-contractual: did people acquire them in naïve expectation of automatic efficacy? Swanson is inclined to think not, as so many sources stress their conditional nature, their dependence on the proper processes of confession and contrition. In fact, he is inclined to credit indulgence collectors with a much greater degree of sophistication than modern sensibilities usually concede. It was possible to accrue vast amounts of pardon, thousands and thousands of years, with relatively little effort or financial outlay, especially if one credited the unauthorized indulgences proliferating in printed prayer books. Some lay people did accumulate avidly,

but Swanson finds little evidence anyone was closely keeping count—arguably a reflection of a grown-up awareness that the satisfaction God would demand was unknowable in this life. At the same time, implausibly large offers of pardon may have made sense in relation to notions of chivalry and lordship, whose characteristic virtue was largesse. Christ as the supreme Lord would naturally be supremely generous, demanding little in return.

But, as Swanson readily concedes, much remains uncertain about the appeal of pardons. Were they merely an incidental reward for supporting a charitable activity out of genuinely altruistic motives, or was the prospect of indulgence the key incentive for people to give in the first place? Most puzzling of all is the relative ease with which indulgences collapsed during the reign of Henry VIII, extinguished rather than abolished, and with little evidence of public protest or concern. Swanson struggles a little to square the circle here, concluding that vigorous debate required a society that accepted the premises of purgatory and papal primacy, and that when these fundamentals were undermined, indulgences went down quietly with the ship.

This is a book that few scholars could have written, requiring huge expertise in the administrative, financial, and devotional aspects of late medieval Catholicism. It is immensely learned, while remaining readable; sympathetic, but not rose-tinted. It will surely be the standard work on its topic for a very long time to come.

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EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

DAVID ABULAFIA. *The Discovery of Mankind: Atlantic Encounters in the Age of Columbus*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2008. Pp. xxvi, 379. \$35.00.

This book examines the influence of ancient and medieval imaginings of wild men, strange races, and exotic and dangerous humans on the earliest European depictions of the peoples of first the Canary Islands and later the New World. Because the historical category of wild men has been widely examined elsewhere, David Abulafia wisely refrains from rehashing well-known themes, choosing instead to employ a few evocative examples from this tradition. Some familiar sources of ancient and medieval imaginings surface—Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* (ca. 77–79) and John Mandeville's *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (1371)—as do several novel examples, such as Gerald of Wales's derogatory 1180 portrait of animal-like Irish faces. Abulafia also invokes two well-known names, Francesco Petrarca and Giovanni Boccaccio, for unaccustomed reasons. Both Renaissance authors infected their portrayals of the recently encountered natives of the Canary Islands differently. Boccaccio's more affirmative and Petrarca's more negative assessments effectively illustrate Abulafia's point about variations in Europeans' ancient and

medieval attitudes toward newly encountered human beings. This variety of original European understandings (rather than a single set image or stereotype) sets the stage for Abulafia's account of the diversity of responses to the people of the New World during the first two decades of encounters.

As signaled by the book's subtitle, Abulafia devotes the middle third of the book to Christopher Columbus's (and his companions') views of Native Americans, tracing the deterioration from naïve optimism on the first voyage to growing disillusionment on the second and subsequent voyages. Abulafia also mentions several embellished "translations" of Columbus's first letter from the New World. For example, in one translation into Italian, the women of the New World become Amazons; in another, alluvial gold becomes a metal for which one need only fish.

Abulafia remains more charitable toward Columbus than many other critics. Rather than as an obdurate and intransigent man, the explorer appears full of uncertainty and confusion. Abulafia writes that "The conflict between expectation and experience . . . left Columbus confused . . . about how to treat the people he had found" (p. 309). But perhaps Columbus benefits the most by the foil the author has chosen, Columbus's more famous contemporary Amerigo Vespucci, whose writings Abulafia characterizes as "tabloid journalism."

Abulafia notes that Columbus's coolly distanced semiotics of native bodies—skin color and hair texture—became eroticized in Vespucci's sensationalist writings describing uncovered genitals and lustful women knowledgeable in the arts of penile enhancement. In Vespucci's hands, the desired, edenic existence of New World peoples emerged instead as an unabashed pleasure-seeking that transgressed both ethical and aesthetic norms. Other indigenous behaviors played out as disgusting and unattractive. Public defecation and urination appeared repugnant, and the native bodies were negatively judged by aesthetic rather than moral criteria. Brazil's Tupi were "ugly."

Abulafia follows these dichotomized portrayals of newly encountered people as good or bad from the Canaries to the Caribbean and further south in the Americas, suggesting that the wholly wicked "Caribs existed in the minds of the explorers" (p. 127). The dehumanization of American Indians, the author remarks, did not occur "on the grounds of Indian behavior or appearance, but on the grounds of Spanish cupidity and utility" (p. 212). He closes with a deft characterization of the New World component of the widely acknowledged Renaissance discovery of man: "An incomplete discovery, for not all observers accepted that the newly discovered people were fully human" (p. 313).

Another aspect of the book deserves mention. Abulafia launches the book with an innovative and welcome change. Unfamiliar terms are usually relegated to the end of history books, implying that ignorance of terms is a secret best consigned to an ignominious place after the tale. By forcing readers to root around in the back of the book to retrieve unfamiliar information, authors

inadvertently create the impression that their books only address the cognoscenti. By contrast, Abulafia introduces the historical actors and unfamiliar terms at the opening of the book, thereby inviting the reader into the initially strange and newly encountered world of Canary Islanders and Native Americans.

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KATHLEEN ANN MYERS. *Fernández de Oviedo's Chronicle of America: A New History for a New World*. Translated by NINA M. SCOTT. Austin: University of Texas Press. 2007. Pp. xvii, 324. \$50.00.

Historians intrigued by the title of this book should be aware of two facts. First, Kathleen Ann Myers is not a historian but a professor of Spanish literature; however, she has written extensively on women in colonial Spanish America, is well read and well versed in the field's historiography, and here delivers a book that will not disappoint historians. Second, this is not a critical edition of Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo's *Historia general y natural de las Indias*. Such a work would be vast; first published in part in 1535, the entire *Historia* was not published until the 1850s—all fifty books of it. Nevertheless, historians will be pleased to see that fully half this book consists of appendixes of primary material. These include thirty-six pages of excerpts from the *Historia* translated by Nina M. Scott, and eighty-one pages of illustrations, all of them facsimile reproductions of pages from various manuscripts and published editions of Oviedo's magnum opus. The appendixes are a veritable treasure trove of primary source details, making the book of use and interest to researchers from various disciplines.

The first half of Myers's book consists of seven succinct essays. These begin with a biography of Oviedo, tracing his career as "a court page, author, Italian courtier, and a New World bureaucrat" (p. 8). The remaining six are critical studies of aspects of Oviedo's *Historia*. These focus on such themes as historical method—specifically Oviedo's claim to a privileged role as an on-site observer, writing "himself into the history . . . as mediator, judge, author, *veedor*, divine scribe, king's servant, and Crown historian" (p. 40)—and on autobiography, with Oviedo appearing regularly in his own books, thereby blending the genres of history and the personal *relación*. Another essay examines Oviedo's approach to natural history; Myers includes a fascinating five-page case study of the Spaniard's attempts to describe the pineapple.

Two of the essays look at what Myers, following Oviedo, terms general history. She picks a pair of illustrative topics. In one, she analyzes a dozen passages scattered across the *Historia* to trace Oviedo's reluctance to discard the myth of the Amazons—women-only warlike societies in the Amazon region—despite mounting evidence that their existence was less and less likely. Myers then turns from Amazons to conquista-

dors, giving us a deft little study of Oviedo's interview with Juan Cano. A Spanish son-in-law of Moctezuma, Cano offered an account of some of the events in the Spanish Conquest of Mexico that contradicted the conventional narrative based on the letters of Hernando Cortés to the king. Myers shows how Oviedo used Cano to modify his own earlier narrative, thus indirectly criticizing Cortés. In trying "to ferret out the truth from conflicting testimony," Oviedo "probes the issues with which all historians of the Indies must contend" (p. 111). The Cano interview is one of the translated excerpts included in the appendixes.

The final essay of the book's first half explores the descriptions of Native Americans in the *Historia*; these evolved over the years, so that they "at times appear inconsistent" (p. 114). Myers outlines the influence of Oviedo's "growing ethnographic interest" (p. 134) in certain native societies and cultures. She shows how his reputation as hostile to "Indians," based on early characterizations of them as idolatrous savages, lasted for centuries because his more complex and nuanced later descriptions remained censored and unpublished until the 1850s.

Myers's seven essays are expertly structured, highly readable, and carefully argued. This book is a great pleasure to explore. It will be of interest to—and an enjoyable, thought-provoking resource for—students and scholars of all the disciplines that touch on colonial Spanish America.

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PETER C. MANCALL. *Hakluyt's Promise: An Elizabethan's Obsession for an English America*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2007. Pp. 378. \$38.00.

Research into the life and works of the English colonial propagandist, editor, and translator of travel writings Richard Hakluyt was well served in the twentieth century. His great compendium, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, published in its full three-volume form in 1598–1600, was reprinted in 1903–1905 in what is still the standard modern edition, while a facsimile of the original version (1589) appeared in 1965. Hakluyt's writings, printed and manuscript, were collected by E. G. R. Taylor and published with those of his cousin and mentor, Richard Hakluyt the lawyer, as *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts* in 1935. In 1993 Hakluyt's *A Discourse Concerning Western Planting* (1584), a treatise advocating colonial settlement in North America that was circulated in manuscript only, appeared in an annotated edition by D. B. and A. M. Quinn with a facsimile of the sole extant manuscript. In 1928 George Bruner Parks published his *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages*, which remains the best book-length account of Hakluyt's life. A collection of thematic essays and biographical and bibliographical material was published as *The Hakluyt Handbook* in 1974, edited by D. B. Quinn. The groundwork

for further studies of Hakluyt is firmly established and interest in him shows no signs of abating, with the publication of a major collection of papers given at the three-day conference on Hakluyt at Great Britain's National Maritime Museum in 2008 and a new, annotated edition of the *Principal Navigations* under active consideration.

Hakluyt studies are therefore at a cusp, with major projects in hand but not yet imminent. Now is a good time to recapitulate and update existing scholarship, and Peter C. Mancall's book, the most substantial monograph on Hakluyt since Parks's in 1928, appears at an opportune moment. Mancall usefully discusses such matters as Hakluyt the lawyer, the *Discourse Concerning Western Planting*, Hakluyt's edition of Antonio Galvão's *The Discoveries of the World* (1601), and his translations of Hugo Grotius's *The Free Sea* (c. 1609) and Gothard Arthus's *Dialogues in the English and Malaiane Languages* (1614). Valuable also are Mancall's "Note on Method and Sources" and extensive endnotes. Sadly, however, the book is flawed in concept and execution. While there is no denying the central importance of America in Hakluyt's thinking, America does not emerge from these pages as an "obsession" as opposed to a serious and considered colonial objective. Mancall himself contradicts the implication of his book's title that America was Hakluyt's sole interest when he writes that "the efforts of the Portuguese in the East and the Spanish in the Americas" were "two subjects that obsessed Hakluyt" (p. 248). To these could be added a third, Russia and the regions of the north, scarcely mentioned by Mancall, although between a quarter and a third of the text of the original edition of the *Principal Navigations* is devoted to them. In any event, Hakluyt's interests, obsessive or not, need to be seen in a global context, in which America was only a part.

In terms of execution, especially in relation to the various books with which Hakluyt was associated, Mancall disappoints. Thus, for example, he implies that Abraham Hartwell's translation, inspired by Hakluyt, of Duarte Lopes's *A Report of the Kingdome of Congo* (1597) was from Portuguese (p. 219), when it was in fact from the Italian; that Hakluyt helped bring the English edition of Antonio de Espejo's *New Mexico* (1587) into print (p. 173), whereas there is no evidence that he did (although he did produce an edition in Spanish in 1586). His account of the English edition of Jan Huygen van Linschoten's *Discours of Voyages into Ye^e Easte and West Indies* (1598), facilitated by Hakluyt, is confused, notably in its claim that it was identical in illustrative material to the Dutch original (pp. 241–242), whereas it was actually considerably inferior (although some copies have the Dutch illustrations supplied). Surprising in a book focused on Hakluyt and America is Mancall's belief (p. 196) that the captions to John White's illustrations—the most famous early English images of the New World published, thanks to Hakluyt, in Theodor de Bry's editions of Thomas Harriot's *A Briefe and*

True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia (1590)—were written by White, when, in so far as authorship can be established, they were by Harriot himself. Such inaccuracies are not merely of antiquarian concern because the overriding importance of Hakluyt as a figure for historical investigation lies in the various texts with which he was associated and any study of these must rest on sound bibliographical foundations. Although a welcome addition to the literature on Hakluyt, Mancall's work is best used with caution and should not be relied upon for points of detail.

ANTHONY PAYNE
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JOHN A. LYNN II. *Women, Armies, and Warfare in Early Modern Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 239. Cloth \$80.00, paper \$24.99.

John A. Lynn II establishes a welcome new field with his book on the functional contributions of women associated with European armies of the past. Encouraged by Barton Hacker's pioneering article of 1981 and a few other scholars of military history, Lynn is the first to analyze in depth the role of the women who provided crucial logistic and moral support to armies on the march. Because women's activities appear in the context of major European movements, this volume is important for scholars of early modern Europe as well as women's history.

A well-respected military historian, Lynn's initial venture into women's history reflects the difficulties that pioneer researchers in this field experience. Since the women were not paid by the army, specific information about their numbers and names was absent from official documents. Repeated orders forbidding wives and families to join soldiers in later years had to be read as confirmation of their presence. Fictional accounts, songs, pictures, and the scant personal records needed careful evaluation; after all, the literature and images were made by men. While providing a sound basis for this intriguing subject, the author invites future researchers to fill out the picture.

However, Lynn's modesty in presenting his material as a preliminary study does not do justice to this rich, human, and wonderfully readable book. He first shows that armies before 1650 took the field without provisions for feeding, clothing, sheltering, or nursing their soldiers. These crucial tasks were provided by the "campaign community," the women and families marching with the soldiers. The combined armies and their women constituted huge masses of people equivalent to those found in large towns. They commandeered and pillaged supplies from the civilians in their wake, staying in makeshift campfire homesteads or taking over civilian homes. Indeed, their predatory nature against countrymen and foreigners alike influenced governments to reformulate the structure of fighting forces.

Lynn differentiates between the "aggregate contract army"—the typical force assembled before 1650,

formed of mercenary troops and rag-tag soldiers, put on the field without logistical support—and the “state commission army,” after 1650, a more disciplined force, with better support, fielded by kingdoms more strictly controlled by their central governments. Lynn admits that this conception may be challenged, and his well-tempered prose will inspire future historians to weigh in on the topic.

The author treats these groups as communities, rather than as military forces, because they “hardly fit the modern definition of an army. Although the soldiers constituted its teeth and claws, a considerable number of noncombatants accompanied the troops into the field” (p. 34). Along with servants, and service men charged with repairing weapons and fixing carriages, the soldiers’ women joined because they had few other alternatives. They hoped to end the campaign with booty that they and their men plundered from conquered towns. Some were attached to men fleeing debts or prison. Others had been kidnapped or found themselves as refugees or penniless migrants. They entered a group that rejected conventional decorum and was hostile to peasants and villagers, among whom drink, youth, and bravura led to constant brutality and violence.

But it was, nevertheless, a society with its own standards. The soldiers’ women divided into two groups: soldiers’ wives and prostitutes. Women might enter “May weddings” for the duration of the campaign, carrying a soldier’s household on their backs and giving sexual service to him, but not to others. Prostitutes might “belong” to one man who dressed her gorgeously, or to be available to the regiment. They were considered a necessary adjunct in order to spare civilian women; for instance, when the number of wives was curtailed, the British Army ordered that a company might have six prostitutes.

Because of their rough and dangerous life, however, the soldiers’ women took on some qualities of masculinity, while still retaining their feminine identity. They dug trenches, mounted cannon, picked up muskets, fought and died, even though they were not among the relatively few women actually posing as male soldiers. They marched at the end of baggage trains, either in crisp formation or in rag-tag crowds, under the surveillance and regulation of special officers.

Early European armies depended on soldiers’ women to make fires, cook, wash and repair clothing, and tend the sick. Just as important was their skill at earning money by selling vegetables, bread, liquor, small luxury items, and clothing and weapons taken from corpses on the field. As Lynn writes, “Pillage can be considered the ultimate family economy of the campaign community” (p. 145). Here women played an essential role, as accomplices in the theft and later selling of the goods to merchants.

Lynn draws a rich, colorful picture of life in early armies. A pleasure to read on its own terms, this book

uncovers a new element of reality that historians must now integrate into their study of early modern states.

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BEAT KÜMIN. *Drinking Matters: Public Houses and Social Exchange in Early Modern Central Europe*. (Early Modern History: Society and Culture.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2007. Pp. xx, 283. \$85.00.

On his trip to Italy in 1580, Michel de Montaigne went through Basel. He praised the generous layout and the delicious food of the city’s inns but found overnight accommodations lacking in cleanliness, comfort, and service. For the growing number of travelers who roamed through early modern Europe, inns afforded an important window onto a place, a region, a territory, and a people. Experiencing a tavern invited comparisons, conversations with fellow travelers, and reflections of a philosophical kind. In this book, Beat Kümin generates a wealth of information on the many inns that dotted the map of Europe between 1400 and 1800—places that offered their services to both local and foreign patrons. To capture a bewildering spectrum of establishments, Kümin has surveyed and synthesized an impressive number of records, among them travelogues, autobiographical texts, laws, tax ledgers, court records, advertisements, images, and architectural plans. While it focuses primarily on two regions—Catholic Bavaria and Protestant Bern—this lavishly illustrated study draws on examples and materials taken from all over the continent, touching on themes such as the typology of inns, the sociology of publicans, work organization, income levels, salaries, menus, sales strategies, consumption patterns, product costs, signage, spatial arrangements, and the topography of inns, to name some of the many topics treated in this comprehensive and pointillistic treatment. Kümin’s account delights in the sheer heterogeneity of the phenomenon under investigation: for an increasingly mobile and economically restless Europe, the inn, the author contends, was an indispensable institution.

Kümin’s work is most intriguing when it dispels commonly held assumptions about taverns before 1800. Three of the author’s many insights will have to suffice for the purpose of this review, though other observations not mentioned here will merit the attention of students of early modern Europe. First, Kümin argues against identifying patronage at inns with lowlifes and criminals, marshaling evidence that respectable groups frequented taverns on a regular basis; attendance was not necessarily deemed suspicious. Second, it has often been assumed that among the inns’ clientele, men predominated while women supposedly risked their honor and, as a result, avoided inns; by contrast, the author notes the regular, recurring, and remarkable presence of “honest women” in tavern-like establishments throughout the period. Third, historians have tied the history of inns to the history of state-building. Across

Europe, the authorities engaged in efforts to curtail alcohol consumption and sought to improve the economic lot of their subjects. After all, beer and wine were nutritional staples across Europe, despite their considerable expense—at least for the lower classes—and their potential hazards. Territorial authorities sought to contain the damage inns supposedly brought for the social order and the economic wellbeing of the populace, issuing various regulations as well as seeking to limit the overall number of licenses. Yet enforcement of the various control measures was inconsistent at best. Customary sales privileges for alcoholic beverages, often held by members of the elite, militated against stringent control measures, even though such laxity impinged on the state's ability to raise revenues. In Kümin's account, local variation and economic diversification emerge as the most striking features of a Europe-wide network of inns. Even confessional differences in policies and consumption were negligible in light of the inn's persistent significance as a social institution. Instead, inn-like establishments were part and parcel of an expanding infrastructure of roads, markets, postal stations, and transport services. If anything, these institutions were highly dynamic factors in the fabric of overlapping local, regional, and continental economies.

Macroeconomic and microeconomic conditions aside, inns helped spark the so-called consumer revolution of the eighteenth century. According to this critic, their overall success reflected a slow and steady rise in prosperity before the onset of the industrial revolution. By 1800, some of the most renowned "public houses"—establishments such as Basel's celebrated "Three Kings"—satisfied a desire for sophisticated luxuries among well-to-do guests while other places continued to cater to less distinguished clientele. In eighteenth-century travelogues, Swiss inns were heralded as places of great comforts for the traveler, much superior to what Montaigne had reported two centuries earlier. Viewed thus, Kümin claims, the impact of the restaurant as an institution has been much exaggerated in extant writings on the subject; what these novel spaces had to offer—a menu of different fares for different budgets, for instance—was already characteristic of drinking and eating out during the early modern period.

With various factors shaping stories of a highly local flavor that largely resist generalization, the question arises what holds this account together other than the very insistence on regional variability, social differentiation, and temporal transformations. Kümin's somewhat elusive answer is that inns were themselves agents of change in that they served as important relays of information on all matters pertaining to the locale, the region, and the state. While coffeehouses and restaurants offered additional spaces for get-togethers in urban centers after 1700, inns, whether rural or urban, functioned as social catalysts throughout the early modern period, providing a forum for the exchange of in-

formation on a large scale, despite the fact that the authorities viewed these places with suspicion.

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TARA NUMMEDAL. *Alchemy and Authority in the Holy Roman Empire*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2007. Pp. xvii, 260. \$37.50.

Alchemy has become an important area of investigation for historians of medieval and early modern science, who have recognized its centrality to topics as diverse as matter theory, the development of laboratories, and attitudes toward art and nature. The alchemical thought of well-known figures such as Robert Boyle and Isaac Newton has been researched extensively. This fine study builds on that work, but also takes it in a new direction. Tara Nummedal investigates mostly obscure figures who called themselves alchemists in the Holy Roman Empire. She asks how they defined themselves, what exactly their practices were, how they negotiated with their patrons, what their patrons believed they were getting from them, how they succeeded, and how they failed. The result is a carefully researched social history of alchemists and their patrons that illuminates the cultural meanings and practices of alchemy in late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century Europe.

These "entrepreneurial alchemists" practiced not only for their own edification, but also for social and economic benefits. A significant presence in early modern courts and cities, they heretofore have been little studied. Nummedal argues that these practitioners, most of whom were not Latin-educated scholars, transformed traditional alchemy, creating practical technologies that addressed the economic needs of early modern states, especially relevant in German areas where the related activities of mining and assaying occupied a central place in state economies.

Alchemists were not regulated by guilds, prescribed training, or a licensing system, ensuring that their expertise could be acquired in a great variety of ways. By the late sixteenth century, aspiring alchemists had an immense variety of texts at their disposal, including those transmitting ancient and medieval alchemical traditions, Paracelsian texts, and practical manuals or *Kunstbücher* that addressed metallurgical and other practices. They could also learn through apprenticeship to a master. A significant number had trained in closely allied arts such as metallurgy, medicine, pharmacy, and goldsmithing.

The persona of the alchemist could be highly variable and was deeply embattled. The alchemist was criticized as a fraud in a longstanding tradition that included Petrarch, Erasmus, and Sebastian Brant. He or she could be a scholar, artisan, or prophet, but also, in the sixteenth century, a criminally corrupt merchant or a fool. The fraudulent alchemist, the *Betrüger*, was a well-developed topos of the late sixteenth century, abetted by alchemists themselves in competition with one another.

Nummedal provides a richly detailed account of entrepreneurial alchemy, showing that it offered both a philosophy of nature and practical technologies. Using contracts, trial transcripts, and other archival documents, she brings to light individual alchemists in particular courts, such as Philipp Sömmering (ca. 1540–1575), who worked in the court of Duke Julius Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, and was eventually accused and tried for alchemical fraud and executed after undergoing horrific torture. Detailed contracts that princes made with alchemists, which placed all the risk on them, provide evidence for the princes' point of view in terms both of their desire for practical benefits and their concern to separate legitimate from illegitimate practitioners. Essential for the context of alchemy in this period is the realization that it was a culture in which the possibility of transmutation under some circumstances was universally accepted.

Nummedal investigates what the alchemists actually did and the laboratories in which they practiced. Alchemical laboratories proliferated during this time. This book portrays the layout of spaces, the assaying and distilling equipment, and the workers, including those considered technicians and laborers, and those in authority, the alchemists themselves. Nummedal provides an astute discussion of the issue of secrecy within the practices of particular laboratories.

The trials of fraudulent alchemists have left transcripts and other documents that provide insight into the perspectives of the princes, of learned chemists who wrote tracts against these alchemists, and of the "frauds." Defrauding a prince was a particularly serious accusation. At least nine alchemists were executed during this period. A central issue was authority. How did alchemists gain authority for their claims, or if they failed (as some did spectacularly), how did that happen? The question of authority is an issue because along with the accounts of fraudulent alchemy and trials of individual practitioners arose a genre of "transmutation histories": that is, accounts of successful transmutations. The literature of fraudulent and successful alchemy developed side by side. Alchemy as a discipline was actually supported by the trope of false alchemists, because failures could be blamed on the incompetence or deceitfulness of individual practitioners, rather than on conceptual or philosophical difficulties.

The great virtue of this study is that it is based on extensive archival documentation and astute interpretation concerning actual practitioners and their patrons and critics. This book is relevant to social and cultural historians as well as historians of science. Nummedal's work is a rare phenomenon: a first book that is also a model study.

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SALVATORE CIRIACONO. *Building on Water: Venice, Holland and the Construction of the European Landscape in Early Modern Times*. New York: Berghahn Books. 2006. Pp. x, 308. \$80.00.

This book is a revision and translation of Salvatore Ciriaco's *Acque e agricoltura: Venezia, L'Olanda e la bonifica europea in età moderna* (1994). When the book was originally published, it struck many reviewers as a departure from the usual fare in Venetian history, offering an unusual glimpse into the workings of Venice's mainland state, known as the *terraferma*. Since that time, the *terraferma* has received increasing attention from scholars on both sides of the Atlantic—so much so that Ciriaco's work should no longer seem odd, even to an American audience.

For this new edition, Ciriaco has written a brief new introduction and made a few changes to the main text. However, in most respects, the book remains unaltered from the Italian original. This means that for Venetian specialists, who would have made up the original audience for the book, there is little that is unfamiliar here. Ciriaco has maintained his small-scale Braudelian approach, and his use of the analytical category of "hydraulic societies" (which harkens back to the seriously dated oeuvre of Karl Wittfogel). Likewise, Ciriaco's central argument—that Venice, once the leader in irrigation technology, fell behind Northern European societies, especially the Dutch, because of the failure of capitalist modes of agriculture to penetrate the Italian countryside—has also remained unaltered. The structure of the book is also the same, with three chapters on Venetian irrigation technology based on extensive research in the Venetian archive, and two chapters based largely on secondary sources (the first comparing Venetian achievements with the Dutch case, and the second examining the diffusion of irrigation technology in early modern Europe).

So with little that is new to attract an audience outside of the core of Venetian specialists who have already read it, the rationale for suddenly translating this book is not immediately apparent. Since the book has been published under the rubric of environmental studies, the answer would seem to be to take advantage of the explosion of interest in environmental history that has taken place in the United States in the thirteen years since the book was first published in Italy, and thus reach a new audience. The problem with this rationale is that Ciriaco was never particularly interested in the environment as a category of analysis, despite his homage to Fernand Braudel in the introduction. The book is concerned almost exclusively with technological diffusion and economics. The various irrigation and land reclamation schemes described in the book are analyzed in terms of their profitability, caloric yield, and technological innovation. The overriding question for Ciriaco is what kinds of irrigation technology and capital investment combined to produce the eighteenth-century agricultural revolution in Europe. The actual environmental effects of capital intensive agrarian schemes are not discussed at all. Indeed, while Ciriaco admits that these effects were often negative, even destructive, he argues that in the early modern context such adjectives are largely meaningless, since the benefits of increased caloric yields

greatly outweighed any environmental changes that took place as a result of irrigation and reclamation. Modernity, in other words, was a desirable outcome, regardless of the cost. The questions Ciriacocono does ask are not without interest, but the book's somewhat celebratory tone will strike most environmental historians as problematic, as will that lack of any real analysis of the incredible environmental changes brought about by Venetian and Dutch water management schemes. This is particularly grating, since the English edition has substituted the term "landscape" for the term "reclamation" in the title, even though there is still little real discussion of landscape in the book.

Even on its own terms the book is limited. Since Ciriacocono tends to see capital intensive, modernizing schemes as ultimately good, he gives short shrift to the dissenters. Local farmers and landowners in the Venetian *terraferma* who resisted investment in new crops and irrigation technologies stood in the way of progress, and were ultimately responsible, in Ciriacocono's account, for Venice's decline as a center of practical hydraulics in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There is certainly a case to be made for this view, but Ciriacocono does not offer a satisfying account of why so many individuals and consortiums could not see what, to him, are the obvious advantages of a Dutch-style regime of integrated stock keeping and capital intensive agriculture. A more nuanced analysis of the Venetian resistance to new forms of land use and investment would make his case more interesting and convincing.

Nonetheless, this translation makes the history of Venetian hydraulic management, which is far less known than the Dutch case, accessible to a wider audience. That is by no means a minor achievement, and should make this book worthwhile to anyone with an interest in early modern agriculture and water management.

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MARGRIT SCHULTE BEERBUHL. *Deutsche Kaufleute in London: Welthandel und Einbürgerung (1600–1818)*. (Veröffentlichungen des Deutschen Historischen Instituts London/Publications of the German Historical Institute London, number 61.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 2007. Pp. x, 512. €54.80.

Margrit Schulte Beerbuhl's main thesis is that Great Britain's rise to world trade domination was significantly assisted by its liberal naturalization policy for foreign merchants. German merchants especially took advantage of this policy, as did the British. Chapter one describes the legal basis for the naturalization policy in Britain; that German merchants migrated to British colonies, became naturalized, took the oath of allegiance, and made significant contributions to British Atlantic economies is ignored. In assessing the meaning of "significant contributions," Beerbuhl accepts the problematic thesis that Britain owed the rise to world dominance in trade in the seventeenth century to the

acceptance of the rules laid down by the Acts of Trade and Navigation. In the book's second chapter she changes her perspective: after a brief portrayal of German–English trade relations since the sixteenth century and a discussion of London's rise to predominance in British trade (pp. 65–81), Beerbuhl focuses on the role of German merchants in England in the early modern period before she turns to her subject proper, the economic behavior of German naturalized merchants in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The core chapter of the study, chapter three, is about naturalized merchant companies' trading behavior in the eighteenth century, especially in England, Western Europe, the Mediterranean, and Russia. "World trade," prominently featured in the book's title, is only occasionally mentioned or is reduced to a sketch. A short résumé and long lists of names of German merchants who were naturalized from 1660 to 1709 and from 1714 to 1820 complete this prosopographic study, the strength of which lies in the author's use of little-known sources (directories, insolvency lists) and in the many biographical details provided about German merchants in London.

The many interesting facets about merchant biographies, commercial successes, and failures do not cover the fact that this book suffers occasionally from a lack of analytical depth and stringent contextualization. All too many questions remain unanswered, and significant finds are left unexplored or isolated. Sometimes the chronology seems arbitrary. Let me suggest some queries for which I would have expected answers. Did the naturalized German merchants fulfill English expectations? Why are these merchants' activities almost never discussed in relation to English politics? Did those German merchants in England who did not seek naturalization perform in ways significantly different than those of their naturalized counterparts? How large was the percentage of non-naturalized German, French, and Dutch merchants engaged in British trade? What is the meaning of graphs ten and eleven on page 352 and page 354?

Finally, the book's historiographical basis is surprisingly deficient. Despite Beerbuhl's complaints about archival accessibility, significant scholarship on transnational trade in the early modern period—particularly for the Atlantic world—does exist, some published in the same series as her own book. I know from my own experience that it is possible to use German, English, Dutch, West Indian, and American archival resources, and if the author was unable to do so herself she could have fallen back on secondary scholarship. The list of archives consulted is quite impressive. Still, it comes as a surprise that Beerbuhl did not use the private archive of the Rothschild Family in London with its rich resources on early modern trade and finance, or more significant material in the Foreign Office/State Papers (FO and SP) of the National Archives in Kew. Their consultation as well as a more thorough investigation of

available scholarship would have improved this book significantly.

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WILLIAM WEBER. *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste: Concert Programming from Haydn to Brahms*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. xv, 334. \$99.00.

Music historian Henry Raynor once called the orchestras of the nineteenth century the “essential expression of the personality” of industrial civilization, at war and at peace. For Raynor, this personality derived from the “precise co-ordination of many disparate specialist functions,” displayed with particular intensity in the performance of a symphony by Franz Joseph Haydn, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, or Ludwig van Beethoven (Raynor, *Music and Society Since 1815* [1976], p. 100). But to examine all the music that such orchestras played in concert, as William Weber has done with great verve and unmatched thoroughness in his new book, is to understand orchestras (large, medium, and small) as also an “essential expression” of the disorder, playfulness, and sheer miscellany always hanging around the edges of that precisely coordinated machinery. For Weber, a slightly shifted and shortened nineteenth century, running from about the 1780s to about the 1860s, saw a “great transformation” in how orchestras functioned in social and musical life. After a period of commingling and mutual accommodation among different sorts of music—vocal and instrumental, simple and complex—in the concert programs of the late eighteenth century, this “old order” broke down around 1800 and was followed by more than a half century of what one can only call confusion and experimentation in the ways in which music was presented to the public. By the 1850s, Weber sees this settling into a situation that lasted until 1914 and was marked by more or less clear distinctions among serious concerts and popular ones, with opera positioned comfortably between them, each to some significant degree in a taste community of its own.

This book is about what, where, and why people listened to music in concert and how the kind of music they listened to and the categories into which they placed their musical experiences changed. The modest little word “taste,” which he uses to encompass all this, tracks not just a simple preference for one piece of music over another but a complex transformation in classes, cities, economies, politics, and, not least, ideas. The basic story line is straightforward—gradually, over the course of about seventy years, “concert programs changed from replacing old works with new ones to the revering of classics” (p. 3). But the shift this required was, argues Weber, a “drastic” one, more so than any comparable changes in taste occurring in the world of painting and sculpture, where a notion of a “high art” above the vagaries of contemporary taste had long existed (p. 4). Based on an analysis of thousands of con-

cert programs in the cities of London, Paris, Leipzig, and Vienna, Weber’s account of music’s development of a practice of “high art” takes us beyond generalizations about the canonization of the great masters, or rather, takes us behind the scenes in the places, great and small, where their busts were ensconced and their names carved on the architraves. Weber shows both how such processes actually developed and, more importantly, what else was going on besides putting Beethoven on the concert hall roof.

Indeed, one of the most stimulating aspects of his work is his rescue of entire genres of concert life from what truly is the condescension of posterity. Promenade concerts, café concerts, ballad recitals, and opera galas did lack the mighty rituals and the emotionally, intellectually demanding music of the symphony and formal recital halls. But they were nevertheless pervasive, aesthetically defensible, and characterized by considerable musical skill and ingenuity. They provided employment for musicians whose traditional sources of income and support were rapidly disappearing, and, not least, they gathered a diverse audience for a varied array of vocal and instrumental works, which together constituted a rare “unifying point of taste” and “common culture” in a segmented, class-divided musical milieu (pp. 8, 274). Weber suggests, more by the careful attention he gives to them than by explicit argument, that such lively, flexible, middle-brow concerts made the formal symphonic concerts of (mostly) dead masters possible, highlighting the latter’s majesty by contrast and thereby confirming the existence of a reassuring hierarchy of art.

It would be hard to exaggerate the extent to which the dispersed and diversified stuff of concert life—playbills strewn about everywhere, reviews in every sort of periodical, a shifting set of characters, an enormous and ever-expanding potential repertoire—defies the efforts of those like Weber who would put it into some kind of order, and it is therefore all the more impressive to see it done so well. Three of the most important tasks of the historian remain particularly hard to master in this context, those of demarcating periods, of establishing causality, and of assessing significance. Yet Weber does an excellent job with each, while making clear the tentative or necessarily speculative nature of some of his conclusions. Causality is perhaps the hardest problem to sort through, mainly because, as with anything involving production and consumption under conditions of a relatively free market, the degree to which the consumer or the producer brings about changes in the system remains somewhat opaque. But one puts down this book certain at least that any explanation that addresses only such matters as the increasing difficulty of Beethoven’s compositions or the increasing size of concert halls, or that privileges performers over listeners or impresarios over performers or patrons over professionals, will have missed the kaleidoscopic interplay of all these movers and shakers and players in a gloriously rich and expansive scene.

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ALAN KRAMER. *Dynamic of Destruction: Culture and Mass Killing in the First World War*. (The Making of the Modern World.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. vi, 434. \$34.00.

Many historians have pointed to World War I as a point of departure for understanding the history of mass killing in the twentieth century. It was the beginning, according to the recent historiography of modern Europe, of "industrial killing," which in turn led to the carnage of World War II and the Holocaust. In his new book on World War I, Alan Kramer disaggregates the various components of this accepted wisdom and reconstructs a sensible argument about the war's "dynamics of destruction" that focuses on the agency of intellectuals, military leaders, and politicians who chose the path of annihilation, whether of military targets, cultural objects, cities and towns, or, most disconcertingly, of civilian populations. He looks at ideas of war as they evolved before, during, and after the fighting, and he examines combat itself and its effects on participants and observers alike. Kramer writes with engagement and empathy. He has a deft hand in choosing evocative quotes from firsthand witnesses. Combined with numerous black and white photographs of the destruction, he leaves the reader with the same sense of bewilderment about the reasons why that overwhelmed many contemporaries and survivors of the war.

The book is based primarily on the secondary literature and is meant to cover the continent as a whole, in particular the main players: Germany, France, Austria-Hungary, Great Britain, Italy, Serbia, and Russia. There is some attention to the Ottoman Empire and even to Ireland but almost none to Poland and Romania. Inevitably in such a wide-ranging approach, some parts of his study are better researched and are more convincing than others. The Italian sections are particularly impressive, where Kramer capably analyzes the work of Italian futurists and links them with the brutish Italian war effort and Mussolini's fascism that followed. Similarly, there is a lot to learn from his discussion of German war guilt and militarism. Here he engages Isabel V. Hull's important thesis in *Absolute Destruction: Military Culture and the Practices of War in Imperial Germany* (2005) that German military strategy from the time of the Franco-Prussian war was inherently annihilationist. Kramer argues, in contrast, that the German army's pounding of its enemies during World War I was neither unique nor did it presage the destructive policies of the Wehrmacht during World War II. The Russian sections of the book are based on relatively spotty research in secondary sources; for the Habsburg eastern front, he would have needed to do more original research to make up for the relatively weak historiography; and the Ottoman section, focused mostly on the persecution and expulsion of the Greeks and the Armenian genocide, relies on an incomplete reading of the available literature. Yet the strength of the book is in its breadth. Europeanists who are not specialists on

the war will be grateful to have all of this material in one accessible volume.

Kramer begins his study with a discussion of the purposeful burning of Louvain (Belgium), the complete destruction of its university library, along with other important cultural monuments, and the massacre of 248 of the town's citizens. He goes on to examine the ways in which warfare was radicalized. Kramer also reviews the causes of the war and engages with balance and systematic analysis many of the traditional arguments about who started the war and perpetuated it. No one country was responsible; all of Europe, in some ways, participated willingly. In his chapter on "culture and the war," Kramer explores the way writers and artists portrayed the horrors of war positively and, more rarely, negatively, from the different perspectives of each country. In this case, he finds British and French intellectuals less militant than the Germans, but the Italians as aggressive in their ideas of transformative violence as the Germans. Kramer also examines trench warfare and observes that the textbook analyses of the fighting on the western front leave much to be desired. There was more movement in the west than is often assumed, as armies created new tactics to overcome the sedentary stalemate of the trenches.

He approaches the question of why men continued to fight in typically careful fashion, offering a variety of explanations, from patriotism to a lack of alternatives, from loyalty to one's mates to a strong sense of duty. He notes the poignant fate of the twenty million men who suffered injury alongside the nine million who died. And he judiciously ties the results of the war to the upheavals that followed: the end of empires, the Russian Revolution and ensuing civil war, and the rise of fascism and Nazism. None of this was predetermined, Kramer appropriately concludes, but, in the case of Germany, for example, "memory of the war was used . . . to prepare the next war" (p. 319). He insists at that same time that the discontinuities between World War I and World War II were as important as the continuities. The "dynamics of destruction" that were developed in the first war were not as virulent as in the second; total war was introduced in the first but taken to another level in the second, where its potential for genocide was realized.

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MICHAEL AMARA. *Des Belges à l'épreuve de l'Exil: Les réfugiés de la Première Guerre mondiale; France, Grande-Bretagne, Pays-Bas 1914-1918*. Foreword by SOPHIE DE SCHAEPDRIJVER. (Histoire.) Brussels: Editions de l'Université de Bruxelles. 2008. Pp. 422. €30.00.

In the last twenty years, World War I has increasingly been understood as a total war involving civilians in myriad ways. As Sophie De Schaepdrijver points out in her thoughtful preface to Michael Amara's excellent new study, viewed from the civilian side of the war, Belgium experienced the war in a distinctive way. Not only

was Belgium almost completely occupied, but nearly a quarter of its population at some time had fled as refugees. Only Russia had a larger number of refugees in its population, and only Serbia had a higher proportion of its population flee their homes. Amara studies all aspects of the Belgian refugees: their enormous symbolic value as evidence of German malevolence, their role in the Allied war effort in the countries to which they fled, and their deteriorating situation among their hosts during the war, due to war weariness and xenophobia.

Although the Schlieffen Plan unfolded rapidly, the German army took almost two months before it reached the Channel coast. In that time, Belgians fled in waves, leaving their homes both to escape actual fighting and from fear. News of Germans killing civilians and shelling towns caused panic. By October 15, ten weeks after the start of the war, a million and a half Belgians had fled to Britain, France, and the Netherlands—over a fifth of the population. In all three countries, Belgian refugees were, initially, warmly welcomed and generously supported in a wave of what Amara calls “belgophilia.” The refugees helped turn British opinion, in particular, against the Germans and fueled pro-war sentiment among liberals and church groups.

The initial enthusiasm gradually cooled as the cost of supporting a foreign population for years became clear. The Netherlands, with over a million refugees, soon managed to convince ninety percent of its refugees to return once it was clear that the front had stabilized and Germany was firmly in control of Belgium. The 100,000 refugees who remained still represented a much heavier burden than the 325,000 in France or the 250,000 in Britain. Individually and in small groups, Belgians continued to flee to the Netherlands and then go to France or Britain throughout the war. Amara deftly compares the refugees’ experience in the three countries. In contrast to the Dutch and, to a lesser extent, the British, the French never put refugees in camps. Whereas the Dutch and French always relied heavily on state support for refugees, the British, true to their Victorian traditions of self-help, initially tried to use private charity. Indeed, the gradual shift in Britain toward state support, says Amara, was a milestone in the shift to the welfare state. British class consciousness meant that upper-class refugees received more aid than did lower-class Belgians.

Britain and France soon put Belgians to work. As Belgians became more important for British war industries, Britain actively recruited Belgian refugees from the Netherlands as workers. Belgian companies and Belgian workers for British and French firms made an important contribution to the Allied war effort. The Belgian government in exile, based in Le Havre, France, created its own armaments factories in France and Britain, often using workers whom it pressed into military service. Belgian refugees became the basis of the Belgian army holding the front against the Germans near the English Channel, but traditional antimilitarist sentiment could outweigh anti-German feeling. Pro-

portionally many more Belgian refugees of military age refused to join the army than was the case among the civilian populations in Britain or France.

As the war wore on, relations with the host countries’ populations deteriorated. Belgians were seen as clanish, prone to drinking, and ungrateful. Determined that they would return, the refugees resisted assimilation to the point that they hardly learned the language of the host country if it was different than their own. Belgians were often accused of laziness. It is difficult to see what factual basis lay behind this charge. French authorities in 1917 found that eighty-one percent of Belgian male refugees worked while 13.9 percent could not due to poor health (p. 108).

Amara’s research is extensive but presented concisely. His cast of characters—from Allied benefactors of the Belgian refugees to commentators on Belgians during the war—is a roll call of early twentieth-century luminaries: e. e. cummings, André Gide, Robert Graves, H. G. Wells, and Edith Wharton. Winston Churchill wanted the Belgians to stay in Belgium in order to “eat up continental food and occupy German policy attention” (p. 156). While Belgian nationalism has been sometimes seen as weak, Amara finds it vibrant among the refugees: they set up their own schools even when they spoke the same language as their hosts, celebrated national holidays, and insisted on keeping their own customs, including fights between Catholics and liberals, and Flemings and francophones. As he wryly points out, “internal divisions are constitutive of the Belgian nation” (p. 326).

When a book is so deeply researched and well presented—Amara’s French is a joy to read—it is difficult to criticize. One issue that might be probed more deeply is the linguistic division. Amara rarely mentions whether refugees were Dutch or French speakers. Enrollments in Belgian schools in the Netherlands, which offered instruction in one or the other language, reveal that about three-fourths of the refugees there were Dutch-speaking Flemings. Amara does not discuss whether refugees who faced xenophobia in Britain or France were Flemish or francophone, or whether language made any difference at all. Overall, however, this is an excellent study, a major contribution to Belgian historiography and an important source on the Allied experience of World War I.

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MATTHEW FRANK. *Expelling the Germans: British Opinion and Post-1945 Population Transfer in Context*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. x, 320. \$110.00.

As Allied armies entered the death camps in the closing weeks of World War II one of the most shameful episodes in a century of horrors began to unfold: the forced expulsion with Allied agreement of ethnic Germans from Czechoslovakia and Poland, the largest compulsory migration in twentieth-century Europe.

Poles and Czechs violently uprooted millions of Germans from their homes. Despite a large academic and general literature on the expulsions, little has appeared in English. Perhaps the campaign of vilification waged by expellees against British writer Elizabeth Wisemann for her book *Germany's Eastern Neighbours: Problems Relating to the Oder-Neisse Line and the Czech Frontier Regions* (1956) had a deterrent effect. Whatever the reason, scholars are now quickly catching up. Two recent books—Pertti Ahonen's *After the Expulsion: West Germany and Eastern Europe 1945–1990* (2003) and Ian Connor's *Refugees and Expellees in Post-War Germany* (2008)—explore the integration and influence of the expellees after the war. But key questions remain. Why did Britain and the United States, who claimed to be fighting for freedom and democracy, endorse ethnic cleansing? How do the expulsions relate to what Charles S. Maier called an epoch of “moral atrocity”?

The originality of Matthew Frank's book is that it offers some clues to these questions. It is the first scholarly study of British attitudes toward the idea behind ethnic cleansing: population transfer. As a result of Frank's careful and extensive research in an impressively wide range of public and private archives, Britain's liberal conscience can now be added to a list of causes of twentieth-century violence—along with nationalism, utopian ideologies, and the rise of the modern state. Ethnic cleansing had its origins in the concept of population transfer as a fair and sound international solution to seemingly intractable minority problems. The collapse of multinational empires at the end of World War I and the rise of the successor states brought minority issues to the fore in 1919. Rather than following up the experiment of population transfer from the Balkan Wars of 1912–1913, however, the Paris peace-makers opted for minority treaties and plebiscites. The first explicitly compulsory population exchange was the Greek-Turkish transfer mandated by the Lausanne Convention of 1923. Denounced by *The Times* as “a monstrously wicked arrangement,” Lausanne sanctioned a *fait accompli*. Why did transfer stay on the agenda, becoming the preferred option after World War II? By 1939 British opinion considered that potential benefits outweighed risks. With proper safeguards and supervision the cruelties of the Greek-Turkish episode could be avoided. The coming of war made the idea more attractive; German ethnic cleansing had to be reversed, and controlled transfer promised postwar stabilization. How did what many considered a sensible procedure turn into a nightmare? Partly because London and Washington were overtaken by events, grossly underestimating Czech and Polish determination to evict their German neighbors as fast as possible. Partly because they lacked the political will and forces on the ground to enforce an acceptable *modus operandi*. Above all, as Frank stresses, politicians and citizens had never thought through the practicalities of population transfer in the terrible end phase of the most destructive conflict in history. To its credit, public opinion after Potsdam demonstrated that it was not de-

sensitized to the sufferings of Germans. Press exposure of the “horror camps” where Germans were held pending transfer provoked widespread condemnation of the Czechoslovak and Polish governments coupled with vigorous demands for British intervention. By 1947 “the experience of receiving 1.5 million expellees into an overcrowded and underfed zone of occupation cured the British of any lingering enthusiasm” for population transfer (p. 277). The tragedy of expulsion produced an important outcome. Dismay and disillusionment at the consequences of population transfer speeded the shift from interwar preoccupation with community rights and minority treaties to the new regime of universal human rights as part of the postwar settlement. Nor did Britain attempt to extend population transfer to its overseas empire (with one shameful exception that goes unnoticed in the book: the compulsory deportation of the inhabitants of the Indian Ocean island of Diego Garcia in the late 1960s in order to make space for an American air base). This is a lucid, well-crafted, and compelling monograph that adds substantially to the literature.

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MAGDA MARTINI. *La cultura all'ombra del muro: Relazioni culturali tra Italia e DDR (1949–1989)*. (Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento; Monografie, number 47.) Bologna: Il Mulino. 2007. Pp. 463. €30.00.

Italy was one of the few countries in Western Europe whose public opinion was generally sympathetic to the German Democratic Republic (GDR). This sympathy stemmed from the country's relationship to the two Germanys as well as to its own recent past. In the first place, public discourse in postwar Italy was defined by antifascism. Interestingly, Italians not only did not trust the de-nazification imposed on the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) by the Allies, but they were rather proud of their own rapid de-fascistization. Thus, they felt more affinity with the antifascist and “democratic” rhetoric of the GDR than with the reluctant language used by West Germans to acknowledge their Nazi past. Second, Italian progressives were not particularly bothered by the communist control over the GDR, as they themselves remained faithful to Soviet-style communism despite the official anticommunist stance of post-1948 Italy (see Victor Zaslavsky, *Lo stalinismo e la sinistra italiana: Dal mito dell'Urss alla fine del comunismo (1945–1991)* [2004]). Third, Italian public opinion favored a two-country solution; as the Christian Democratic politician Giulio Andreotti put it, he loved Germany so much he wanted to have two of them. Of the two, the smaller, poorer, simpler, earnest, and ostracized GDR was more deserving of support. Finally, Italian intellectuals, forever enamored with German romanticism, believed that the GDR was better placed to

reclaim this great heritage, for it had made a cleaner break with the recent past.

In this excellent, thoroughly researched, and well-documented study, Magda Martini examines the relationship between Italian and East German intellectuals and cultural institutions from the foundation of the GDR in 1949 to the unification of Germany in 1989. This relationship was far from balanced. On the German side, Martini examines what she calls *Ersatzöffentlichkeit* or a "substitute public sphere," occupied primarily by writers and painters, relatively tolerant and open but still embedded in state-sponsored institutions. On the Italian side was a rich array of small cultural associations, such as the Centro Thomas Mann and the Istituto Italiano di Studi Germanici, as well as a large number of intellectuals, most of whom were members of the Partito Comunista Italiano (PCI) or fellow travelers.

Behind the scenes, politics cast its shadow over cultural relationships. Through cultural exchange, the GDR sought official recognition from a reluctant Italy, and it finally succeeded in 1973. The GDR's Socialist Unity Party (SED) had strained relations with Italy's PCI. And together they felt the powerful shadow of West Germany.

The "shadow" of the real Berlin Wall, evoked by the book's title, is actually not ominous at all. For those who participated in these cultural exchanges the building of the wall was almost irrelevant, as was the fate of wall-jumpers. Still the nature of the exchanges altered in different periods; Martini finds idealistic engagement, from 1949 until the 1956 invasion of Hungary; a close, but conflictual friendship in the 1960s; engagement with dissidents in the 1970s; and finally, a souring of relationships in the 1980s. By the time the Berlin Wall came down, its fall was a foregone conclusion.

Martini used every possible source she could lay her hands on: official policy statements, private correspondence, memoirs and memoranda, programs and minutes of associations and political parties, and the Stasi archives. She also conducted extensive interviews, reconstructing individual interactions that left no material trace; as many of us remember, meaningful conversations took place in Soviet bloc countries with the water running in bath tubs or on long walks in the open air, out of earshot of secret agents.

"Friendship" is the keyword in this study—the creation of deep relationships that went beyond the irritating "political tourism." Martini recalls the friendships between the realist painter Gabriele Mucchi and the playwright Bertolt Brecht; between Brecht and the theater director Giorgio Strehler; between the composers Luigi Nono and Paul Dessau, born out of their shared love for dodecaphonic music. Nono and Dessau introduced one another's music to their respective countries; Mucchi helped German art resist Stalinization; Strehler brought the Berliner Ensemble to the Piccolo Teatro of Milan. These friendships helped both, the Germans and their Italian friends, to endure end-

less battles against mindless bureaucracies and cultural conformity.

Martini's list includes some of the most shining names in postwar Italy, attesting to the PCI's cultural hegemony, notwithstanding recent revisionist claims. In addition to Mucchi, Nono, and Strehler, the group also included philosophers Antonio Banfi and Galvano Della Volpe, painter Renato Guttuso, sculptors Giacomo Manzù and Marino Marini, archeologist and art historian Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli, film director Vittorio De Sica, and mathematician Lucio Lombardo Radice. When the PCI took a Eurocommunist turn, it became the privileged representative of the voice of East German dissidents, just as it already was for the Polish ones. It is a pity, however, that, with the exception of the literary scholar Cesare Cases, Martini pays little attention to the noncommunist friends of the GDR in Italy.

On the German side, we find the usual suspects. In the earlier period, these included such writers, playwrights, poets, and artists as Brecht, Christa and Fritz Cremer, Dessau, Stefan Heym, Anna Seghers, and Arnold Zweig, and the literary scholar Hans Mayer; in the later period were writer Christa Wolf, scientist Robert Havemann, dramatist Heiner Müller, singer-songwriter Wolf Biermann, and poet Peter Hückel. Whether they were willing or recalcitrant followers of the party or active dissidents, these intellectuals all shared a belief in socialism and a determination to remain in the GDR even though they had the option of becoming West German citizens—an option not open to artists and intellectuals in other Soviet-bloc countries—and some, like Biermann and Rudolph Bahro, were actively encouraged to do so.

Martini presents this relationship as a success on both sides. Among others, it forged a more nuanced image of the "totalitarian" GDR in Italy than the usual stereotypes, a less monolithic view, something closer to a *Bienenwabenstaat*, where intellectuals enjoyed the kind of power Václav Havel has characterized as the power of the powerless. The ominous Stasi appears somewhat less frightening and rather inefficient in her narrative. On this point, Martini's representation may be a little too benign; as it turned out, some of the "good guys" (like Christa Wolf) had been informers, and six Stasi agents sat on the side of the opposition during the Round Table negotiations in 1989.

Martini's narrative ends, appropriately, on a disillusioned note: Nono and Mucchi have died, the Centro Thomas Mann has withered away, East Germans have become more interested in consumer than in cultural goods, and the intellectual authorities of yesteryear have become the object of a repeated cultural *Vatermord*. What she seems to miss is that, after 1989, this twilight of authorities pervaded all Europe, East and West, and its victims were not only Havemann and Heinrich Böll but also Jean-Paul Sartre. The post-1989 "normalization" did away with the passions of the Cold

War period and replaced it with a long-awaited uniform grayness.

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JULIA VON DANNENBERG. *The Foundations of Ostpolitik: The Making of the Moscow Treaty between West Germany and the USSR*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. xvi, 301. \$110.00.

Experts on the history of the middle Cold War years will be pleased to hear of the publication of this book. Julia von Dannenberg has produced a careful and detailed study of this critical 1970 treaty. She is explicit about the fact that her aims in this volume are limited both thematically and chronologically. Her goal is to explore West German politics immediately surrounding the treaty; "it was beyond the scope of this book to consider more than marginally the perceptions of the Soviet Union and the GDR in this process" (p. 6). She does not extend her interpretation to address its significance for the later Cold War, saying again that "discussion of the reasons for the downfall of communism is beyond the scope of this book" (p. 263). Because of this narrow focus and high price, the book is clearly aimed at the specialized audience.

However, the narrowness of the book means that the author was able to address her topic in a thorough way. In the course of researching the study, she worked in a large number of the relevant archives: the West German Bundesarchiv in Koblenz, of course, but also the Foreign Ministry in Berlin, the archives of the major political parties in various locations throughout Germany, and the German parliamentary archive as well. Von Dannenberg has also conducted a number of interviews with leading German policymakers to flesh out her story.

Her main argument has two components, stated clearly at the outset. The first is that Willy Brandt's *Ostpolitik*, despite precursors in previous eras, must be seen as a break with the past rather than as a case of continuity with it. In her words, "the changes and innovation introduced by Chancellor Brandt outweighed continuities with the previous policy." Secondly, she holds that her close examination of the Moscow Treaty reveals, in her opinion, that it was primarily driven by the hope of "increasing autonomy for West Germany and of easing the way to reunification": in other words, by "national interests" (p. 6).

To support these assertions, von Dannenberg looks both at the politics of treaty negotiation abroad and at debates within Bonn about the Moscow Treaty's feasibility and significance. Her book is stronger on proving its first point than its second, given its focus on domestic West German debates. The attention paid to the dynamic of party politics is particularly useful. As she admits, some of her findings have already received attention elsewhere. For example, she highlights the fact that Brandt and his closest adviser, Egon Bahr, cut the

Foreign Ministry out of the decision. They did so because the ministry was dominated by parties other than their own Social Democrats, as others have noted. As a result, the value of the book lies more in the details that it presents than in its overall argument. It has thoroughly documented one component of an important chapter in Cold War history and for that reason is a welcome addition to the literature.

MARY ELISE SAROTTE
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TAPANI PAAVONEN. *Vapaakauppaintegration kausi: Suomen suhde Länsi-Euroopan integraatioon FINN-EFTAsta EC-vapaakauppaan [The Era of Free-Trade Integration: Finland's Relations with West-European Integration from FINN-EFTA to EU Free Trade]*. (Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, number 235.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. 2008. Pp. 355. €29.00.

In this book Tapani Paavonen studies the economic and political integration of Europe from the end of the 1950s to the middle of the 1970s from the Finnish point of view. Finland's actions are also related to the wider development of European integration. The author discusses in depth the interests of export branches, domestic market industries, and agriculture at the time. Finland's goal was to defend and secure economic growth, employment, and balance of payments.

During the Cold War Finland's foreign policy was partly tied to attitudes prevalent in the Soviet Union. Foreign trade with Western-European countries was vital for Finland. The economic integration of Europe, which was partly political, was a great challenge for Finland. The important export market had to be secured. There was a real danger that a part of the market share of the Finnish wood processing industry could pass onto the competitors Sweden and Norway. The Soviet Union was against the development of European integration, as was the United States at first.

Paavonen compares the situation in Finland with other neutral European Free Trade Association countries (Sweden, Switzerland, and Austria). The difference was, however, that Finland was not yet an industrialized country like Sweden and Switzerland. Also Finland's image as a neutral country had not been generally accepted. Previous research has emphasized political decision making as a factor explaining Finland's integration policy. By contrast, Paavonen's method concentrates on the economic factors of integration.

The study is divided into three parts. First, European integration was strengthened by the establishment of the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1957, which later joined with the European Coal and Steel Community to form the European Communities (EC) in 1967. Finland secured its export market by the associate agreement with European Free Trade Association (EFTA) in 1961. Finland did not, however, become a full member of the EFTA, unlike other Nordic countries and Great Britain. The main goal of the

EFTA was to secure the foreign trade interest of the countries that remained outside the EEC.

Both the EEC and EFTA expressed their aspirations for larger European cooperation as early as in 1961. It was impossible for Finland to take part in the European Common Market because of the attitudes of the Soviet Union. Luckily for Finland, the president of France, Charles de Gaulle, was strictly against the membership of Great Britain in the EC. Paavonen describes President Urho Kekkonen's efforts to get de Gaulle's support for Finland's aims.

The second, and most significant, part of the book contains the descriptions of the negotiations of the free trade agreement between the EEC and the EFTA countries during 1970–1972. Finland's interests were endangered by Great Britain and Denmark joining the EC. It was impossible for Finland to even point to such larger integrational goals in Europe as Sweden did. The reason for this was the Soviet Union. Finland pled its neutral political status and its willingness to equally secure commercial interests with all trade partners, including the Soviet Union.

In the negotiations of the free trade agreement with the EEC, Finland attempted to get as many benefits on customs as possible without having to engage too much with the EEC organization. The negotiation strategy was the same as ten years earlier with the EFTA. Finland succeeded for the most part. Paavonen describes quite exhaustively the negotiations, problems, and results of the customs in different sectors of industry and agriculture. Paavonen concludes that the main problems in the negotiations of the Finland's EEC agreement were not questions of foreign policy but rather questions of trade policy. A particular problem for both sides was the customs exacted on so-called sensitive industrial trade, which were seen as a vital part of the industry. Finland signed the EEC and European Coal and Steel Community agreements in 1973 as the last of the EFTA countries.

During the negotiations Finland had two difficulties. In domestic policy, an anti-EEC movement was started by the New Socialists and Communists. Also involved were some Finnish Social Democrats. Their motives were purely political and anti-capitalistic. Paavonen says that the deciding factor was that the Social Democrats backed up the EEC agreement. Another problem was the Soviet Union. President Kekkonen got Moscow's approval, and he himself guaranteed Finland's policy. Finland also signed a free trade agreement with Comecon.

In the third part of his study, Paavonen dissects the value of the EEC agreement to Finland. He claims that by joining Finland gained the ability to become a part of larger European integration, which it would have lacked had Finland remained outside the EEC. In this "era of free trade integration," says Paavonen, Finland's activities had two fundamental aspects. Finland's policy was connected with Soviet-Finnish relations, but the policy during the free trade agreement negotiations was purely aimed at securing the economic interests of

Finland. Finland carried out a defensive "wait and see" policy and was not an active agent, only responding to the challenges that came its way.

Paavonen knows his subject and the source material in depth. The author has written a very meticulous description of how Finland did its part and how the EEC countries saw Finland's position. Finland was one of the neutral countries, not a special case. Paavonen's research approach has, however, led to a far too descriptive presentation. The research material gives an excellent basis for a deeper analysis of Finland's situation in the integration process and will be a useful reference for forthcoming studies.

ERKKI TERÄVÄINEN
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GREGORY D. DODDS. *Exploiting Erasmus: The Erasmian Legacy and Religious Change in Early Modern England*. (Erasmus Studies.) Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2009. Pp. xx, 405. \$85.00.

Gregory D. Dodds's book is an examination of the extent to which the theological and rhetorical style of Erasmus shaped religious polemics in early modern England. The starting point is Erasmus's *Paraphrases on the New Testament* (1524), a text that, as Dodds argues, "primarily . . . set the stage for Erasmus' legacy in Elizabethan and Stuart England" (p. xvi), since it was imposed, together with the Bible, the *Book of Common Prayer*, and the *Book of Homilies*, upon all churches throughout the English realm, first by Edward VI and later by Elizabeth I. The first English translation of the *Paraphrases* appeared, in two volumes, in 1548–1549, and the first two chapters of Dodds's book are devoted to an analysis of the textual strategies employed by the translators and editors of the *Paraphrases* to frame and, at times, modify Erasmus's theological stances in order to make them "fit the ongoing Protestantization of the English church" (p. 26). Dodds's accurate analysis shows that these textual efforts did not result in the creation of a single English Protestant version of Erasmus. By contrast, the paratextual apparatus and the different and sometimes contradictory interventions on Erasmus's text by translators are manifestations and evidence of the diversity of opinion among English Protestants on several theological and ecclesiological points: in particular, the doctrine of predestination, the relationship between the church and the temporal sovereign, the question of *adiaphora*, and the rhetorical and theological significance of religious "moderation."

The diversity of opinion that emerged in the first English translation of the *Paraphrases* exploded in its full force in Elizabethan and early Stuart England. Thus, in the next five chapters of his work Dodds examines the ways in which late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century Protestant divines used and "exploited" a series of Erasmian rhetorical and theological themes. Especially interesting is Dodds's discussion, in chapters six and seven, of the different ways in which early Stuart Calvinist and anti-Calvinist theologians used the Erasmian

rhetoric of "moderation" to frame competing theological and ecclesiological versions of *via media*. In this section, Dodds skillfully avoids the trap of falling into an "essentialist" view of Erasmus's theology, which would result in the creation of a sort of English "Erasmianism" as a coherent set of theological positions to be juxtaposed with or superimposed on "Arminianism" or "moderate Calvinism." Rather, Dodds contends that the "Erasmian style . . . existed primarily as a mindset and a rhetorical vocabulary" (p. 223), which Protestant theologians used as polemical tools to sharpen their different theological and ecclesiological views.

Dodds's book continues with a relatively cursory analysis of the legacy of Erasmus during the Interregnum and the Restoration, and it ends with the Glorious Revolution, which Dodds sees as the moment in which the debate around the notion of the *via media*, constructed in part through the use of certain Erasmian rhetorical modes, was abandoned in favor of the principle of the "establishment of fragmentation" (p. 265).

Dodds's book not only contributes to the worthy cause of putting Erasmus back on the map of the "long" English Reformation, but it is also a welcome addition in a very fecund historiographical trend that has highlighted the importance of polemics in shaping, sharpening, and indeed defining competing theological and ecclesiological positions. From this perspective, Dodds's analysis of the Erasmian rhetorical legacy adds a further and very useful layer of complexity in the theological and polemical development of the different souls of English Protestantism.

While Dodds's analysis of the use of Erasmus's theological rhetoric is acute and insightful, I would have liked to see a more detailed analysis of the more properly theological elements of the Erasmian legacy, especially with regard to Erasmus's soteriology. In this respect, while I understand Dodds's choice to concentrate on the English *Paraphrases* because of their wide distribution among English-speaking readers, I think that a more thorough analysis of the *Annotations on the New Testament* (1535) and *De libero arbitrio* (1524) would have been helpful, especially if those works are examined against the background of continental Protestantism. For instance, it is not a coincidence that Andrew Willet, an immensely important figure for both the theological and the polemical aspects of the debate between Calvinists and anti-Calvinists, referred precisely to the *Annotations* and to *De libero arbitrio* when he attacked Erasmus's soteriology (pp. 142–148). Also, it is not a coincidence, as Dodds himself notes, that "on a number of occasions it is also possible to find Luther behind Willet's criticism of Erasmus" (p. 143). It is certainly true that Erasmus's soteriology was expressed not only in those two works, and that Erasmus's "positions were also available in the English *Paraphrases*" (p. 148); nevertheless I think that analyzing more in depth the tension between the heavily and multiply reworked English translations and the relatively more stable continental Latin works would have strengthened Dodds's argument on the centrality of the multiform and com-

plex interactions between rhetoric and theology in the history of early modern English Protestantism.

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S. J. CONNOLLY. *Contested Island: Ireland, 1460–1630*. (Oxford History of Early Modern Europe.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. x, 426. \$63.00.

The first challenge facing the author of a synthesis of this kind on early modern Ireland concerns terminal dates: where to start and where to end? In this regard S. J. Connolly stakes out his ground. Rejecting the once conventional starting point of 1534, the date of the Kildare Rebellion and the eve of the introduction of the Henrician Reformation, he goes back well beyond the start of the sixteenth century and begins his account around 1460, about the lowest point of English influence in the island and the period of consolidation of the power of the great feudal houses. Connolly's decision will be supported by most scholars now working in the field. It has the advantage not only of allowing him to approach and evaluate the major upheavals of the 1530s with a fresh perspective, but also of enabling him to address and synthesize for a broader readership a substantial body of recent research on the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Most valuably of all, it allows him to give sustained attention to key themes in Irish social and cultural history that, though of central importance to the period as a whole, have long been marginalized by the narrative of conquest and confiscation. Connolly's ending point of 1630 may appear more questionable, as the looming date of 1641 still retains (and has perhaps increased) its traditional standing as a major watershed in early modern Irish history. But again the choice allows him to focus on social and cultural topics in early seventeenth-century Irish history also obscured by the dominant narrative of rebellion and war while leaving the great rebellion to a subsequent volume.

Indeed, if there is a fundamental theme in this book it is the denial of inevitability. Just as the character of the revival of English government in Ireland and the manner of the introduction of the Protestant Reformation in the 1530s were far from being the inevitable result of great historical currents, so too the collapse of the Irish kingdom into bitter and prolonged war in the 1640s was not the predetermined outcome of actions undertaken a century before. The contests signalled in this book's title were by Connolly's account complex and acute, and amenable to no easy resolution in favor of any of the contenders. This emphasis upon complexity and contingency is sustained by Connolly not only through a detailed, sometimes intricate, but expertly managed interpretative narrative—which is in itself a model of clarity and compression—but also by the occasional extended discussion of particular themes and topics that lend greater interpretative depth to the general narrative. Connolly's treatment of the nature of six-

teenth-century Catholicism in Ireland, and his discussion of the political and ideological attitudes of Gaelic poets and writers in the early seventeenth century, are particularly successful instances of this technique.

Amid all this healthy reappraisal of the traditional chronological scaffolding, one central structural component, however, remains standing. The years between 1603 and 1609—encompassing events between the Treaty of Mellifont ending the Nine Years' War, the flight of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, and the institution of the Ulster plantation—retain their importance. This is to a very large degree perfectly proper, for there are few working historians who would seek to diminish the significance of the trauma of those years. Yet the acute nature of the crisis of the early seventeenth century and of the closing years of the war that preceded them may be seen to have obscured deeper underlying trends that took shape considerably before and continued to reverberate after this period of intense change.

One such trend relates to the role of Scotland and of Scottish migration into northern Ireland. It is true that in the years after 1603, the political and constitutional relationship was entirely new and that the character of Scottish migration changed markedly from the western highlands to lowlands in the same period. But the extent to which the long anticipated eventuality of a permanent independent settlement from the Western Isles deeply colored the attitudes and actions of all parties in Ireland (and especially in Ulster) in the closing years of the sixteenth century has often been obscured by the apparent clarity of the change that occurred after 1603; the role played by the first wave of highland Scots migrants in shaping the politics and society of Ulster has similarly been overshadowed by the far more defined impact of the plantation settlers who succeeded them. Plantations themselves have served to supply a misleadingly sharp definition to historical discontinuities. Connolly does well in his discussion of the Munster plantation to reveal the complexities and contradictions of that scheme and to indicate the manner in which the inchoate assumptions of the project's early stages affected reconstruction of the settlement after 1603. But a similar perspective might be applied to conditions antedating the introduction of plantation in Ulster. In this regard the forces operating upon Gaelic society in the later sixteenth century—some of them indigenous and some of them (such as the pressures induced by Sir Henry Sidney and Sir John Perrot's policy of composition) extraneous—deserve greater attention. Finally, and in part as a result of such considerations, further attention might be paid to the assumptions and values underlying English thinking about Ireland and the extent to which they were altered by actual experience. Here again Connolly's intermittent discussions of the changing currents of English ideology in Ireland are clear and balanced and rise above the inconclusive interpretative disputes over certain texts (notably Edmund Spenser's *A View of the Present State of Ireland* [1596]) that have often preoccupied specialists. But the

extent to which the reformatory and assimilationist assumptions of Tudor humanism continued to permeate the essential instruments of Tudor government in Ireland—policy memoranda, viceregal instructions, draft bills—even as the agents of government, in Ireland as elsewhere, were practically disavowing such assumptions in every respect, requires further research.

Such comments are nowise intended as criticisms of what has been achieved in this impressive book. Connolly has written a volume that will be of enduring value both to teachers and students of early modern Ireland for many years to come.

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NICHOLAS ROGERS. *The Press Gang: Naval Impressment and Its Opponents in Georgian Britain*. New York: Continuum. 2007. Pp. xi, 168. \$29.95.

This is a valuable contribution to Atlantic history. Nicholas Rogers is skilled in British empiricism and rigorous in defining the geographical and chronological limits of his subject, the violent, cruel gangs of impressment of eighteenth-century Britain.

In the vast and celebratory literature of British navalism, impressment is usually seen as an embarrassment or merely incidental to the problem of manning the navy. In contrast, Rogers's theme is "the strength and vitality of popular opposition to the press gang" (p. 129). One quarter of the adult male population of Britain, he estimates, was directly threatened by it, and many, many others indirectly threatened—like the Irish teenager Mary Jones, impoverished after her husband was pressed during the phony Falklands war scare of 1770. She was tried for shoplifting a small remnant of muslin and quickly dispatched at the gallows, suckling one of her children even as the noose was put around her neck.

One of the Latin roots of the word impressment means to weigh down or oppress. In 1779 impressment was defined as "a compulsory mode of obliging persons to take up arms" (p. 4). Rogers does not explain why compulsion was necessary. Was it poor wages or wages in arrears? Was it the cat-of-nine-tails? Was it the casualties of war? Was it tropical diseases? Was it diet-induced scurvy? Was it anti-imperialism? Was it desertion? Was it vestigial anti-militarism?

Rogers analyzes 604 affrays against press gangs occurring in England during the sixty-seven years between 1738 and 1805. Half a million men and boys were recruited to the Royal Navy during this period. His sources are the letters of the admiralty solicitor found in the National Archive. The results from this sounding—the geographical dispersion, the chronological patterns, the intensity of violence—provide the heart of this book. There were more violent affrays against press-gangs than violent labor disputes but fewer affrays against press-gangs than food riots.

Rogers explains the legal case for impressment (a case from Bristol in 1744 defended the practice as "a

prerogative inherent in the Crown," a judgment confirmed by Lord Mansfield in 1776) but not the case against it and how this might be discerned from the rituals of riding the stang, turning the jacket inside out, tarring and feathering, burning boats, or stripping, nor the ballad culture expressing the pain of family destruction caused by impressment.

Thomas Paine did not write *The Rights of Man*, as Rogers says (p. 109), but *Rights of Man*. Thomas Spence in 1793 changed the title of his great Newcastle lecture of 1775 advocating common land to *The Real Rights of Man*. Although Spence was from a maritime family, Rogers omits mention of him because this book does not explore plebeian traditions, as opposed to the Whig tradition, against commercial imperialism and agrarian capitalism.

Historiographically, the author seeks to distinguish himself from N. A. M. Rodgers, who called impressment a "humdrum affair"; from Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, who emphasize cases of cooperation among sailors, slaves, and commoners; and from Linda Colley, who sees the resumption of war against France in 1803 as evidence of popular allegiance to king and country. Against Rodgers he cites the overwhelming evidence of state-sponsored violence by press-gangs against maritime communities. Against Linebaugh and Rediker he brings forth examples of segregation and mistrust between white sailors and black slaves in order to deny "multi-ethnic alliances among servants, slaves, and seamen" (p. 14). Against Colley he shows that the instance of enthusiastic nationalism that she cites—namely, the volunteer movement—was mainly a scam or the "wholesale evasion of full naval duty" (p. 115), at least as it concerned the sea fencibles.

Strong in British and especially Bristol history, Rogers lacks a background in African American history as well as Euro-American history. Few scholars would categorically say that "there is no evidence that seamen sympathized with slave revolts in the Caribbean" (p. 99) because several leaders of slave revolts—Gabriel Prosser, Denmark Vesey, David Walker—were sailors. Rogers tends to assume that which is to be proven: namely, that all sailors were "white" and all slaves were "black."

American readers will miss reference to the 1757 impressment round-up when three thousand soldiers closed off New York City and dragged away eight hundred people, including "tradesmen and Negroes." It is also odd to find no mention of the 1807 conflict between the American vessel *Chesapeake* and press gangs and artillery from the *H.M.S. Leopard*, since this led directly to war. The right of resistance, human equality, and government by consent were principles found in the American Declaration of Independence, which listed impressment as one of its grievances.

To Rogers the Atlantic world was "dog-eat-dog," and he tends to the acerbic in evaluating its idealists, American or otherwise. Granville Sharp inveighed passionately against slavery and impressment, taking his arguments back to the Magna Carta. He was not the only

one: a *Nore* mutineer referred to it, a club in Newcastle was named after it, and the Levellers in the century earlier referred to it.

Apart from the absence of Ireland, Africa, and America—lascars and mariners pressed in India, the Caribbean, or West Africa are not considered—this is a solid contribution to our understanding of a brutal and hated institution of imperial expansion justifying Paine's claim that "War is the art of conquering at home."

PETER LINEBAUGH
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DONNA LANDRY. *Noble Brutes: How Eastern Horses Transformed English Culture*. (Animals, History, Culture.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2009. Pp. 240. \$50.00.

This book is a contribution to "animal studies," a comparatively new academic specialization. It extends from previous movements studying subservient groups: the working class, women, colonial peoples, and slaves, among others. Following the framework of exploitation seen in such groups, the early running in animal studies came from the animal rights and green movements. Animals were seen as persecuted minorities dominated by humans, but such a one-sided picture is too simple. Some reference to pre-existing zoological, anthropological, archaeological, and psychological work on animal-human relations might have avoided a baseline assumption of exploitation. It has always been clear that relationships between animals and humans are two-way affairs; animals may well have had significant impact on human history and culture. Donna Landry's book sets out to make a case for a significant influence by one group of animals on a national culture.

There are two elements in the book's title. The first is a paradox: that "noble brutes" exist—non-human creatures (such as horses) nevertheless able to exhibit high-order human characteristics like nobility. The second is the claim that exemplars of such noble brutality, a relatively small group of imported oriental horses (generally Arab, Turk, or Barb stallions obtained by English aristocrats at great trouble and expense), were a major force in transforming English culture. The paradox of the noble brute is explored, without perhaps any definitive outcome, while some aspects of the claim about influence (if not transformation) of English culture by oriental horses stand up well, although this reviewer is not in the end convinced of any grand claim for wholesale cultural transformation.

Landry discusses the question of the noble brute by contrasting the good treatment and high status of horses among Asian and desert nomads with the low standards of care provided for horses in the agricultural and trading economies of the European West in the early modern period. Stereotypically the nomads were gentle, respectful, and kind to their horses, forming close personal associations based on a belief that the animals were intelligent and emotional beings, while Europeans took them for unfeeling brutes (a position

reinforced by Cartesian duality) and cruelly beat the desired behaviors into them. Europeans were, however, much impressed by the effortless and positive control that nomads could exert over their horses compared with the force needed in a culture of brutality to achieve similar results.

Respect and gentleness seemed to generate noble equine behavior and Landry argues that this respectful treatment of horses was taken up by European (and in the eighteenth century especially English) gentry from nomadic culture along with the stallions they imported. She suggests that Jonathan Swift's satirical account of the Houyhnhnms in *Gulliver's Travels* (1726) comes essentially from the same source at the same time, although the argument here seems to be by association rather than archival demonstration. She suggests that the iconic place of George Stubbs's portrait of the horse *Whistlejacket* (1762) in the public mind, a rebellious and free-standing stallion entirely free of human (or any other environmental) context or control, is a modern version of one of Swift's Houyhnhnms.

Landry also provides extensive archival notes for the influence of imported oriental horses on English horse breeds, especially the thoroughbred, and on English riding style, the so-called "English hunting seat." She is reasonably careful in her descriptions and interpretations here, but one reading of her text is almost deterministic: that the new imports were the source of the late eighteenth and nineteenth-century aristocratic practices of flat horse racing and fox hunting, and, by extension, that they were the models (or at least the expressions) of English imperial attitudes and ideas of untrammelled personal liberty. Perhaps the thinness of the real evidence for such causal associations is demonstrated when Landry asks whether recent declines in concern with thoroughbred horses and the banning of fox hunting in England are the results of the disintegration of this British imperial identity. That is an interesting thesis, but providing an evidence-based argument for it is difficult (and Landry does not attempt one), while a range of more local and small-scale explanations for these declines seems more likely.

The English breed of thoroughbred horse and the English habit of fox hunting are fascinating elite cultural practices, and they are thoroughly and interestingly explored in Landry's book. But for this reviewer the wider cultural and political associations claimed to arise from these practices are less convincing. There are too many unanswered questions and associations not nailed down with convincing evidence. But if they could be nailed down and the handful of imported stallions convincingly shown to have such powerful effects, it would make a surprising story and support claims that animal studies can make important contributions to the study of history and culture.

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PAUL READMAN, *Land and Nation in England: Patriotism, National Identity, and the Politics of Land, 1880–1914*. (Studies in History New Series.) London: Royal Historical Society, with Boydell Press. 2008. Pp. xiii, 242. \$95.00.

In recent years issues of British national identity have been the preserve of cultural history and historical geography, but to redress the imbalance Paul Readman's book concentrates on late Victorian and Edwardian political ideology and discourse, viewing identity through the lenses of the objectives and policies of the main political parties.

The reader fresh to this period of English history might wonder why there should have been such intense interest in the land question at this time. Surely England was an old-settled country, wealthy from urban, industrial, and commercial development, with a well-organized governance that formed the basis of an expansionary empire? But as Readman notes, it was also a time of agricultural depression, social inequality, rural poverty, depopulation, urban slums, and overseas emigration. These problems threatened stability in the face of growing continental rivalries and were given pointed expression in the overall undistinguished British performance in the Boer War.

The book's structure is unusual. Following an introductory chapter setting out the English land question, the volume has two parts into which are placed seven thematic "essays." These, with a minimum of repetition, relate land reform to the fear of instability as a democratized population faced up to a manifestly unequal landed social structure, the English "national character," agricultural problems, property rights, and the approaches of the political parties toward land reform.

The strength of the volume lies in Readman's analysis of the varying political responses to these issues in part two. The complexities and nuances of individual, interparty, and intraparty debate are well encapsulated. Readman argues that all three main political groupings came to the conclusion, before 1914, that some type of land reform was essential. For Conservatives this entailed relinquishing the Earl of Winchelsea's late nineteenth-century "Pure Squire Conservatism" to embrace the concept of "the yeoman myth" and the stability to be gained through increased peasant proprietorship. Not all was to be backward-looking, however: in a somewhat fractured but very useful treatment of the Earl of Winchelsea, we read that his National Agricultural Union of the 1890s promoted a reactionary social structure while appearing to include all ranks of countrymen. But Winchelsea himself, while looking back to a supposedly harmonious rural society, also enthusiastically embraced modernity in the shape of the motor car. Other squires who shared his ideological perspective, such as Lord Wantage, experimented with artificial fertilizers, irrigation, and farm machinery on his Berkshire estate.

The Liberals meanwhile invoked writing by J. L. and

Barbara Hammond, Gilbert Slater, and Wilhelm Hasbach to tap into a sense of injustice on behalf of rural dwellers who had been dispossessed at the time of the enclosures. They too now saw a repopulated countryside as vital for national well-being and in the battle against what many saw as the racial degeneracy manifested by ever-growing numbers of urban slum dwellers. The approach of the socialist groupings and Independent Labour Party (ILP) was similarly to restore land seen as stolen from the peasant but now to be repurchased and held as a nationalized resource by the state. The ideas of the different groups were often not too dissimilar, and although Readman dismisses the notion that socialist ideas influenced many Liberals, for example, it is difficult to argue against the large numbers of Liberal MPs who were also members of the Land Nationalisation Society or who ultimately joined the ILP after World War I.

Readman concludes that ultimately all reform proposals were directed toward patriotic causes and national renewal. Indeed, for him it was England—the heart of empire—above all that concerned all classes of politicians, and he otherwise plays down the role of the British empire. The latter position is questionable and receives little justification in the text, which ignores concerns over the Boer War, or Chinese indentured labor in the South African mines, or the movement of political writers, humanitarians, military and colonial officials, and politicians between the empire and England, which raised many issues relating to national well-being. Similarly, issues in Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, which were very influential to the landed discourse prior to 1914, are unceremoniously relegated to a brief concluding chapter. Readman's analysis could also be questioned in its methodological insistence on the primacy of published speeches rather than archival and other primary sources, which he believes serve only limited uses for the study of ideology. But the land question was also fought out behind the scenes in journals, tracts, cartoons, memos, and land taxation documents as well as in electioneering speeches.

Among more minor quibbles, it is surprising that so little is made of the political impact of the Americans Henry George and Joseph Fels, especially on the ranks of the more radical Liberals, who harried David Lloyd George into more extreme measures of land value taxation. In this respect it is an omission that the Single Tax, intended to replace all other taxes with one on land values, is never mentioned, although it was taken seriously as an option at this time.

BRIAN SHORT
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MARTIN FRANCIS. *The Flyer: British Culture and the Royal Air Force, 1939–1945*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. vii, 266. \$60.00.

Of all the heroic images of World War II it is the flyers—the young men in Royal Air Force (RAF) blue, silver wings upon their breasts—who are most redolent

of the British determination to defend their island and fight on against tyranny, even when all seemed hopeless. In the dark days of 1940, the fighter boys took on the might of the enemy and saved Britain's cities from the same fate that had befallen Warsaw and Rotterdam. Moreover, their battle with the Luftwaffe took place in the full public gaze, in the skies over southern England, where all could bear witness to their prowess and heroism. From 1941 onward, night after night the pilots flew their Wellington and Lancaster bombers deep into Germany to strike at the very heart of Adolf Hitler's Third Reich. Young, sometimes no more than teenagers, they were celebrated as brave, daring, cultured, good-natured, and exotic—a warrior elite that became the stuff of legend, the very embodiment of chivalric manliness.

The flyers were the cutting edge of Britain's war effort during the early years of the war and were celebrated in the press, in newsreels, fiction, and popular films, a godsend to propagandists looking for good news stories to boost public morale in the face of a string of German victories. Yet behind the public image, what might be described as a national myth, there were different realities, as Martin Francis reveals in this fascinating and well-written study of the flyer in British culture during World War II. Drawing on a wide range of sources including both published and unpublished memoirs, popular fiction, and film, Francis uncovers the deep ambiguities of the flyer's life.

In wartime, flyers lived a peculiar existence: breakfast in the mess on their bases in rural England followed by terrifying, and often deadly, fighting in the air, then down to the village pub for a few drinks and high jinks in the evening, or up to London for a show—a life that mixed the routine and domestic with adrenaline-fueled combat.

In the postwar world, with Britain in decline, the myth of the idealized stoical warrior, bearing the torch of freedom on behalf of a conquered and oppressed Europe, offered comfort to a nation relegated to the second division. There was no room in this story for uncomfortable facts, such as that social class was a significant factor in the RAF, where non-commissioned flyers shared the same dangers as their officer comrades but were unable to enjoy the same mess, rates of pay, and privileges of the officer caste. Largely unacknowledged was the fact that the flyers were not always white Britons, but included not only representatives of the occupied nations like Poles, Czechs, and Frenchmen but also black Commonwealth volunteers from Asia and the West Indies. While Francis acknowledges these factors, such aspects of the story remain to be told in detail.

What is highlighted here, however, is that behind the public image of the insouciant devil-may-care flyer were young men who often suffered fear, anxiety, and guilt about their killing function. For every bravura, would-be superman like the legless ace Douglas Bader, there were hundreds of young men who yearned only

for the peace and security of domesticity and waited patiently for the war to end.

In his fascinating final chapter Francis examines how the flyers came home after 1945. Young men, often straight from school or university, had been thrown into battle with little or no experience of normal life, and often found their return to domesticity difficult. Mining a rich seam of memoirs, popular fictions, plays, and films, Francis examines the adjustment of flyers to a peacetime world where their battle skills held little advantage.

Yet, as Francis suggests, even now, seventy years after the war's end, the romance of the wartime flyer shows little sign of diminishing; an outpouring of biographies, films, and memoirs continues to reinforce the legend. However, this is no sensational work out to debunk the story of the RAF in World War II, for Francis approaches his subjects with respect and admiration for their achievements. His book is a welcome and intellectually honest attempt to examine the image of the airmen in British popular culture of World War II.

MICHAEL PARIS

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A. KATIE HARRIS. *From Muslim to Christian Granada: Inventing a City's Past in Early Modern Spain*. (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2007. Pp. xxi, 255. \$50.00.

Between 1588 and 1599, laborers and treasure-hunters in Granada found sacred relics that tied the city to the earliest Christians in Spain. Parchments in Arabic and Latin, particles of bone and handkerchiefs, and a sequence of lead books (*plomos*) told sixteenth-century Granadans a number of remarkable facts: that the Virgin Mary had spoken Arabic and toured Purgatory; that Granada's first bishop, St. Cecilio, was a deaf-mute Arab who had been cured by Jesus, mentored by St. James, and martyred in Granada in 56 C.E.; and that a revival of faith before the Apocalypse would be provoked by Arabs and their language. Profoundly syncretic in their blending of Christianity and Islam, the relics not only elevated the role of Arabs and Arabic within Christianity but implicitly tied Spain's *moriscos*—Muslims who had converted to Christianity, usually through coercion—to an honorable role in Christian salvation.

Controversy immediately ensued, with Granada's religious and social elite fiercely arguing for the relics' authenticity and other Spanish intellectuals opining equally adamantly that the discoveries were forgeries. The relics eventually were shipped to Rome for examination in 1642; forty years later, the papacy condemned them as the creation of Muslims whose aim was to undermine the Catholic faith. For modern readers, the irony of the relics is profound. The city of Granada was the center of the last Muslim kingdom in Spain, conquered by Ferdinand and Isabella in 1492: after that date, its Muslim inhabitants went from a relatively tol-

erated, catechized population to one that was converted by force in 1502, targeted by inquisitors and cultural proscriptions in the 1550s and 1560s, and forcibly resettled in other parts of Spain after the revolt of the Alpujarras in 1568–1570. Though the intentions behind the *plomos* and the other discoveries remain unknown, their content looks like a deliberate attempt to dignify a despised population of *moriscos* and to integrate Christians and *moriscos* into the earliest history of Spanish Catholicism. These relics challenged the religious history of a local place that was saturated with religious division. Tragically for the forgers and others who may have shared their hopes, the reception and promotion of the relics in Granada eliminated the *moriscos*' positive contribution to Christian history.

The history of the relics offers an intensely dramatic story. Up to now, scholarship on them has taken one of two directions: either measuring their theological orthodoxy in terms of Christianity and Islam, or examining them in the context of Christianization undertaken by the Tridentine church. In her graceful, subtle book, A. Katie Harris turns the subject to different ends and investigates the effect of the relics on civic identity, which she understands as a "symbolically constituted sense of belonging to a deep-rooted community" that nevertheless is multifaceted and subject to change (pp. xiv–xv). In five taut and thoughtful chapters, Harris lays out the early modern history of Granada and its religious turmoil, explains the fluidity of its elites, and traces the various ways in which the relics were received and turned to larger ends, either via the writing of local histories, the promotion of civic rituals, or the trumpeting of new sacred locales such as the Sacromonte, which lay outside the city walls and held the *plomos* found between 1595 and 1599. Harris proves without a doubt that the relics gave rise to a local, hagiographical history that in its most important form tied the martyrdom of St. Cecilio and his followers to the sufferings of contemporary Christians in the revolt of the Alpujarras. Here, sixteenth-century scholars were after repeating patterns and coherence: the discovery of the *plomos* allowed them to skip over centuries of Muslim dominance in favor of a purely Christian genealogy. The same quest for unity helped preachers treat the city as witnessing a cycle of conquests, first by St. Cecilio, then by Ferdinand and Isabella. And the relics' impact encouraged Granadans to expand their sense of the sacred outside the city walls, where, between 1621 and 1631, they created a monument that linked St. Cecilio, Mary Immaculate, and the city's identity.

Harris successfully illuminates the ways in which a specific geographical and historical context could spur particular intellectual and even emotional priorities, as Granadans deliberately pursued a Christian antiquity whose effects were felt across time, and purposely shut out the very *moriscos* who had given them the tools of their inspiration. Her investigation reinforces recent studies of the Tridentine reforms across Europe by demonstrating the ways in which local forces might challenge and correct the church. Small objections

could be made here and there. The role of Archbishop Castro y Quiñones in the relics' promotion deserves greater amplification, because he seems to have been the prime mover in their reception. Also it is risky to measure the popularity of specific saints through baptismal names when the total number of baptisms for any given year is not addressed. But this fine book will greatly interest all scholars of early modern Spain, Catholicism, and civic life.

LU ANN HOMZA
College of William and Mary

SCOTT K. TAYLOR. *Honor and Violence in Golden Age Spain*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 307. \$55.00.

Scott K. Taylor's intriguing new book asserts that two phantoms haunt Anglo-American scholarly understanding of Spanish social history. The first is the legacy of literary scholars' studies of the so-called "honor plays" of Lope de Vega, Calderón de la Barca, and other luminaries of Spanish "Golden Age" drama. The second is a long tradition of twentieth-century English-language anthropological studies of the phenomenon of "honor" in Iberian societies. Together, according to Taylor, the literary and anthropological studies undergird a pervasive obsession with the supposed centrality of "honor"—and, as a corollary, the obligation to resort to violence to defend one's honor—as an organizing principle of Spanish society at all levels.

But, Taylor dares to ask, what if our traditional conceptions of honor's place in Spanish society are misguided? To conjure up and then exorcise the ghosts of Spain's supposed "honor code," this book puts the values and behaviors enacted on the Golden Age stage and codified in modern anthropological studies to the empirical test of seventeenth-century historical sources. Specifically, Taylor's analysis is based upon intensive study of the surviving records of 477 seventeenth-century Castilian criminal trials, ranging in date from 1600 to 1652, in which what Taylor terms the "rhetoric of honor" came into play. Of these cases, the majority (313) come from a remarkable cache of surviving trials pertaining to the central Castilian town of Yébenes, located along the busy Royal Road in the *montes* of Toledo. The remaining 164 cases come from locales across the crown of Castile, representing the associated trial records that survive alongside those of the royal "Good Friday Pardons" granted annually by the king to a certain number of convicted criminals. Taylor skillfully uses these sources to move the reader back and forth from the depth of insight into the workings of the rhetoric of honor in a specific town to the comparative breadth provided by the cases drawn from other cities and villages across Castile. Taylor divides his analysis into five thematic chapters, addressing in turn "The Duel," "Honor and the Law," "Men," "Women," and, finally, "Adultery and Violence."

Each chapter follows a parallel rhythm, opening with a vignette from one of the Golden Age "honor plays"

illustrating the "point of honor" in question in the chapter, followed by a lengthy discussion of how the ideal illustrated by the literary sources actually functioned at the popular level as revealed by the trial testimony. Throughout the analysis Taylor provides eloquent support for his thesis: "Honor was not a trap that forced early modern Spaniards to act in certain tragic and bloodthirsty ways. Instead, it was a tool, used equally by men and women to manage relations with their neighbors and maintain their place in the community" (p. 7). The closing paragraphs of each chapter then carry the question outside of the Iberian peninsula, surveying research in other areas of Europe to show that the use of the "rhetoric of honor" in seventeenth-century Spanish communities resembled rather than differed from that in analogous communities in early modern Italy, France, and England.

Carefully researched and engagingly written, Taylor's book speaks directly to an issue of pressing concern and current scholarly debate, appearing as it does on the heels of two other very recent studies addressing closely related issues. On the one hand, like Taylor, Ruth MacKay, in her 2006 study *"Lazy, Improvident People": Myth and Reality in the Writing of Spanish History*, contends that the supposed Spanish obsession with "honor" enshrined in the literary sources is misguided and readily dismissed by scholars who engage primary sources dealing with the day-to-day realities of early modern Spaniards of all classes. On the other hand, James Casey's 2007 book *Family and Community in Early Modern Spain: The Citizens of Granada, 1570–1739* asserts on the basis of extensive archival research that honor was an overpowering ideal that played a dominant role in shaping the choices made by early modern Spaniards, especially among the elite families who are the principal focus of his study. Taylor's richly textured study makes an exceptionally strong empirical case against the sorts of "honor-bound" conceptions of Spanish society epitomized by Casey's book.

DAVID COLEMAN
Eastern Kentucky University

ISABELLE ROHR. *The Spanish Right and the Jews, 1898–1945: Antisemitism and Opportunism*. (Cañada Blanch/Sussex Academic Studies on Contemporary Spain.) Brighton, England: Sussex Academic Press. 2007. Pp. xvii, 211. \$62.50.

In view of the centrality of the Judeo-Masonic-Bolshevik myth to the political culture of the Franco dictatorship, it is perhaps surprising that so little has been published on the subject in English. Isabelle Rohr approaches this neglected theme by scrutinizing the Jewish question in Spain, above all with regard to the extreme right, between the loss of Spain's last remaining colonies in 1898 and the end of World War II in 1945. By drawing on a range of diplomatic and newspaper sources, as well as the pioneering works in Spanish, she tackles the issue not only in light of the dominant political myths of the right but also in terms of Spain's

post-1898 colonial needs and the shifting imperatives of its foreign policy. The result is a lively introduction to the topic that in certain respects enhances our understanding of the Jewish question in Spain. Nonetheless, Rohr overstates her claims to originality while presenting a portrait of the Spanish right that is too Manichean and often lacks essential contextualization.

According to Rohr, two potent right-wing myths were forged in nineteenth-century Spain in relation to the Jews: that of the *Reconquista* (Reconquest), which defined the Muslims and Jews as archetypal “others,” and that of the Judeo-Masonic plot. By the time of the Second Republic, in 1931, the latter had become inflated into the Judeo-Masonic-Bolshevik conspiracy. In Rohr’s view, this acted as a “binding agent” for the diverse forces of the “radical right,” whose antisemitic fervor was further fuelled by the new regime’s positive gestures toward the Jews. Not surprisingly, the Spanish Civil War was presented by the right-wing insurgents as a crusade against the Judeo-Masonic-Bolshevik plot: a reconfigured *Reconquista*. Nationalist antisemitism was bolstered by Nazi propagandists in Spain, yet the Sephardic community in Spanish Morocco was dealt with circumspectly by the insurgents, albeit for overwhelmingly instrumental reasons.

During the early part of World War II, the apparent incongruities of Francoist policy reached new heights. Antisemitic propaganda ran alongside a revival of philosephardism, which, as Rohr underlines, was designed to advance Spain’s colonial ambitions in the Mediterranean. Furthermore, those Jewish refugees who managed to reach Spain from occupied Europe were treated “humanely,” although they were not permitted to settle there. Moreover, the Franco regime, despite the urgings and sometimes heroic endeavors of its diplomats, proved extremely reluctant to provide refuge or even transit to persecuted Jews, including Spanish nationals. After Benito Mussolini’s fall in 1943, the Spanish dictatorship nonetheless sought to improve its image in the Western press—convinced that it was under Jewish tutelage—in case the Allies won the war.

There are, in my opinion, salient shortcomings to this book. Rohr clearly overstates its originality. A notable example is her misrepresentation of the path-breaking work of Gonzalo Álvarez Chillida, who, despite her disclaimer, *does* analyze the relationship between colonialism and philosephardism. Further, Rohr’s vision of the Spanish right often lacks nuance. For instance, the fascist ideologue Onésimo Redondo may have been a visceral antisemite, but Rohr fails to mention that the two principal fascist leaders, José Antonio Primo de Rivera and Ramiro Ledesma Ramos, scarcely alluded to the Jews. Neither was the CEDA (Confederación Española de Derechas Autónomas), Spain’s first mass Catholic party, of the “radical right,” while its antisemitism was a far cry from that of the Carlists; citing a single speech from a secondary source as evidence that antisemitism was a “recurring theme” of the the CEDA’s 1933 electoral campaign is inadequate, to say the least. Similarly, Rohr does not quote Francisco Franco

once in relation to the Nationalists’ antisemitic propaganda during the Civil War, yet she omits to explain that, up to 1939, he was one of the least antisemitic generals. Had, say, Emilio Mola been supreme head of the Nationalists, things would have been different. By contrast, Rohr’s benevolent image of the republic owes much to her eschewal of the anti-Muslim propaganda that characterized the regime during the conflict.

Finally, the antisemitism of the Franco dictatorship is taken by Rohr to underline the “fascistic” nature of the regime. While the dictatorship’s treatment of the Jews was callous and self-interested, it did not persecute the Jews—in contrast to the freemasons and communists—for being Jews. Rohr’s loaded lexicon with regard to the Francoists (words like “cynical” and “opportunistic” abound) further detracts from her argument. Nevertheless, this book contains some illuminating material, particularly in relation to the Jewish communities in the Moroccan Protectorate. Overall, Rohr’s study will be of undoubted value as an introduction for English speakers, but it does not add much to the existing scholarship.

NIGEL TOWNSON

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SUSAN ROSE. *Calais: An English Town in France 1347–1558*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press. 2008. Pp. 187. \$95.00.

Once the jewel of England’s overseas possessions, a little piece of England in France, today Calais is more likely to connote duty-free day-trips and errant immigrants hiding out among its infamous sand dunes. Susan Rose offers a solid study of the history of England’s interest in the coastal center, from its capture by Edward III in 1347 to its loss to the French in 1558. There are no surprises in her story, which focuses on the military and political importance of the town with some attempt to make sense of its economic contributions to crown finances. Rose argues strongly that maintaining the town, even in times of financial difficulties, was a wise move even if its role turned out to be more diplomatic listening post than port of entry for troops intent on conquering France.

The study begins with a brief history of England’s involvement in France from the Norman Conquest to Edward III’s accession, a story heavily dependent upon chronicler Jean Froissart and his own source Jean le Bel. As the closest continental port to England and Flanders, one realm supplying raw wool and the other consuming it in its cloth industry, Calais naturally caught Edward’s attention in the wake of his victory at Crécy. The siege was bitter, the inhabitants starving by the time of its capitulation once the realization set in that the French king had no plan to rescue them. The desperation of its officials, forced to surrender clad only in shirts with halters around their necks, caught the imagination of writers and artists, most famously that of Auguste Rodin and his much-distributed sculptures “The Burghers of Calais.” Rose speculates that Ed-

ward's harshness embodied a "ritual of humiliation" intended to discourage resistance in other towns; certainly his persistence in the siege and cruelty to the inhabitants added to his martial reputation.

From its capture, Calais needed assistance from the English crown, in the form of encouragement given to English settlers, diversion of trade, and establishment of a staple for certain commodities, all to ensure the payment and livelihood of the garrison housed within. This would eventually develop into the Staple of Calais, the sole legal venue for commercial transactions of wool and wool fells to continental, mainly Flemish, merchants. Rose is slightly handicapped by the loss of most of the records of the Company of the Staple of England, but she makes do with a variety of other documents that compel her to paint the economic picture with broader strokes, focusing less on statistics and more on the social and cultural environment.

With Henry V's successes in Normandy, and even through the early years of Henry VI's anemic pursuit of his father's military ends, Calais found itself out of direct military action. Rose illuminates how Calais became involved in the dynastic squabbling known as the Wars of the Roses. The potential power, both military and political, of the Calais garrison became a vital factor in the rise and recovery of the Yorkist house, to the extent that Edward IV after 1471 brought the captaincy more under royal control. Headed thereafter by a lieutenant (and after 1508, by a deputy), Calais often found mention in official documents "as a jewel among the possessions of the king of England" (p. 112).

The absence of actual warfare meant a more encouraging attitude toward trade and economic prosperity. The crown kept a close eye on Staple finances, relying as it did upon the proceeds of wool customs to stand as collateral for loans, and requiring sufficient coin on hand to pay the garrison. Rose uses the Paston and Cely letter collections to some effect in this section, illustrating how English families traveled widely in the area and enjoyed the town's continental contacts for purposes of banking, shopping, and socializing. After 1489, her source base widens thanks to changes in accounting measures, diverted from the Exchequer to the Chamber and recorded in large paper folios that frugal monarchs like Henry VII had personally checked.

More changes lay ahead. The wool trade declined, garrison wages were in arrears and the quality of the soldiers suspect, and technological changes in artillery and the architecture needed to resist the big guns required considerable investment. Henry VIII showed some interest and actually drew up his own set of plans for improvement in 1532, but little was accomplished. The French regained Boulogne in 1550 and began to consider recapturing Calais. Envoys and the Deputy failed to take the threat seriously until the French were outside the town with heavy artillery, resulting in the restoration of Calais to French control in January 1558. With the loss of this continental listening post, England had no choice but to turn to the pursuit of an overseas

empire in the Americas and India, excising Calais as the prime jewel in its monarch's crown.

LORRAINE ATTREED

College of the Holy Cross

SHARON KETTERING. *Power and Reputation at the Court of Louis XIII: The Career of Charles d'Albert, duc de Luynes (1578–1621)*. (Studies in Early Modern European History.) New York: Manchester University Press. 2008. Pp. 265. \$60.00.

It was in the sixteenth century, notably during the reign of Henri III, that royal favorites became prominent at the French court. They remained so in the early seventeenth century during the reign of Louis XIII, the most famous being Cardinal Richelieu. During the king's minority, Concino Concini, a much hated figure who was murdered in April 1617, was the favorite of the Queen Mother, Marie de Médicis. One of the main plotters against him was Charles d'Albert, duc de Luynes, a lesser nobleman from Provence who had attached himself to the entourage of the young king, Louis XIII. Although twenty-three years older than the king, a close bond of friendship had developed between them. In time Luynes became not only a personal favorite but also a political one and a minister. He was appointed Constable of France in 1621 and Keeper of the Seals. At the same time, he acquired several provincial governorships and used the patronage at his disposal to advance his relatives and friends. They received household, provincial, and military offices, titles, court privileges, cash gifts, and diplomatic appointments. But dispensing patronage was a double-edged sword, for it earned Luynes enemies among the people who were left empty-handed. Foremost among his enemies was Richelieu, who belonged to the Queen Mother's faction. Following Luynes's death in 1621 and his own rise to power, Richelieu used his well-developed propaganda machine to blacken Luynes's reputation. The favorite was portrayed as a social upstart devoured by greed and devoid of ministerial competence.

Historians generally, though not universally, have accepted this portrayal, which Sharon Kettering sets out to refute in her lively and enjoyable book. It is not a biography but a study of Luynes's public career. As she explains, the duke left very few records. His family papers were destroyed by fire in 1649 and 1944 and the letters of his that survive are "short, polite and formulaic without much substance" (p. 5). Luynes said little in public and committed nothing to paper. Little is known about his childhood or private life. Despite the patchy documentation, Kettering sets out to rescue Luynes from the malign reputation given to him by his enemies. She is at her best in describing how Luynes captured the king's friendship and admiration by dazzling him as a dancer in elaborate court ballets and by his hunting skills. She argues that Luynes's "good qualities outweighed the bad" and that "he made significant contributions to the early years of Louis XIII's government" (p. 6).

Kettering demolishes the legend that Luynes was low-born. He came from a solidly respectable family of the sword nobility in the Midi which had served the crown militarily for two centuries. Although badly educated, he was not stupid, but "an intelligent, ambitious realist who had spent his life at court and knew how it operated" (p. 51). According to Kettering, he was "no greedier or more ambitious than other courtiers" (p. 103). His documented fortune at his death was no larger than that of many other royal favorites. Nor was his clientele excessively large by great nobles' standards. By skillful manipulation of the court nobility the duke helped to defeat the Queen Mother, winning the respect of the great nobles at no financial cost to the crown. As Keeper of the Seals, he could preside over the king's council, but, if Kettering is right, his influence over decision making, though significant, was not paramount, for he always deferred to the king's wishes. "His was a voice of caution in the inner circle of the king who loved to play soldiers . . . He was a self-proclaimed peacemaker and moderate who regularly consulted the conservative greybeards" (p. 176). Kettering admits that as a Constable lacking military experience he was a failure and contributed to the debacle that was the siege of Montauban. She devotes a whole chapter to an examination of the bulky pamphlet literature that attacked Luynes as well as his own response to it that historians have largely ignored. She concludes that his historical importance has been overlooked "because Richelieu's dislike of him has dominated historical literature" (p. 237).

At times the reader may feel that Kettering is guilty of special pleading. Where evidence is lacking or confused, she tends to give her hero the benefit of the doubt. Her thematic approach to his ministerial career also leads to repetitiveness. These are minor blemishes, however, in a book that is both scholarly and lucid. While doing justice to an unfairly neglected historical figure, it adds significantly to our knowledge of power politics at the court of France on the eve of Richelieu's rise to power.

ROBERT KNECHT
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ZOË A. SCHNEIDER. *The King's Bench: Bailiwick Magistrates and Local Governance in Normandy, 1670–1740*. (Changing Perspectives on Early Modern Europe, number 11.) Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 326. \$75.00.

Although it is a commonplace to say that the "absolute" monarchy in France was not all that absolute, more research has been needed to explain how the state actually functioned at the local level. Through a rich and detailed study of bailiwick jurisdictions (*bailliages*), the lowest level of royal courts, Zoë A. Schneider offers an illuminating perspective on this problem. According to Schneider, bailiwick judges operated with a great deal of independence and performed critical services that gave them a position similar in many respects to English

Justices of the Peace. Unlike their English counterparts, however, the Norman bailiwick magistrates were not integrated into a larger national political system, because both the provincial estates of Normandy and the Estates General, which could have provided this link, had been eliminated.

The system in Normandy that developed under the French monarchy ended up being both functional and dysfunctional. The courts provided order, justice, and security necessary for safeguarding the family and its property, but the royal government also sold far too many offices, milked officeholders for money, and, except when taxes were at stake, left local judges to their own devices. Despite the problems created by the crown, the bailiwick magistrates formed, for the most part, a competent, professional group, albeit one somewhat disillusioned by royal policies. Thus, when the French Revolution came, they were poised to attack the abuses of the old system but came through the upheaval with their position as judges largely intact in the new regime.

Schneider's careful, archivally based research offers numerous insights on the relationship between the French crown and local law and governance. Perhaps most important is the scope of legislative sovereignty. Legislative sovereignty—that is, the supreme right of the king to impose his law on subjects without their consent—has been central to the definition of absolute monarchy. Schneider persuasively argues, however, that customary law, which regulated property and family relations, always remained largely outside the control of the king's sovereign claims. Bailiwick magistrates retained a great deal of legal independence because most cases tried in their courts fell under Norman customary law and concerned disputes about property and family affairs. Early in its history the monarchy had been happy to codify local custom and leave its enforcement in the hands of local judges; it really had no alternative. By the end of the Old Regime, however, the grip of the parlements and bailiwicks over customary law prevented the crown from reforming an ossifying legal system.

Because the monarchy saw the royal court system at all levels as a way to raise money through the sale of offices and additional expedients, local magistrates had to make the system work for them. Facing inadequate financial returns from a single office, successful magistrates ended up acquiring multiple offices in different sectors of local government including the town council, lower-level tax courts, seigneurial courts, and intendants' subdelegacies. Viewed from above, the system of offices looked fragmented, but underneath the accumulation of offices meant that a small group of well-to-do landowners basically ended up running local affairs and enjoying a good return on their investment.

Although local notables turned the system to their advantage, custom did accord some protections for the poor, including a kind of citizen's arrest. Another aspect of Norman customary law was male primogeniture, which discriminated against women and younger broth-

ers, but families often used other provisions of the law to mitigate its effects. Thus Schneider paints a picture in which the legal system was not simply applied top down to situations but was consciously used by individuals in the attempt to create favorable outcomes.

Overall, Schneider presents local magistrates as independent, resourceful, and prosperous and portrays Norman customary law as having useful and flexible features. Several questions arise from this depiction. First, Norman custom was used to litigate all manner of issues dealing with family and property, yet Schneider also argues that it was ossifying and creating a kind of legal straitjacket by the end of the Old Regime. In what respects can it be said that this fossilization was occurring? Second, if some local magistrates served as sub-delegates of the royal intendants, were all of the magistrates so cut off from the attention of the crown? Finally, if entrepreneurial magistrates succeeded in making the system work, then why did so many of them turn so decisively against the system in 1789? Schneider suggests some reasons, but the problematic aspects of the system could be probed more fully. In some ways, these questions arise from the richness and complexity of Schneider's research and do not detract from its accomplishments. All in all, her book is a welcome contribution to literature on how the not-so-absolute monarchy actually worked at the grassroots level during the reign of the Sun King and his successors.

GAIL BOSSENGA

College of William and Mary

GREGORY S. BROWN. *Literary Sociability and Literary Property in France, 1775–1793: Beaumarchais, the Société des auteurs dramatiques and the Comédie Française*. (Studies in European Cultural Transition, number 33.) Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2006. Pp. x, 186. \$100.00.

Gregory S. Brown has written a book about a very subtle matter, the changing yet steady role of the Société des auteurs dramatiques (SAD) in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Although Pierre-Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais is the central figure in this story, it really concerns an entire group of playwrights who saw themselves as superior to commercial writers and who practiced a particular kind of literary sociability. Far from wanting to defend themselves against the Comédie Française, the royal theater that performed their plays, the members of the SAD took pride in their relationship with it; they sought to enhance their pay and prestige, their control over their literary productions, without endangering the ties that bound them to the actors and courtiers who controlled the troupe. Yet they did have grievances. How to negotiate this terrain and get the desired results without jeopardizing their special connections? This was a delicate game, one for which the nimble and savvy Beaumarchais seemed ideally suited. Admired yet somewhat feared at court as a devastating pamphleteer, and highly regarded by his author colleagues, he straddled the two worlds and

sought to better the situation of writers without threatening the particular kind of patronage to which the SAD authors had become accustomed. He cultivated his several important court connections, like the Prince de Conti and Jean-Frédéric Phélypeaux de Maurepas, but never lost his popularity with his public. Indeed, there is a sense in which Beaumarchais was always performing.

Historiographically this book is quite unique, as Brown himself points out: its portrayal of Beaumarchais is more nuanced than that in most biographies. Also, previous books on the Comédie Française depict the SAD as much more radical than it really was, and have told this story as an overt, polarizing conflict. The group did indeed fight for literary property rights, but not as a dissident faction. Rather, SAD recognized the fresh, reforming flavor of the young Louis XVI's court, and picked up on the sense of possibilities for change with a new king barely beyond his teenage years. These writers were civil and genteel and wanted above all else to preserve the specialness of their professional identity. Brown is at great pains to show that his method of analyzing the ways this particular group of intellectuals conceived of themselves and their position is different and better than those who have so far studied the theater of the French Enlightenment. There is a lot of blurring of categories and a refusal of binaries in Brown's analysis, a critique of oversimplification. SAD authors were not grasping and commodity-minded, as other scholars have suggested, but rather appreciative and mindful of the particular contribution they made to the social order as responsible and tasteful educators of a broad audience. Brown arrives at these conclusions by closely studying the language and rhetorical strategies of the SAD writers.

It was their hope to work within the hierarchical framework of the Old Regime. They were civil and polite. Those more noisy and critical playwrights, like Louis-Sébastien Mercier, were excluded from the SAD because they frontally attacked the actors. And yet, Beaumarchais understood the energy and vigor of some of the aggressive outsiders, and he actually effected a rapprochement between Mercier and the powerful Duc de Duras that gave Mercier more prominence, making possible his transformation into a successful author later in his career. Even within the SAD, some of the more disgruntled and less controllable members advocated the formation of alternative theaters, of at least a "second troupe." Beaumarchais acknowledged them but reined them in to safeguard the position of the man of letters within the elite establishment.

This balance was too delicate, however, the arrangement too fragile to last. In the 1780s Beaumarchais himself became disenchanted with the tameness of the SAD and grew angry at the Comédie. Consequently he was accused of being mercenary and unsociable, and the connection of literati to the court weakened. Later, in 1791, the fraught and deteriorating relations between the SAD and the Comédie were represented as a fierce fight between a despotic theatre on the one hand, and

patriotic authors fighting for individual freedoms on the other. But it wasn't as simple as this passionate revolutionary depiction suggests, and overall, according to Brown, there has been a failure to see that what Beaumarchais did to achieve reciprocal respect between the corporate and civic worlds, even for a brief few years, was uniquely his, and uniquely eighteenth century.

Brown wonders if some readers may think he makes too fine a point here, and may find his analysis overly detailed and too dense (p. 164). This is a legitimate concern. But those with the patience to appreciate how he fleshes out these complex characters will find this book a rich exploration of the intricate relations between men of enormous ego—actors, courtiers, and writers—all trying to behave in a manner that made their interdependence not just bearable but enjoyable.

NINA RATTNER GELBART
Occidental College

VICTORIA JOHNSON. *Backstage at the Revolution: How the Royal Paris Opera Survived the End of the Old Regime*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2008. Pp. xv, 281. \$45.00.

The Académie Royale de Musique (1669–1791), familiarly known as the Opéra, was one of the most successful cultural creations of the Old Regime. It has been studied by Elizabeth Bartlet, Malcolm Boyd, Ariane Ducrot, Robert Isherwood, Jérôme de la Gorce, and William Weber from the point of view of creation, music, theatrics, and repertory. Sociologist Victoria Johnson's aesthetically sensitive, well-illustrated monograph maintains that the Opéra's institutional "foundation," which derived from its original "imprinting" or "template," equipped it with a *monopole* and *privilege* capable of meeting all challenges from governments, the public, artists, and theaters. Unlike the existing royal academies, Jean-Baptiste Lully was granted a personal charter in 1669 with rights of entrepreneurship to what became a "hybrid opera" with music, dance, and machines (pp. 22, 111, 128). Lully's felicitous collaboration with the relatively little-known "poet" Pierre Perrin sealed the Opéra's initial success. Its status as a Royal Academy placed it above the other "privileged theatres"—the Comédie Française and the Théâtre des Italiens (later the Opéra Comique)—giving it a repertorial monopoly over French opera and allowing it to tax unprivileged boulevard theaters (see Michèle Root-Bernstein, *Boulevard Theater and Revolution in Eighteenth-Century Paris* [1984]). Its perpetual display of luxury—Johnson's main theme—was its *raison d'être* for the French and the European *beau monde*. "No luxury and magnificence, no Opéra" (pp. 4, 81) was an adage employed almost identically by its last Old Regime administrator and by a member of the Paris revolutionary government in 1791. Its luxury was not self-financed, however, but heavily dependent upon the continued and generous protection of the monarchy.

A few quibbles are in order. It is unclear why the

chapters on the revolution (chapters two and three) precede those dealing with Louis XIV and Lully (chapters five and six). Parallels could be drawn between the Académie Royale de Musique's survival on the one hand with that of the "privileged" Comédie Française and Opéra Comique on the other. More could be made of the revolutionary populism that often threatened the Opéra: the public invasion of its premises in 1789; the Commune of Paris' attempt to municipalize it; the "liberty of theaters" that broke its privilege and monopoly in 1791; the Committee of Public Safety's imposition of a circumstantial, revolutionary repertory in 1793; and finally the imprisonment of the Opéra's director, Louis-Joseph Francoeur, whereupon the artists assumed control.

Maximilien Robespierre's attendance at the Opéra in a grilled box demonstrated the symbiotic survival of terror with luxury, *culottes*, and powdered wigs. A 1790 revolutionary rationale was the putative refrain of the century: "We must sustain this Theater, so admired by Foreigners, which draws them to France and which is the glory of the Nation" (p. 81). The Committee of Public Safety did extend loans (pp. 187–188), but by 1799 the Opéra was on the brink of financial and administrative ruin.

Johnson confines her suggestive, sociological theory to a preface and postscript; the body of her work is a lucid, well written, archivally documented account. It is ambiguous, however, whether she intends to emphasize surviving "the End of the Old Regime" or "surviving [the] Revolution"—the two are invoked separately in the title and conclusion. Due to reform efforts (Jean-Jacques Rousseau) and repertorial renewal (Christoph Willibald Gluck), the Opéra was not tottering before 1789, and the argument that the Old Regime (a term that Honoré Gabriel Riqueti, comte de Mirabeau coined in 1789 to define its demise) persisted to 1791 or 1792 when most of the other monarchical institutions had disappeared is questionable.

In 1807 Napoleon Bonaparte re-established four Old Regime theaters with more exclusive repertories. Johnson cites this decree (pp. 185, 194) but does not acknowledge the degree to which it broke with the past. Imperial theaters were no longer Lully's privileged or chartered institutions. They functioned completely under the state and its highly remunerated superintendent (Comte Augustin-Laurent de Rémusat, first chamberlain of the imperial household), who controlled everything from finances to repertory. Gone was the pre-revolutionary mix of private entrepreneurship and monarchical oversight. The Old Regime was corporatist from academies and guilds to church and theaters. The Napoleonic Empire was not.

But Johnson *does* prove that luxury was the thread connecting opera history. Napoleon quipped about its 600,000–800,000-franc budget: "At the Opéra, you have to throw money out the window in order for it to come back through the entrance." This point is compellingly demonstrated in Johnson's study, a scholarly, detailed,

and imaginative contribution to Old Regime and music history.

EMMET KENNEDY
George Washington University

ROBERT GILDEA. *Children of the Revolution: The French, 1799–1914*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2008. Pp. xx, 540. \$35.00.

This book is a history of the French (as opposed to France) in the long nineteenth century, aimed at general readers—the subtitle turns out to be the operative title. The book is thematic within two equal parts, 1799–1870 and 1870–1914. Each part begins with a political overview, followed by often insightful discussions of society, religion, culture, women, and feminism. Robert Gildea draws on a vast array of letters and memoirs, period studies, and recent histories to provide extraordinary detail, much of it vivid and colorful. Strong on rich quotes and illustrative anecdotes, the book is weaker in core argument or focus to hold them together.

The book's title and introduction promise a study of the ways that the revolutionary legacy played out. Initially, this promise seems to be fulfilled by generational analysis building from a Cobbanesque interpretation of the French Revolution: "A new unit of the revolutionary generation overturned the monarchy" (p. 4); another "generation hated the attacks on the Revolution" (p. 7); yet a third "was a generation of builders rather than dreamers" (p. 9). Can generational "units" explain such shifts? Timothy Tackett has shown that 1792 was not a shift in personnel from 1789; rather the men of 1789 "became revolutionaries" through their experiences.

Generations, however, prove not to be the point. The generational paradigm and indeed the revolution soon disappear, leaving the reader to confront a mass of detail without much argument, in sentences like this: "The Marquise de La Rochejacquelein, widow of Louis, and widowed by another Vendean leader, the Marquis de Lescure, 'the saint of Poitou', published her *Memoirs* in 1815" (p. 72). The second chapter, called "Discovering France," surveys Parisian perceptions of the provinces; it resembles Graham Robb's recent *The Discovery of France* (itself a kind of Eugen Weber lite). This is complemented by later sections on "Peasants and the Struggle for Land" and "Peasants: Change and Resistance." The latter opens with a summary of Émile Zola's novel of peasant brutality, *La Terre*, a portrayal few historians would accept as representative. Gildea never pursues the ways the revolution's legacy played out in rural France and thus loses the chance to show how memories of the Great Revolution fed into subsequent struggles, 1848 and the Third Republic.

Part two, on the Third Republic period (1870–1914), is the stronger half of the book, but it still denies the reader a sense of the continuing struggle over the revolutionary legacy. Two insightful if quirky chapters ("Consensus Found" and "Class Cohesion") contrast

the political and social divisions of the earlier period with the emergence of a relatively cohesive polity and society in the Third Republic, especially among elites (an argument which originated with Emmanuel Beau de Loménie and Jean Lhomme, though they do not appear to be Gildea's sources). But Gildea gives this argument neither political nor economic context: the cohesion seems simply to emerge spontaneously. He emphasizes the apparent near-resurrection of the monarchists rather than the quasi-alliance of radical republicans, conservative republicans, and Orleanists led by Léon Gambetta and Adolphe Thiers, which most historians have seen behind both the republicans' triumph and the elites' coalescing into a more homogenous *grande bourgeoisie*. Gildea even downplays the link to the revolution when the republic, as François Furet famously put it, "sailed into home port." For Gildea, the republican triumph is "explained in part by spin and in part by networking" (p. 252). Historians as diverse as Katherine Auspitz, Sanford Elwitt, and Philip Nord have shown that there were many substantive factors behind this triumph.

Presumably seeking to appeal to a broad public, Gildea mines historians' work for quotes but not for argument or context, and restrains his own authorial voice. In a section on *fin-de-siècle* culture, for instance, he discusses Juliette Adam's salon, which brought together the composer Charles Gounod, the professional patriot Paul Déroulède, and the novelists Pierre Loti and the Daudets, father and son (p. 397), but he fails to mention the new, right-wing, authoritarian patriotism that emerged from Adam's salon and that led to the reconfiguration of the postrevolutionary Right into a modern, nationalist, authoritarian, and antisemitic Right. This brought the old royalist struggle against the republic into a new movement, another aspect of postrevolutionary struggle that Gildea does not address.

The lack of a clear authorial voice leads to a worrying failure to dispel misconceptions, especially with regard to antisemitism. Charles Maurras, the founder of the profoundly antisemitic Action Française, is introduced as a believer in "political autonomy for the . . . provinces" (p. 299), with no mention of his antisemitism. Édouard Drumont, the most scurrilous antisemite in French history, is introduced as "a journalist who was increasingly unhappy with the opportunist Republic and with the influence on it of the Rothschilds and the Reinachs" (p. 353), with no suggestion that "the Rothschilds and the Reinachs" had influence not as Jews but as wealthy bankers and leading republicans.

Gildea's erudition and range of illustrative detail are breathtaking. Many historians will use his work to enrich their lectures. But neither they nor the broad public will find in it a satisfying interpretation of nineteenth-century French history.

CHARLES SOWERWINE
University of Melbourne

HARVEY HILL, LOUIS-PIERRE SARDELLA, and C. J. T. TALAR. *By Those Who Knew Them: French Modernists Left,*

Right, and Center. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 2008. Pp. 198. \$59.95.

This essay collection signals a third wave in studies of the early twentieth-century Roman Catholic Modernist crisis. A first wave (1907–1960) followed the binary terms set out by papal pronouncements: Catholic orthodoxy vs. Modernist heresy. Vatican II (1962–1965) made possible a second wave of scholarship beyond binaries: it traced multiple threads in intellectual controversies, unmasked unsavory institutional politics, and rehabilitated a number of condemned figures. The present third wave is informed by poststructural theories of recent decades. It is keenly aware of rhetorical strategies used in producing biographical inventions of others and oneself, of the multiple receptions that any such text might elicit, and of the use of such texts in wars of contested memory. While considering the multiple conflicting posthumous accounts of an archbishop sympathetic to the excommunicated Alfred Loisy, Louis-Pierre Sardella notes that “the great issue in the war of memory that fueled all the portraits” was this crucial question: “To what extent did [Archbishop] Mignot share Loisy’s conclusions?” (p. 155). Contested sites of memory are linked to broader problems of textual hermeneutics: “After all, what is the true meaning of a work? That placed there by its author? That added by different readers? That fixed by an authority?” (p. 176).

By comparing and contrasting multiple biographical portraits of various “Modernists” written in the early twentieth century, the present volume reveals deep fissures and antipathies between thinkers whom the papacy had blithely subsumed beneath a generic category. For rationalists on the “Left,” critical history possessed an absolute authority to discredit Catholic theology. In this binary vision (shared, ironically, with the papacy), anyone embracing scientific method needed to reject the church—any other stance was simply dishonest dissimulation. Conversely, for progressives on the “Right,” Catholic dogma maintained its authority to limit critical history. One of these put the problem schematically: a dogma has two elements, one “essential and immobile,” a second being the “explicit or inferred” expression of the first. Although “knowledge of the essential . . . cannot be affected by history,” the second element, by contrast, “does have a history” and is thus open to historical investigation of its progressive unfolding (p. 9). Finally, in the “Center” were figures who “rejected the notion shared by Modernists to their left and their right that critical history and Catholic theology in its contemporary form had to agree.” They took present day disagreement as a given and instead fixed their eyes on the prize: “a future theology informed by—indeed reformed by—modern critical scholarship as the best grounds for their loyalty to the Church” (p. 11).

Biographical portraiture served Left, Right, and Center as an effective weapon for internecine feuds. Not surprisingly, such assessments were often less “factual” than ideal types (sometimes mirroring the writer’s

own self-assessment or aspirations) or character assassinations (projecting, perhaps, the writer’s own anxieties about himself). For example, Albert Houtin wrote Loisy as a “pious fraud” for not having abandoned the church sooner. Houtin raised gender anxieties: Loisy “was raised as a little girl and with little girls” and, as an adult, “enjoyed making clothes for his nieces’ dolls” (p. 113). By contrast, Henri Bremond claimed that Loisy’s “mystic faith,” while admittedly not “dogmatic,” nevertheless preserved him as a “mystical priest” even after his excommunication (pp. 142, 146). In another case, Loisy reproached Friedrich von Hügel’s portrayal of Mignot for having “Hügelized” its subject. “Like a photograph,” wrote Loisy, “it is taken of von Hügel and not of the Archbishop” (p. 164). François-René de Chateaubriand said it first a century earlier: we paint well by attributing to others what we perceive within.

Who was “passing for Catholic” and who “passing for modern”? This ubiquitous anxiety pervades the volume. Biographers accused their subjects of dishonesty, dissimulation, “duping,” “seducing,” outright lying, and maintaining connections to the church long after they had lost faith. Evidently the border region between “Catholic” and “modern” was dangerously fluid and ambiguously marked: here there be monsters (mixtures, mongrels, and hybrids). A pervasive irony also runs throughout the essays: the status of positivistic truth (as observable “facts”) lay at the heart of the crisis; yet in practice, deep skepticism about the ability of surface appearances to mirror unseen states of conscience gave the lie to any such confidence.

This irony already marked the texts in their own day. On the surface, they presented themselves as factual accounts of lives designed to shape memory (and eventually history). On closer reading, “facts” are seen rhetorically shaped by foregrounding and backgrounding, omissions and additions, conscious erasures and altered translations. So much for Comtean faith. This superb collection will appeal not only to scholars of religion and modernity but more broadly to anyone interested in biographical monuments as contested sites of memory.

STEPHEN SCHLOESSER
Boston College

OLIVIER WIEVIORKA: *Normandy: The Landings to the Liberation of Paris.* Translated by M. B. DEBEVOISE. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2008. Pp. xiv, 446. \$29.95.

Olivier Wieviorka, a distinguished historian of twentieth-century France and especially the Vichy years, sets out in this excellent synthesis to “recapture the essence” (p. 4) of D-Day and the bitter fighting that followed the June 6, 1944 landings in northwestern France. But recapture it from what? From filmmakers, mythologists, and popular histories, evidently, that have long portrayed the liberation of France in simplistic terms: bold leadership and high-minded morality by the Americans, undue caution and incompetence among

the British, and submissive gratitude from the French. In place of such alleged caricatures, Wieviorka proposes a comprehensive review of the Normandy campaign that covers everything from generalship to grand strategy, logistics and supply, training and morale, and even the battlefield experiences of the soldiers themselves.

This is an elegant, able book, based on detailed archival work in Britain and the United States and drawing on the author's deep knowledge of French politics. It certainly surpasses the more simplistic popular histories of the Normandy campaign. But it offers few surprises that might challenge the serious military historiography on Normandy, nor does it advance any particular argument. The origins of the invasion plan, the divergence among the Big Three Allies about when to launch it, the massive logistical difficulties in getting enough men and materiel across the Channel, the need for technological breakthroughs (like the landing craft that were used so effectively on D-Day)—all of this has been told before, much of it in the excellent British and American official histories and in the vast memoir literature. To be sure, Wieviorka shows particular strengths. He devotes serious attention to the strategic visions of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, and Joseph Stalin as they quarreled their way toward consensus about the invasion plan. He is also strong on the manpower problems the Allies faced, not only in numbers (finding adequate troops was a constant problem in the last year of the war in the West) but in motivating and training raw recruits. And he embeds the D-Day operation in the broader history of war production and economic mobilization. When it comes to analyzing the fighting, however, his account pales next to such masterful studies as Max Hastings, *Overlord: D-Day and the Battle for Normandy* (1984), or Russell Weigley, *Eisenhower's Lieutenants: The Campaign of France and Germany, 1944–45* (1981).

If Wieviorka's first 250 pages, covering the planning and execution of the landings, are quite conventional, the book's final 100 pages offer new insights. An innovative chapter explores the psychological trauma endured by thousands of Allied soldiers during the Normandy campaign; Wieviorka's evidence reminds us that the fighting in Normandy bore many resemblances to the trench combat of World War I. On politics, Wieviorka is excellent in analyzing provisional president Charles de Gaulle's wily effort to make of himself an indispensable man to the Allies and so wrest from them the recognition they were loath to grant. But Wieviorka's brief foray into the civilian experience of liberation is disappointing, for he prefers to stress the generally warm welcome that French people offered their liberators, despite voluminous evidence to the contrary. He briefly discusses the looting and rapes that were endemic in the summer of 1944 but downplays them. He is eager to leave the pulverized, battle-scarred towns of Normandy and turn toward Paris, and to de Gaulle's struggle for power in the heady atmosphere of the liberated capital.

Wieviorka claims that, by pointing out some of the flaws in Allied planning and logistics, and introducing evidence about the suffering that soldiers endured on the battlefield, he has now recovered Normandy from the "familiar mythology" and instead portrayed this campaign as "a supremely human event" (pp. 360, 361). This worthy effort is flawed by a failure to evaluate the experience of the residents of Normandy whose lives were forever altered by the battle. Wieviorka could easily have enriched his account by working in local departmental archives in Calvados and Manche; instead he limited himself to U.S. and British official records. Where we might have expected to find detailed analysis of the lives of French communities during these terrible months of war, Wieviorka pulls us constantly upward, toward the political and military leaders. Yet 20,000 French civilians died in the fighting in Normandy, and their plight goes unrecorded here. If we are seriously to revise the history of D-Day and the fighting that followed, we would do well to start with the liberated people of France and the sources they have left us. There we can find revealed whole worlds of pain and anguish that all too often go missing in our historical treatments of the cataclysmic events of the summer of 1944.

WILLIAM I. HITCHCOCK
Temple University

PETER ARNADE. *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots: The Political Culture of the Dutch Revolt*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2008. Pp. xiv, 352. Cloth \$69.95, paper \$26.95.

In August 1467 the proud city of Liège, in what is now the French-speaking part of Belgium, rose in revolt against its lord Charles the Bold. Charles had succeeded his father as duke of Burgundy only two months earlier, but by November he managed to force the city into submission. In revenge, the duke allowed his troops to plunder Liège, had its walls and gates dismantled, and confiscated the Perron, a bronze column that symbolized the city's political autonomy. One year later, the desperate citizens of Liège rose again, the city was looted once more, and not even religious treasures were safe from soldiers on the rampage. To make amends for the loss of church property, Charles donated a beautiful and very expensive gold statue of himself accompanied by St. George for public display in the local cathedral. Through this gift, Peter Arnade argues, the duke affirmed his political authority by claiming the main sacred space of Liège. Unwittingly, Charles thus helped lay the foundations for more than a century of struggles that were at once religious and political, and that would ultimately cause Charles's Habsburg successors to lose a substantial part of their Low Countries territories.

Arnade's carefully crafted book is an attempt not so much to provide another version of the story of the Dutch Revolt—even though much of that is offered too—but rather to make sense of how contemporaries made sense of the bewildering events around them.

More specifically, he aims to understand how the Dutch rebels of the sixteenth century managed to justify the replacement of Habsburg authority with their own, and how, in the process, they created their own version of legitimate rule. As the story of Liège's clashes with Charles the Bold implies, two ingredients went into the equation: urban autonomy and princely authority. Traditionally, these two were reconciled through the ritual of the *Entrée joyeuse*, when a new ruler made his ceremonial entry into a town, asserting his authority but at the same time promising to respect the ancient privileges of the urban community. Charles the Bold's donation to Liège cathedral had included the religious realm into this symbolic exchange. The Inquisition, unusually severe in the Low Countries, then continued to underline the point that religion and politics were one and the same.

In the Low Countries this combustible mixture exploded in the summer of 1566, when Protestant iconoclasts ritualistically destroyed Catholic churches to score political points. The duke of Alba, sent over by Philip II, tried to impose a new political as well as symbolic order, but he merely managed to prove to the rebels and many non-committed citizens the illegitimacy of his presence in the Low Countries. Alba's ruthless attempts to crush the rebellion used the fatal blend of religious and political persecution and focused precisely on urban autonomy. The burning of Antwerp's recently built town hall by Spanish troops in 1576 was a demonstration that even his common foot soldiers knew exactly what was at stake. In the meantime, rebel leader William of Orange was deliberately promoted as the proper heir of the Burgundians, a prince who managed to combine aristocratic authority with respect for civic communities. Joyous entries into Brussels and Ghent in 1577, and Amsterdam in 1580, were stage-managed with precisely this effect in mind. At the same time, Orange tried to separate politics and religion, by insisting on toleration and avoiding any claims on religious spaces. These attempts were cut short by Orange's killing, in 1584, by a French Catholic.

Arnade's richly illustrated book adds a new and exciting dimension to the story of the Dutch Revolt and sixteenth-century conflict more generally. Its often imaginative argument is on the whole persuasive. Therefore one would wish to quarrel with the implications of his analysis, rather than with his interpretation as such. According to Arnade, the years between 1566 and 1584 created the foundation for the political identity of the Dutch Republic, and its specific blend of republicanism. This is doubtful for two reasons. Apart from Holland and Zeeland, the territories that were to form the Dutch Republic had only been included into the Habsburg realm shortly before the revolt got underway. They therefore were mostly unrelated to the political rituals that shaped the rebels' response in the southern Low Countries. Arnade's evidence overwhelmingly relates precisely to these southern areas, where the revolt was ultimately suppressed. The problem was exacerbated after the death of William of Or-

ange, which left the house of Orange in dire straits and by implication the whole concept of princely rule in the newly founded Dutch Republic. The creation of a working version of Dutch republicanism deserves further investigation; Arnade's book will prove to be an indispensable guide for such future research.

MAARTEN PRAK
Utrecht University

BRIDGET HEAL. *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Early Modern Germany: Protestant and Catholic Piety, 1500–1648*. (Past and Present Publications.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. xvi, 338. \$99.00.

The flourishing of late medieval Marian piety has become a stock argument in revisionist accounts of the state of the church and popular religion on the eve of the Protestant Reformation. However, this emphasis on continuity has so far not resulted in a comprehensive investigation of the fate of the Marian cult in post-Reformation Central Europe outside a Catholic context. Bridget Heal addresses this lacuna and develops a nuanced picture for the transformation and resilience of the cult of the Virgin and Marian iconography in Protestant Nuremberg, bi-confessional Augsburg, and, for the sake of comparison, Catholic Cologne, from the eve of the Reformation to the conclusion of the Thirty Years' War. The focus is thus clearly and conceptually on the urban dimension of the topic. The first chapter usefully traces the development of the Marian cult and doctrine since the late Middle Ages, specifically the gradual acceptance and spread of the doctrine and feast of the Immaculate Conception in the fifteenth century. This part includes an interesting but somewhat rushed and hence not quite satisfactory excursus on the complex issue of how Marian devotion, or rather its manipulation for a variety of motives by mostly educated agents, related to manifestations of antisemitism in pre- and early Reformation Germany (pp. 41–45). Reverting to the main theme, Heal then argues that Catholic humanist critique of popular "excesses" of Marian devotion was initially endorsed by the church, but subsequently dropped in favor of a more conservative stance in response to Protestant attacks on Catholic "superstitious" cults. While the main point about the impact of Reformed doctrine and iconoclastic action on the Counter-Reformation response seems incontrovertible, it is important to bear in mind that at the level of doctrine, the relevant decrees of the Council of Trent pursued a dual aim: to protect the cult of the saints and the Virgin, and to put an end to practices that constituted idolatry even by pre-Reformation standards. The Catholic Church of the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries appropriated or tolerated established Marian and saints' cults of distinctly non-Tridentine flavor if there were external constraints or if the populations concerned were on the social or geographical margins of the Catholic mission.

There are parallels here with Martin Luther's cau-

tious rephrasing of Catholic Marian doctrine and his explicitly tactical concessions to popular Marian piety—not to mention the emperor's sensitivities—during the early stages of the Reformation. This was in marked contrast to the deprecation of the cult of the Virgin and forthright rejection of its doctrinal implications by Lutheran preachers after his death (pp. 55–62), a change that very much reflected escalation of the confessional conflict.

Political and economic considerations go some way toward explaining the survival of Marian imagery in Protestant Nuremberg, which is the first of Heal's case studies. The imperial city had adopted the Reformation at an early stage but prudently avoided antagonizing the emperor during the German Peasants' War and refrained from joining the Schmalkaldic League that formed in 1531. Moreover, Nuremberg's exclusively patrician magistrate had no wish to scare away Catholic trade. If set against this backdrop, the survival of Marian imagery in Nuremberg seems less odd than Heal suggests, and a similar argument could be made for Augsburg. It thus seems explicable if Catholic images were displayed in private homes and public buildings to which Catholic merchants and dignitaries had access. Other Catholic artifacts may have been retained for their material rather than their spiritual value, especially if they were considered collectors' items. Catholic images that remained in Protestant churches at the behest of descendants of their patrician donors continued to bear testimony to the family's wealth and standing in the community; removing or tampering with these gifts would have been much more than a religious statement. This interpretation is in line with Heal's finding that no Marian images were commissioned after the introduction of the Reformation in either Nuremberg or Augsburg, where the influence of Zwinglianism explains the more radical official stance toward Marian doctrine and imagery. It also fits with some of the most interesting and original findings of Heal's book concerning the ways in which the iconography of surviving Marian images was changed to deflect its offensive Catholic impetus and imbue it with a Christocentric meaning. If this proved not feasible, the spectator's attention was focused on those elements of the image that were compatible with Protestant doctrine.

A detailed and instructive account of the variety of pre- and post-Tridentine Catholic Marian devotion in Augsburg and Cologne and the influence of Jesuit activity usefully complement the picture, and it is here that the otherwise somewhat neglected aspect of popular participation is given full consideration. The concluding chapter deals with the gender dimension of the subject from a comparative confessional perspective.

The different layers of Heal's thoughtful interpretation are well connected and reflect her close study of an impressive range of primary sources. The illustrations are aptly chosen and support Heal's original and convincing argument about the transformation of Marian

devotion and iconography in an age of confessional strife and remarkably incomplete confessionalization.

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LARRY FROHMAN. *Poor Relief and Welfare in Germany from the Reformation to World War I*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. x, 257. \$85.00.

In his multifaceted history of poor relief and social policy, Larry Frohman includes large sections of Central and Western Europe in his discussion of the early modern period and focuses on the territory of the German Empire for the period after 1871. Almost two-thirds of the book and most references to archival sources are devoted to an analysis of social policies during the empire. According to Frohman, the concept of "social discipline" as used in the literature to explain motivations for poor relief and charity has been so widespread that poor relief has often been regarded as a mechanism for marginalizing the poor. He rightly considers as one-sided the strong emphasis on the disciplinary and repressive character of welfare and poor relief and consequently questions the equation of assistance to the poor with discipline, marginalization, and exclusion. Frohman holds that the deserving local poor were treated with greater care than vagrants and indigent foreigners. Assistance to the poor thus had as much to do with social integration, community, and citizenship as it did with discipline and marginalization. Therefore, he argues, the concept of "social control" is more apt, since it evinces greater concern for the preservation of the community than does the social discipline paradigm. Frohman holds that social integration and social exclusion were two sides of the same coin, as were assistance and discipline.

The author sets out to discuss how the balance between assistance and discipline, as well as between the rights of the individual and those of the community, was struck over the centuries. According to Frohman, his work is not about poverty per se or the mentality and everyday life of the poor; rather he seeks to illuminate the changing contemporary understanding of the "social question," thus revealing more about the properties of classes who defined need than about the poor themselves. The book also aspires to go beyond the organizational and administrative histories of poor relief "by showing relief, charity and welfare to be forms of historically situated social practice, both symbolic and material" (p. 7).

The initial three chapters examine the origins of poor relief and how poverty became the object of state policy in early modern Europe. In the Middle Ages, the pauper was still regarded as an integral part of society, and poor relief lay in the hands of the church. After the Reformation, as the poor increasingly posed a public burden, municipal poor relief proved to be a financial strain for many communities. Poverty soon acquired the stigma of laziness and moral depravation; it was morally tainted in the wake of the Reformation and

considered a social danger after the French Revolution. The "honest pauper" became the exception as poverty was increasingly associated with malevolence, idleness, and even crime. Early modern poor relief thus attempted to better paupers and reform their attitudes toward work, which was often considered the main panacea against the moral depravation of poverty. As Frohman shows, the Age of Absolutism's "house of correction" (eventually known as the "workhouse"), was initially a means of reintegrating pauperized elements into the community, though it was gradually transformed into a repressive institution between 1650 and 1750.

When dealing with the age of pauperism in the nineteenth century (chapters four and five), the author focuses on moral reform—perhaps a little too single-mindedly, since the solution to pauperism was not seen to lie solely in moral improvement. He argues that social policies were based on the presumption that poverty and other forms of social deviance were a matter of individual character. Frohman stresses that beginning in the 1880s and 1890s the alleviation of social problems depended more on environmental and social reforms, along with popular enlightenment regarding, for example, advances in hygiene and modern child-raising practices. Frohman also examines in detail poor relief at the local level, notably the Elberfeld system that became the model for deterrent poor relief in imperial Germany. He emphasizes that the main goal of nineteenth-century poor relief was to combat pauperism, not to prevent poverty, a claim that carries much weight, given that the means at the disposal of state and local communities were severely limited. Frohman argues that the political rationality of the new preventive social welfare programs after the 1880s and 1890s was diametrically opposed to that of deterrent relief. Chapters seven through ten explore the shift from deterrence to prevention and the implications of this transition for citizenship, social rights, and the role of the state. The remaining chapters (eleven and twelve) assess the impact of World War I on the development of social assistance. State and local communities poured immense funds into social programs with the goal of stabilizing the home front. According to Frohman, the decades between the 1890s and 1918 mark the gradual hallowing out of deterrent poor relief by the expansion of preventive social welfare programs. World War I marks the final demise of what Frohman terms "deterrent poor relief" and heralds the corresponding breakthrough of "preventive social welfare."

Overall this is an excellent book that is well researched, full of substantive points, and based on a systematic analysis of an interesting topic. The writing style, unfortunately, is less accessible than it could be: the language is in parts extremely abstract and complicated. The book would be more readable with more concrete, specific wording and shorter sentences (on pp. 54–55 one sentence runs over seven lines). Even though not everyone will agree with some of Frohman's arguments (such as his claim that there was nothing

unique about the German case), it is beyond question that this is a first-rate, compact synthesis of German social policies and the treatment of the poor between the Reformation and 1918. The author has used a truly impressive selection of the vast secondary literature and, for imperial Germany, a good many archival materials that are deftly integrated into the text.

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THOMAS ADAM. *Stipendienstiftungen und der Zugang zu höherer Bildung in Deutschland von 1800 bis 1960*. (Palas Athene: Beiträge zur Universitäts- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte, number 28.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag. 2008. Pp. 263. €46.00.

Spurred in part by contemporary discussions about introducing tuition at universities in the Federal Republic, Thomas Adam examines a theme that he considers to have been completely forgotten: endowed scholarships at German universities from 1800 until after World War II. His book rests on extensive research in twelve university archives as well as the files of the Prussian Minister of Education, from which Adam has derived both broad statistical data and some very interesting case studies.

In 1888, Adam notes, thirty-six percent of Prussian students received some kind of assistance: scholarships, free board, or reduction or waiver of fees. In most cases such aid covered only a fraction of the costs of attendance. He has documented the existence of 272 endowed scholarships controlled by the universities—rather than cities, secondary schools, or other bodies—established before 1800, and 525 more between then and 1946. Yet few universities published comprehensive lists of available awards, and many attracted relatively few applicants.

Whereas older scholarships tended to be restricted either by family membership or religious affiliation, those created after 1800 more often benefitted students from particular localities, states, or social groups. In 412 cases where the social background of donors is known, only about twenty percent came from the economic middle class; officials and members of the learned professions did much more to aid the education of succeeding generations. About one-third of donors were women, usually widows.

In discussing administration of endowments Adam points out that only Rostock, Freiburg, and Heidelberg had common policy for all accounts. Although most scholarship agreements at least implied that all earnings would be spent, the growth of many endowments over the years suggests that some interest was rolled into the principal. State laws required that investments be "mündelsicher" (literally, secure enough for an orphan), but investment policies varied from almost all mortgages to almost all bonds. During World War I the government pressured universities to invest funds in war bonds, so that the runaway inflation of the early 1920s devastated the endowments. One result was con-

solidation of tiny balances into common funds, a step defended with the claim that the donors' original intentions could no longer be fulfilled. Those that survived World War II suffered a devaluation of ninety percent after the currency reform in the western occupation zones; in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) the remaining balances were confiscated.

Adam then examines the interplay of merit and need in the awarding of scholarships. Only at Bavarian universities and at Münster did members of the lower classes frequently receive scholarships. More often the death of a father or the presence of numerous siblings served to justify requests for assistance from middle-class students. In sixty-five cases where Adam consulted the published dissertations of scholarship holders, none mentioned the grant in his or her curriculum vita. Adam concludes that "the stigma of the recipient's 'need'" clearly outweighed the prestige of having been selected (p. 223).

Although most donors supported existing disciplines or categories of students, Adam also examines several interesting cases where philanthropy aimed at change. In 1872 a nation-wide subscription raised 150,000 marks for Bismarck Scholarships at the new University of Strasbourg as part of the patriotic task of bringing German *Kultur* to Alsace-Lorraine. Some donors created scholarships specifically for Jewish students, who were excluded from many that required recipients to be Christians or belong to specific denominations. Adam documents how such funds were misused during the Third Reich.

Not all bequests were accepted. In 1884 a single woman named Leonore Herhausen left 30,000 marks to the University of Göttingen to support two students per year in the study of homeopathic medicine, which the medical faculty did not teach; only after six years of negotiations with the executor of her estate did the university reluctantly reject the gift. A similar fate might have befallen the bequest established in 1868 by the will of Katharina Eleonore Wallot, who wanted to leave 70,000 marks to Heidelberg for scholarships for women; but since she lived until 1903, three years after admission of women, the university had no qualms about accepting her funds. Only a few other donors created scholarships specifically for women, but German universities generally allowed them to apply for ones even where the original donation had spoken of male students.

By beginning in 1800, Adam downplays older bequests focused on the support of future clergy. His bibliography does not include Anthony J. La Vopa's *Grace, Talent, and Merit: Poor Students, Clerical Careers, and Professional Ideology in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (1988), which explored support for such "lads of parts" in the eighteenth century. Interested so much in reviving knowledge about his topic, Adam also tends to paint too rosy a picture. The University of Freiburg received only four new scholarship endowments between 1873 and 1909, and in all of Germany only thirty-nine schol-

arships were created to honor soldiers who died in World War I.

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TUSKA BENES. *In Babel's Shadow: Language, Philology, and the Nation in Nineteenth-Century Germany*. (German Literary Theory and Cultural Studies.) Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 418. \$54.95.

It is a commonplace that language played a key role in the development of German national identity in the nineteenth century. The precise ways in which that happened and the reasons for it are less frequently explored. In this deeply impressive study, Tuska Benes presents a comprehensive and fascinating account of the development and ramifications of German philological studies.

Benes pursues two main themes. The first is the German preoccupation with language as evidence of ethnic descent and the development of a series of powerful myths of cultural origin that formed a historical and ethnic focus for ideas of German nationhood. These influenced theologians, cultural critics, and racial theorists during the course of the nineteenth century. The second is the path from the ideas of the cultural significance of language that developed in Germany in the late eighteenth century to the theories of language developed in the later twentieth century by thinkers such as Michel Foucault: the idea that language was an autonomous system that shaped human existence rather than merely expressed or reflected it. In a sense Benes offers us two studies in the same book, each presented with enviable clarity and elegance.

German philology had its roots in the humanist tradition that survived in the rich and diverse university landscape of the Holy Roman Empire. The study of classical texts remained central. Yet philology and the study of the nature of language also played a key role in the search for original meaning or a universal language of signs in other disciplines such as theology, history, and natural philosophy. From the mid-eighteenth century German thinkers such as J. D. Michaelis, Johann Georg Hamann, and Johann Gottfried Herder were crucially influenced by Étienne Bonnot de Condillac's rationalist theory that language developed from emotions and experience. Their growing conviction that language evolved historically and that it played a culturally formative role in the development of communities ensured that philological study would become a central discipline at the "reformed" German universities of the early nineteenth century. In particular, the deployment of linguistic theories by Hamann and Herder against Immanuel Kant's critical philosophy both endowed philology with ontological power and contributed decisively to the historical turn in German thought around 1800.

The core was comparative philology in which immense and wide-ranging learning was brought to bear

on illuminating the origins and structure of language. Three competing schools of thought variously ascribed the origins of German, and of the German "spirit," to Indian, Nordic, or Hellenic roots. The latter, Benes notes, commanded "the greatest degree of cultural influence and credibility" at the start of the century (p. 17). Her account of German philhellenism is both richer and more plausible than many of the more conventional and frequently rather clichéd Winckelmann-to-Nietzsche narratives that focus on purely aesthetic issues. Despite the early prominence of the philhellene, however, the Orientalists and Germanists rapidly gained ground and trumped the Hellenists with their ultimately more compellingly attractive accounts of historical and ethnic descent.

If the political tenor of comparative philological studies was initially liberal and radical, by the later nineteenth century the discipline was increasingly conservative and reactionary. Late nineteenth-century scholars constructed the national genealogy they claimed Herder and the Grimm brothers had been aiming for. Yet Benes is properly cautious in suggesting any direct link with National Socialism. She discerns tension between historical linguistic theory and National Socialist ideology: more a case of a "suspect form of historical citation" (p. 288) than a true intellectual and spiritual affinity.

At the same time, linguistic study could disrupt historical narratives as well as reinforce them. The radical and subversive force of comparative philology forms the second, contrapuntal theme of Benes's study. The discipline that generated such powerful visions of idealized origins also retained the capacity for a radical critique that it had demonstrated in the demolition of the assumed truths of Christianity through the new biblical studies of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Reading German philology in the 1840s impelled the young Ernst Renan to abandon the seminary and his pastoral vocation and to pursue through language the study of mankind in its historical development. In the 1860s and 1870s the University of Leipzig trained both the classical philologist Friedrich Nietzsche and the comparative philologist Ferdinand de Saussure. They never met but they shared the same mentor, Georg Curtius, and each in his own way developed the German notion of autonomous language to challenge the idea that "human subjects possessed a sovereign consciousness and could claim privileged knowledge of the worlds they inhabited" (p. 243). Foucault and his structuralist and poststructuralist followers, Benes argues cogently, were the heirs of the German tradition of comparative linguistics.

Benes has written a book of exceptional importance. It should be read by anyone interested in the history and culture of nineteenth-century Germany.

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MARCEL STOETZLER. *The State, the Nation, and the Jews: Liberalism and the Antisemitism Dispute in Bismarck's Germany*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2008. Pp. 530. \$55.00.

In the years 1879–1881 a controversy convulsed intellectual Germany that in many ways anticipated the Dreyfus Affair of fifteen years later. True, no miscarriage of justice was involved in the German case, but there were distinct similarities in the arguments that were traded. The dispute, which in the course of time became known as the Berlin Antisemitism Dispute, was triggered by an article written by Heinrich von Treitschke in which the prominent historian accused the Jews of the recently created German Empire of being culturally and politically subversive, thereby undermining the strength of a newly arrived great power. Of those who responded, including the classical historian Theodor Mommsen, the Jewish philosopher Hermann Cohen, and the social scientist Moritz Lazarus, some shared his premises but disputed his conclusions while others disputed his premises. The dispute thereby transcended the antisemitic diatribe in a scholarly journal and became a debate about the role of nationality, society, and religion in the modern nation-state that would later be echoed in the Dreyfus Affair. These dimensions provide the agenda for Marcel Stoeztler, who asks and seeks to answer, "What is the role of culture for liberal nationalism? What place do liberal nationalists give to cultural differences? What does antisemitism have to do with all of this, and with the Jews?" (p. 3).

These questions are central to the dispute, since neither Treitschke nor his antagonists paid much attention to Jews as economic actors, in contrast with most conservative and some radical antisemites. Treitschke and Mommsen, as Stoeztler is at pains to point out, shared a concern: the integrity of the nation-state and the "moral bonds" (Alexis de Tocqueville's term) without which the modern state is not viable. Nor was Mommsen, as Stoeztler also stresses, a consistent apostle of tolerance or human rights, whether in 1848 or over Schleswig-Holstein or Alsace-Lorraine or, one might add, Czech "thickheadedness" in the Austrian language disputes of the 1890s. Yet the differences between these principal antagonists were greater than Stoeztler seems to allow. Indeed, to what extent is Stoeztler right to classify Treitschke as a liberal by 1879? True, he did not wish to rescind Jewish legal equality and advocated intermarriage as a solution to the "Jewish Question," yet his demand that "Jews become . . . simply and justly Germans" rings hollow when taking into account the condemnations he hurled against Jews in his lectures (*Politics* [1916]) and his *History of Germany in the Nineteenth Century* (1879–1895), or his explicit renunciations of the legacy of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution. One cannot reject "the possibility of a complete amalgamation of Jewry and the occidental peoples" and at the same time demand that these Orientals become complete Germans. Indeed the notion of an

irresolvable chasm between Jews and Occidentals puts Treitschke into the proto-racist camp.

Where Treitschke saw antisemitism as a tool for strengthening a necessary *Volksgemeinschaft*, Mommsen saw it as an obstacle to German national unity. He was not an advocate of cultural pluralism. His often misquoted verdict on the Jews of the Roman Empire as “an element of national decomposition” was intended as a compliment; he saw them as an antiparticularist force and hoped they would perform a similar service in the German Empire. In his rejection of social pluralism and Jewish peculiarities he was in the tradition of the Enlightenment and of his German predecessors, Christian Wilhelm von Dohm and Wilhelm von Humboldt. Like them he saw conversion to Christianity as a solution to the status of the Jews and as a means of strengthening society’s “moral bonds.” Yet this prescription assumes that the amalgamation of which Treitschke was so skeptical was not only desirable but feasible. In rejecting descent as a criterion for citizenship he came close to Ernest Renan’s 1882 definition of the nation as a daily plebiscite.

Stoetzler’s is an ambitious book. As the subtitle indicates, he uses the dispute for reflections on the contradictions inherent in the idea of the liberal nation-state. The contradictions are indeed there and consist above all in the tension between inclusion and exclusion as the defining characteristics of this type of polity. Yet these contradictions are not quite as irresolvable as he pessimistically concludes. We all know the potential for intolerance and persecution in the doctrine of national self-determination and the ease with which Jews have become the first victims of such degeneration. Mommsen and Treitschke were both of their time. The participant in the dispute who sounds most like a twenty-first-century liberal is Lazarus, who insisted that “true culture . . . consists in diversity” and believed that it was the vocation of Jews to be “promoters of difference.” Stoetzler chose his topic not just for its intrinsic fascination, but because the issues it raises are “paradigmatic for more general discussions of race, emancipation, assimilation, cultural difference, liberal society and national states in Europe” (p. 294). They are, but it is worth remembering that not all nation-states become antisemitic or fascist, that workable compromises, however imperfect, and equilibriums, however unstable, are achievable. Why this was not the case in Germany before 1945 remains a challenging question.

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MICHAEL P. STEINBERG. *Judaism Musical and Unmusical*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2007. Pp. x, 270. Cloth \$52.00, paper \$21.00.

It is rarely possible to do full justice to the scope and ambition of a book in a short review, yet in this case it poses something of a challenge even to explain satisfactorily what the book is about. Above all else, it pre-

sents a spirited defense of modernity. It insists that self-conscious attempts to “inhabit the modern” be taken seriously, “not as epiphenomena, displacements, or symptoms of loss” but as “primary categories” that “require rigorous and constant definitions and analysis but no apologies” (p. 2). Modernity, for Michael P. Steinberg, is oriented toward “a friendly revision” of the Enlightenment project (p. 3). Its undertaking is “a post-Romantic reconsideration of the Enlightenment” that combines “a ratification of the latter’s drive to emancipation . . . with a revision of its proclamation of the new, the transparent, the ahistorical. Modernity works, in the shadow of the past, towards what Freud called repetition with difference” (p. 2). On Steinberg’s account, modernity “wants particularity without isolation from the past or from the world at large,” and it is little wonder that he assigns a pioneering and paradigmatic role in this quest to secular Jewishness.

Yet Steinberg’s argument is not a facile one about “the Jews” and modernity. He reasons against the backdrop of “a pattern of contiguous Judaisms rather than . . . a single, encompassing Judaism” (p. 1). Jewishness, he emphasizes, “sits potentially on all points of the political spectrum” (p. 20). The usual suspects apart, the case studies in this volume cover figures as diverse as Arnaldo Momigliano and Leonard Bernstein, yet they all gravitate around a notion of “German Jewish modernity” as “an engagement with the world that strives neither for an essential Germanness nor for an essential Jewishness but to be culturally and existentially authentic in a multiple and flexible manner adequate to the multiplicity and transitoriness of the modern world” (p. 110). Jewish modernity thus hinges on a desire for “modernist authenticity” that “relies on a disavowal of essentialism, holism, or the search for a defining point or moment of origin” (p. 111).

Particularly interesting is Steinberg’s discussion of Charlotte Salomon’s epic cycle of paintings, *Leben? oder Theater?* (1941–1943). Steinberg describes it as “the most adequate history of modern secular German Jewish culture that I know,” explaining that “its adequacy is produced through its ongoing recognition and reproduction of German Jewish modernity on the assumption of its multiplicity, its claims, and its contradictions” (p. 110). Its thinly disguised autobiographical character notwithstanding, *Leben? oder Theater?* is “not in any straightforward way a work of recovered memory, or indeed of memory at all.” It is in fact “a work of history as the production of differentiation, and therefore a correction to that aspect of memory which desires immediacy and identification with its objects and object-worlds” (p. 109). Its “elaborate juxtapositions and differentiations of genre . . . temporalities, and voice” are an aesthetic representation of “the distinction between recovered history and recovered memory” and thus amount to a rejection of the sort of “disavowal of a constructed understanding of the past” that would favor a “sentimental narrative” (pp. 109–110). Similar preoccupations shape Steinberg’s immensely stimulating and provocative discussion of the

Jewish Museum in Berlin, "the world according to the Leo Baeck Institute" (p. 189), *Alltagsgeschichte* ("There are no Jews in *Alltagsgeschichte*. What passes as memory is in fact a product of massive and tendentious secondary revision in the form of ideological work" [p. 198]), and other aspects of post-Shoah memorialization and historiography.

How, then, do musicality and unmusicality come into all this? Here, too, Steinberg's take is profoundly dialectical. His approach is predicated on the process by which "music, in its inability (for some), refusal (for others) to signify, to articulate, to represent, became paradoxically a preferred language of inner life in the long nineteenth century from Mozart to Mahler." Music's "sincerity and authenticity as a language of subjectivity accrued precisely in conjunction with its suspicion of representation, and its suspicion of the predominantly visual world in which representation is privileged." Consequently, its "critique of representation" was also a "critique of modes of old-regime power, of a baroque universe in which the sovereign functions as the earthly representative of divine power and authority" (p. 8). Therein lies music's significance for the modernist project. Yet there is a flipside to this argument that Steinberg explains with reference to Arnold Schoenberg's never-completed opera, *Moses und Aron* (1932). Schoenberg's Moses "chose not to enter into a world of melody and sensuality," for his religion was "a religion of truth, law, and social governance and not a religion of enchantment." The counter-position, that of Aaron, is (potentially at least) "the world of ideology and idolatry," represented by his melodic singing. "Faced with this alternative, unmusicality comes into relief less as an inability than as a deliberate disavowal" (p. 11).

Historians who are not extremely well versed in cultural studies are likely to find Steinberg's book rather hard work. I certainly did. But the effort is richly rewarded, and what Steinberg has to say is immensely stimulating throughout, no matter how emphatically one may want to disagree at certain junctures.

LARS FISCHER

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HERMANN BECK. *The Fateful Alliance: German Conservatives and Nazis in 1933; The Machtergreifung in a New Light*. New York: Berghahn Books. 2008. Pp. xvii, 352. \$90.00.

Germany's university-educated professional middle classes (*Bildungsbürgertum*) confronted a succession of disasters during the earlier twentieth century. Their sense of social esteem and material prosperity were challenged by defeat and revolution after World War I and thereafter destroyed by devastating hyperinflation that peaked during the 1923 Ruhr Crisis. A seemingly inviolable moral and material relationship between education, achievement, and reward had been swept aside. The ultimate consequences provide the subject

matter for Hermann Beck's compelling study of German conservatism during the Nazi takeover of 1933.

He traces the road taken by conservative-minded elements of the *Bildungsbürgertum* from the post-1918 Weimar Republic into the Third Reich through a study of the monarchist and nationalist German National People's Party (DNVP). The DNVP participated reluctantly in coalition governments during the mid-1920s, so sanctioning implicitly Germany's new republican order. Beck neglects to mention that it also contemplated an alliance with the liberal parties so as to create a powerful bourgeois parliamentary bloc. However, in 1928 everything changed. As he rightly observes, once the rabidly anti-republican media baron, Alfred Hugenberg, had wrested control of the party from the controlling moderate faction, its fundamental hostility to Weimar was set in stone.

Weimar's last parliamentary government collapsed in 1930 to be followed by a succession of semi-authoritarian administrations based on the constitutional powers of the president, Paul von Hindenburg. Beck moves crisply through this well-researched terrain to January 1933, when Germany's conservative nationalists moved to sideline parliament altogether by amending the constitution. Hindenburg shared their aims but insisted on due parliamentary process, which brought the Nazi Party (NSDAP) into the equation. As leader of the largest Reichstag faction, Adolf Hitler's inclusion in any national coalition was indispensable to amending legislation, allowing him to demand and receive the chancellorship on January 30. New elections were called and a strengthened NSDAP/DNVP coalition forced through the Enabling Act in March that effectively freed Hitler's government from parliamentary control. By June 1933 Germany was a one-party state.

As is well known, the Nazis employed physical terror alongside legislation to sweep away the Weimar order. Beck duly notes the NSDAP's onslaught against its Republican and Communist adversaries, against Jewish citizens, and against a network of governmental and civic institutions that obstructed its totalitarian ambitions. However, he stresses that this familiar narrative ignores an elemental part of the Nazi revolution, namely the ferocious assault against its Nationalist coalition partners in the DNVP. It is often argued, he notes, that the Nationalists were sidelined essentially through their absorption within the new Nazi order. The precedents for such a merger do appear unmistakable, for many middle-class Nationalists came to vote NSDAP before 1933 and thereafter joined the party or even the SS. Whether they did so out of conviction, opportunism, or fear, they were certainly anti-parliamentarian and most were happy to see the Communists beaten into oblivion and most at least tolerated the thuggish hounding of Germany's Jews.

However, Beck argues, this left them largely oblivious to their own vulnerability. They imagined that January 1933 had witnessed an equal alliance between themselves, politically and morally superior, and the numerically superior but plebeian Nazis. If anything,

they expected to exploit Hitler to reinstate traditional Prussian values, after which he could stand aside for Germany's prewar, bourgeois, and aristocratic governing classes. They had little inkling of the furious resentment such attitudes had always provoked within the Nazi movement, or of the deadly seriousness of Nazism's repeatedly expressed anti-bourgeois sentiments. However, once the Nazi storm troopers and activists had swept aside the republican and radical left, they wasted little time in turning on their erstwhile Nationalist allies.

Beck documents the Nazi onslaught against the traditional bastions of Nationalist power: the civil service, regional and local government, economic and professional associations, and the 500,000-strong war veterans' association, the *Stahlhelm*. Outright violence, intimidation, or sometimes the simple usurping of office steadily pushed the Nationalists to the margins of public life and soon enough to the brink of oblivion. The courts and police, already Nazi controlled or influenced, offered no protection, and the Nazi elite turned a blind eye to the brutish activities of its underlings. Protests landed on Nationalist Ministers' desks and at DNVP headquarters, but to little avail. In June 1933, when all was lost, Hugenberg was only able to persuade Hitler to end the anti-Nationalist terror, in return for which the DNVP disbanded totally and voluntarily. Beck neglects the origins and impact of Hindenburg's near silence over and even condoning of the Nazi terror despite his earlier close collaboration with Nationalist grandees. The indifference in army circles was equally striking and surely worthy of discussion. However, that said, Beck's engaging analysis offers valuable and perceptive insights into the course and character of the Nazi seizure of power and deserves to be read widely.

CONAN FISCHER

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EWALD GROTHE. *Zwischen Geschichte und Recht: Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichtsschreibung 1900–1970*. (Ordnungssysteme: Studien zur Ideengeschichte der Neuzeit, number 16.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 2005. Pp. 486. €64.80.

At the center of Ewald Grothe's study of German constitutional history stands the formidable figure of Ernst Rudolf Huber. Born during the reign of William II, educated in the Weimar Republic, an enthusiastic supporter of National Socialism, at first banned from a university position in the Federal Republic and then rehabilitated, Grothe's narrative traces the arc of Huber's long career through the first seven decades of the twentieth century. Sixty items by Huber are listed in Grothe's bibliography, including his eight-volume *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte seit 1789*, which the author began in 1944 and completed just before his death in 1990. At least for historians of my generation, these heavy dark blue volumes were an indispensable reference work.

Constitutional history was always, Grothe argues, a

hybrid subject, drawing on but also often overshadowed by its more established disciplinary neighbors, law and history. Grothe's own definition is broad and elastic: "studies of history, law, and political science that deal with political and social structures of the past and pose historical questions about the forms of statehood and governmental systems, political participation and representation, sociopolitical institutions and organizations" (p. 17).

Grothe begins his story in 1902 with the appointment of Otto Hintze to a chair at the University of Berlin. Grothe has many interesting things to say about the reception and evolution of Hintze's monumental scholarly accomplishments, but their relationship to the broader themes of the book is not always clear. The work of Grothe's second major protagonist, Fritz Hartung, is more easily defined as constitutional history. A generation younger than Hintze, Hartung's historical vision was narrower, more sharply focused on the state, and less philosophically and methodologically sophisticated. Hartung's brief introduction to German constitutional history, first published in 1914, remained an influential book for more than half a century, while Hartung himself, after being somewhat marginalized under the Nazis, returned to play an active part in postwar German academic life. Hartung is one of several examples of the remarkable continuities that are a central, if rather underanalyzed, theme in this book.

Grothe provides a clear and convincing account of Weimar's complex intellectual landscape, where legal scholarship was characterized by a series of overlapping generational, methodological, and ideological divides. Hintze and Hartung remained active, while younger scholars like Hans Kelsen sought to create an internally consistent theory of law, emancipated from its historical and political context.

The most compelling and original chapters of this book are devoted to the role of constitutional history under the Nazis. The year 1933, Grothe argues, represents a sharp break with the past, not simply because the regime dismissed Jewish academics and silenced potential opponents, but because the Nazis set out to create a new foundation for German law based not, as it had been for Hartung and his cohort, on the state but on the Volk. "For us," Otto Brunner wrote in 1939, "the subject of history is not the state or the culture, but the Volk and the Reich" (p. 228). As Grothe shows in impressive detail, under Nazism teaching and research on constitutional history expanded, new institutes were opened, well-funded publishing projects began, and the careers of ambitious young men like Huber flourished. In other words, the Third Reich did not destroy the existing legal order but rather sought to reshape the law to suit its own revolutionary goals. Grothe's constitutional historians were enthusiastically engaged in this process of legal deformation.

Unlike 1933, the year 1945 did not open a dramatically new chapter in the story of German constitutional history. With minor interruptions, most of those who had been active under the Nazis returned to academic

life. By 1957 even Huber had regained his professorship. Remarkably enough, several of the legal handbooks that had been produced during the Third Reich were, with a few discrete omissions and cosmetic changes, republished in the 1950s.

This work is useful but also frustrating. Grothe has read everything by and about his protagonists. He provides a clear and concise guide to their scholarly work and careers. He does not conceal or apologize for their faults. But he sometimes seems reluctant to step outside the boundaries of disciplinary history and pose the difficult questions his story suggests. At the end of his chapter on denazification, for instance, he remarks that the reintegration of scholars active under the Third Reich was "not seldom a scholarly gain, but also a considerable moral burden" (p. 331). How do we understand this discrepancy between scholarly accomplishment and moral failure? Why were the men who devoted their lives to the study of law so very susceptible to Nazism? Was it personal ambition, political myopia, or was it somehow connected to the way they thought about history and law?

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WILLIAM SMALDONE. *Confronting Hitler: German Social Democrats in Defense of the Weimar Republic, 1929–1933*. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books. 2009. Pp. xv, 317. \$75.00.

In the extensive historiography of the Weimar Republic, the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) has attracted, justifiably, sustained criticism for its failure to promote radical political, economic, and social change in the wake of the November Revolution of 1918, its decision not to participate in national government in the mid-1920s, its underestimation of the rise of National Socialism during the era of the Great Depression, its "Policy of Toleration" toward Chancellor Heinrich Brüning's administration in 1930–1932, and its supine response to Chancellor Franz von Papen's *Preussenschlag* in July 1932. The culmination was not only the party's inability to prevent the coming to power of the Nazi Party, but also the destruction in 1933 of the SPD itself and of the German Left as a whole. The present study seeks to redress this unfavorable historiographical balance by providing succinct biographical sketches of ten prominent SPD leaders who, it is argued, may be taken to represent, individually and collectively, the more appealing and successful side of the party's development. However, in the absence of clearly defined selection criteria, the choice appears rather eclectic. Some served on the party's national executive committee, while others were regional or trade union leaders. As few private papers for any of those chosen are apparently available, and as archival documentation is barely cited, a study that is based overwhelmingly on published sources, most of which are well-known to specialists in the field, is clearly intended, therefore, for a largely general readership.

Of the seven males (Siegfried Aufhäuser, Rudolf Breitscheid, Rudolf Hilferding, Carlo Mierendorff, Carl Severing, Friedrich Stampfer, and Otto Wels) and three females (Marie Juchacz, Antonie Pfülf, and Toni Sender) discussed, most came from a modest social and educational background, while Aufhäuser, Hilferding, Stampfer, and Sender, who were Jewish, were of more materially comfortable provenance. All but three (Mierendorff, Severing, and Pfülf, who committed suicide) fled into exile in 1933. William Smaldone liberally sprinkles flattering adjectives in his delineation of this cohort's careers, including, most notably, the following: principled, honest, energetic, hard-working, perceptive, eager, humane, politically astute, masterful, skilled, effective, disciplined, loyal, and team player. The narrative, therefore, has an undeniably eulogistic tone, which, thankfully, is tempered to a certain extent by an acknowledgement that almost all of these leaders too often became embroiled in party factionalism, were not always that influential in the upper echelons of the party, and, more importantly, failed to appreciate the full extent of the Nazi threat to the democratic republic in the early 1930s. Their "wait and see" policy is explained in terms of their innate caution and conservatism, respect for the law, fear of precipitating civil war, and a misguided view that Nazism would fade away as soon as the economy revived. Regrettably, merely a few cursory references are made to the SPD's perennial nightmare of losing electoral support to the Communists (KPD), which too frequently induced political paralysis, to a conspicuous lack of genuine leadership and strategic vision, and to the party's inability to exchange its prewar oppositional mentality for a governmental one after 1918.

There are few substantive new details in the book, and virtually nothing is revealed about the personality and private life of any of these leaders. Though probably unavoidable in a book of this type, the repetition of dates, events, meetings, conferences, and personalities is somewhat irksome. The quality of writing is uneven, and careless factual errors are evident. For example, Hugo Preuss, the chairman of the committee that formulated the Weimar Constitution in 1919, was not "a DDP [German Democratic Party] politician" (p. 5); he was close to that party but was not a member. The Harzburg Front was created in October 1931, not October the previous year (p. 37); the German Workers' Party (DAP) was set up in January 1919, not February 1920 (p. 279); and the Bavarian Soviet Republic was crushed in spring 1919 not only by the Freikorps but also by some Reichswehr units (p. 279). The DHV's name was *Deutschnationaler Handlungsgehilfen-Verband*, which is best translated as "German National Union of Commercial Employees," not "National German Clerks' Association." Overall, Aufhäuser, Breitscheid, and Stampfer are perhaps afforded more satisfying treatment than the others, with their role and contribution suitably located within an appropriate, broader context. Finally, the author's attempt to link what happened to the SPD in Germany in 1933 to the

fate of Socialists in Chile in 1973, as well as in Nicaragua and South Africa in the early 1990s, is far-fetched and unconvincing. While the similarities are superficial and limited, the differences, not least in circumstance, are surely fundamental.

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PETER FRITZSCHE. *Life and Death in the Third Reich*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2008. Pp. viii, 368. \$27.95.

Recent historiography of Nazi Germany has wavered between foregrounding the Nazis' coercive power and highlighting their policies' consensual character. Tipping the scales back a little toward brute force, Sebastian Haffner's diary, *Defying Hitler* (2002), reminded us of the threats and pressures confronting the individual from as early as a few weeks after the Nazis' accession. The regime's coercive power was, however, often transmitted through the eager neighbor, ready to denounce improper behavior. At the level of society as a whole, enforced acquiescence and active participation were thus interlaced. Until Peter Fritzsche's book, no one had explored so well, and with so much critical empathy, how within this complex force field individuals faced decisions and made choices. Using a wealth of published diaries and correspondence, Fritzsche does a magnificent job showing how nationally minded Germans embraced the new regime, sometimes bowing to necessity, and sometimes making allowances for what they saw as its mishaps. Even the skeptics did not want to be so churlish as to deny the regime's achievements. Sometimes, they unwittingly adopted its vocabulary. Whereas most histories of popular opinion have emphasized Adolf Hitler's personal appeal, Fritzsche strikingly sees the real draw as being the notion of People's Community, enacted in pageantry, charitable collection, and the visible cross-class appeal of Nazi organizations. Prosperity seemed around the corner, and in the meantime the population basked in the glow of collective consumption of ever more powerful armaments. Not all of this is proven with a sufficiently broad range of sources (and since almost all the diaries used here are published versions and not the originals, we might have expected questions to be raised about why these particular diaries came to be published and what editorial interventions may have influenced the text), but no one has revealed so vividly and sympathetically the moral labor of choosing to embrace the regime.

A powerful illustration of this approach is Fritzsche's statement that "antisemitism was tried on, and it often fitted" (p. 121). In a few words, he offers us an elegant new way of steering between the twin historiographical cul-de-sacs of a national culture of eliminatory antisemitism, on the one hand, and a brainwashed German public, on the other. While certainly aware that widespread antisemitism (and other racial prejudices) was no Nazi invention, Fritzsche explores how nationally

minded Germans were nudged by the regime to recast their understanding of nationhood and self in racial terms. These nudges came in varying forms and with varying force, from the racial policies with which we are familiar to measures whose significance we have perhaps not always appreciated. The introduction of *Ahnepässe*, or genealogical I.D. cards, was one example. The role of camps—not concentration camps but closed community camps in the labor service, professional training, and youth movement—was another.

In explaining Germans' willingness to accept this "racialization" of the nation, and the urgency with which many Nazis pursued it, Fritzsche's book has another striking insight up its sleeve, namely how powerful was the shared sense of Germany as a beleaguered nation. The book opens dramatically with an excerpt from Edwin Erich Dwinger's *Death in Poland*, published in Germany in 1940. This popular fictional work portrayed a kind of Holocaust; only, in this case, the Germans were the victims and the Poles the aggressors. From this striking opening, Fritzsche moves on to claim that throughout the 1930s the Nazis succeeded in maintaining a sense of emergency, a climate of threat that helped foment anxieties about aliens within, above all the Jews. Although there is much that is plausible and new here, we do not, in fact, get to see the process of popular adaptation to the increasing racialization of German society in much detail. Here, it seems, the diaries are less forthcoming than with respect to decision-making in the regime's early months. The problem is also that a lot of the book's second and third chapters, entitled "Racial Grooming" and "Empire of Destruction," respectively, are concerned with the radicalization of Nazi policy itself. True, Fritzsche brings out well the links between dreams of expanding Germanism, on the one hand, and policies of exclusion and murder, on the other. But this is less original, and while arguably also about the relationship between German society and mass murder, in fact seems imperfectly sutured onto the discussions of popular agency and involvement.

As we approach the last chapter in the book, we realize that the "life and death" in the title is double-edged, conveying not only the binary quality of a regime that promised life, health, and power to some and elimination or subjugation to many others, but also connoting the difference between the hopes of many Germans and their eventual experience in the war. The final chapter explores Jews' and Germans' perceptions of Nazi murders in the wake of their own experience of death and destruction. Fritzsche again has some very interesting things to say about individual mental and moral journeys, not least about the way a widespread sense of shame among Germans coexisted with (and presumably helped to engender) a tendency to view the "catastrophe" as though it were the product of natural forces. Very few acknowledged their earlier active personal decisions in favor of the regime, explored so origi-

inally and insightfully in this lively and readable volume.

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ERIC EHRENREICH. *The Nazi Ancestral Proof: Genealogy, Racial Science, and the Final Solution*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2007. Pp. xx, 234. \$34.95.

The distinguishing ideological characteristic of the National Socialist state was the fact that it advocated political, social, and racial policies that allegedly were derived from the findings of modern evolutionary science, a *Weltanschauung* that grew in popularity in Germany in the decades around the turn of the twentieth century and that eventually achieved concrete realization in the Nazi state. Historically, no state or society had ever been conceived in a similar way, and it was this longing for a reconstitution of the social realm based ostensibly on biological and scientific truth—but actually on racial mythology—that marked German National Socialism as an unparalleled episode in human history.

While this astonishing ideological development is the subject of innumerable studies that confirm its authenticity, Eric Ehrenreich has brought new material to light that examines the idiosyncratic role played by genealogical societies in the growth of Nazism. The study of genealogy in most modern societies, ordinarily considered to be a rather innocent pastime of recordkeeping about generational lineage, became in *fin-de-siècle* Germany a fertile proving ground for proto-Nazi ideas. Ehrenreich convincingly demonstrates that much before the advent of Adolf Hitler, most, if not all, genealogical organizations in Germany absorbed Nazi-like racial ideology. After 1933, they emerged unabashedly as willing guardians of “Aryanism” and served as important bureaucratic arbiters determining racial identity and status within German society, an indispensable need in a country socially organized according to racial criteria. This critical service to the Nazi state, Ehrenreich argues, was widely accepted by the general population and was a consequence of the impact that the “scientific” tradition of Aryanism and Germanic racism had had on the genealogical movement decades before the political ascendancy of Hitler.

Ehrenreich tells a fascinating story, and his book is a model of patient research and meticulous archival investigation. In this sense he makes a major contribution to the intellectual and social history of Nazism. In addition, Ehrenreich’s discussion is especially timely because it will most likely acquire added relevance as a refutation of the improbable thesis advanced by Robert J. Richards, in his new biography of Ernst Haeckel (*The Tragic Sense of Life* [2008]), that the racism emanating from the evolutionary biologists of the nineteenth century should be detached from the history of National Socialism. Although Ehrenreich does not make this point explicit, it is apparent that the proto-Nazi science that filtered over time into the genealogical societies

came largely, but not exclusively, from the formulations and influence of Haeckel, especially in the “scientific” genealogy of Ottokar Lorenz. The idea that the Jews represented a biological race separate from the Aryan Germans appears in the zoological trees and descriptions of evolutionary development that graced the pages of s popular accounts of the meaning of evolution. The need for the eugenic protection of the Aryan race was also stressed by evolutionary biologists, and this idea too, as Ehrenreich shows, was adopted in the new formulations of genealogical discourse that emphasized the importance of controlling human reproduction. The point stressed by Richards that since Haeckel died in 1919 his science cannot be linked with Nazism is very much at odds with the more correct formulation of Ehrenreich that as far as the genealogical movement is concerned there is a direct correlation between the biological ideas they imbibed over the course of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and their dedicated commitment to Nazism after 1933. In other words, the racial beliefs and *völkisch* culture of the nineteenth century clearly carry over historically into the Nazi period.

Less successful, however, than Ehrenreich’s archival account of German genealogy are the more speculative parts of his book, and this is said not by way of criticism, but rather as a hope that Ehrenreich will continue publishing in this field of research. The social influence of the scientific community is sketched out only in the most general terms and there is no mention, however briefly, of the relevant work of Michel Foucault on social problems of descent, or of genealogy in other countries that might serve as a basis for comparison. The problem that Ehrenreich is aware of but does not develop is the general role of science in modern industrial society and the influence of the intellectual classes in this development, an aspect of modern social organization grasped in the suggestive title of a volume on sociobiology by the French historian of science Pierre Thuillier: *Les Biologistes vont-ils prendre le pouvoir?* (1981). Ehrenreich’s suggestion that genealogy in Germany was initially advanced as a bulwark by the upper and middle classes against socialist leveling is possibly the case, but it is also true that racial and eugenic ideas spread as well within the Marxist and socialist movements, as illustrated in a study that should be better known: Michael Schwartz, *Sozialistische Eugenik: Eugenische Sozialtechnologien in Debatten und Politik der deutschen Sozialdemokratie 1890–1933* (1995). And more generally, what is one to make of the recent obsession with DNA analysis and the quest for personal hereditary-biological roots in contemporary life? The search for racial identity under Nazism at times seems too close for comfort when cast alongside the unraveling of the human genome and the biological-ethical questions that emerge from the incessant gathering of scientific information. The deeply disturbing threat of Nazism was that it skirted and not infrequently crossed over into the domain of legitimate science.

Ehrenreich has written an important book, and it will

undoubtedly inspire additional research and discussion.

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GORDON J. HORWITZ. *Ghettostadt: Łódź and the Making of a Nazi City*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2008. Pp. 395. \$29.95.

On 9 November 1939, following several weeks of debate and deliberation among Nazi occupation authorities, the industrial city of Łódź and its environs were incorporated into *Reichsgau Wartheland*, the largest of Germany's new eastern provinces carved from the remains of the vanquished Polish Republic. The annexation of Łódź to the Reich demanded, according to National Socialist theories of race and space, the comprehensive Germanization of the city. Demographically, economically, and aesthetically, Łódź was to become a German metropolis, permanently integrated within the structure of the ethno-territorial German nation-state. What this vast makeover entailed for the city and its roughly 650,000 inhabitants, particularly its population of more than 200,000 Jews, is the subject of Gordon J. Horwitz's richly detailed new study.

Horwitz explores two parallel but inexorably linked processes, one "constructive," the other decidedly destructive, aimed at transforming Polish-Jewish Łódź into the thriving German city of Litzmannstadt. A German city obviously required Germans. Exact population statistics are impossible to determine—the last prewar Polish census was conducted in 1931—but we can deduce that ethnic Germans constituted less than ten percent of Łódź's residents on the eve of World War II. Many more were needed to give Łódź a predominantly German character, and to this end, tens of thousands of ethnic Germans were resettled in the city during the Nazi occupation. They were not only resettled; they were resettled according to a plan. Within his investigation of "constructive" Germanization, Horwitz examines the many facets of Nazi urban planning, from the physical placement of Germans (and others) within the city to the modernization of its economy and infrastructure and the beautification of its streets and parks. The sowing of German *Kultur* was also an essential component of Nazi Germanization efforts, and Horwitz describes at length the range of cultural events staged by the occupiers to reinforce "the German lifestyle and German spirit" of Litzmannstadt (p. 104). Through this composite of initiatives, the Nazi regime sought to construct an unassailable outpost of German settlement in the East and to make Litzmannstadt unambiguously German for all time.

Destructive Germanization, however, is the primary focus of Horwitz's book, namely the ghettoization and gradual annihilation of Łódź's Jewish community. The "constructive" Germanization of Litzmannstadt went hand-in-hand with its *Entjudung* ("de-Jewing"), the segregation and eventual "removal" of the city's Jewish population, regarded as a racial-biological menace and

an anti-modern holdover from a primitive past. This is the first English-language monograph on the Łódź ghetto, the second-largest concentration of Jews (after Warsaw) in Nazi-occupied Europe. Horwitz meticulously recounts the ghetto's entire history: its conception, formation, and administration; the economic exploitation of its prisoners; five years of attrition through starvation and disease; and the liquidation of the population at Chełmno and Auschwitz-Birkenau. Making good use of memoirs, diaries, and personal correspondence, he captures the agony of ghetto existence, a 2.6 square kilometer netherworld where, in the words of the resident Jewish troubadour known as Yankel, "not all can survive" and "the one who endures will be the one who takes from the others" (p. 274).

Mordechai Chaim Rumkowski, chairman of the ghetto's "Council of Elders," takes center stage in Horwitz's narrative, and Horwitz, for his part, takes a sympathetic view of this controversial figure. A gifted organizational man, though a pompous egomaniac lampooned as the "King of the Jews" by his many detractors, Rumkowski worked to advance "productionism" within his realm. He hoped to keep as many Jews as possible alive by manufacturing a diversity of commodities for both the German domestic market and the Wehrmacht, thus confirming the value of Jewish-run ghetto enterprises to the Nazi war economy. "If he could just keep everything up and running, the clock might run out on the Germans, who finally would be gone, while the Jews would still be there, tending the machinery of production to the very end," Horwitz writes; "This was Rumkowski's gambit. But it failed" (p. 315). Indeed, when the Red Army liberated Łódź on 19 January 1945, only 877 Jews remained alive.

Glaringly absent in Horwitz's account is the Polish population of Łódź. Ethnic Poles, who constituted sixty percent of the city's demographic in 1939 and remained in the majority throughout the occupation, were also key targets of destructive Germanization. Thousands were deported to the Nazi-administered *Generalgouvernement*; thousands were sent to the Reich as forced labor; thousands more were shuffled physically about within the city and economically exploited; and thousands died. Horwitz barely treats Nazi policy toward Łódź's Poles and gives the Polish wartime experience short shrift. Nazi Germanization schemes in annexed western Poland were geared toward the removal—via mass expulsion—of the region's entire Polish and Jewish population. This scheme failed miserably, but during the first two years of the occupation, anti-Polish policy and anti-Jewish policy were inextricably connected, and the story of wartime Łódź must take this into consideration. Horwitz's book is an admirable history of the Łódź ghetto; a comprehensive account of the making of Nazi Litzmannstadt remains to be written.

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BELLA GUTTERMAN. *A Narrow Bridge to Life: Jewish Forced Labor and Survival in the Gross-Rosen Camp System, 1940–1945*. Translated by IBRT. New York: Berghahn Books. 2008. Pp. ix, 290. \$39.95.

Bella Gutterman's book makes several important contributions to scholarship in the field of Holocaust studies. While the major ghettos (especially Warsaw and Łódź) and the major death and concentration camps (especially Auschwitz) have been the subjects of extensive research, the forced labor camps—which were the last stations of suffering between ghettos and death for many victims and the aptly termed “narrow bridge to life” for many survivors—have been an understudied phenomenon. Aside from the iconic but utterly atypical case of Oskar Schindler's relatively small factory labor camps, first in Kraków and then in Brännlitz, we have in English only the monographic studies by Felicia Karay: her superb *Death Comes in Yellow: Skarżysko-Kamienna Slave Labor Camp* (1996) and *Hasag-Leipzig Slave Labour Camp for Women: The Struggle for Survival, Told by Women and Their Poetry* (2002).

Gutterman's work fills two significant gaps. As background to her study of Gross-Rosen, she provides a brief institutional history of the virtually unknown but extensive labor camp network of Organization Schmelt, which was comprised of more than 160 camps in Silesia and the Sudetenland between 1940 and 1944. It was the prototype for the development of numerous other factory forced labor camps established in other parts of Nazi-occupied Poland. Gutterman then lays out the institutional history of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp, which in 1944 not only took over many of the Schmelt camps but created a vastly expanded network of new subcamps as well. In doing so, she also reveals the unusually close working relationship between the camp administrations in Gross-Rosen and Auschwitz-Birkenau.

Beyond the institutional histories of Organization Schmelt and Gross-Rosen, Gutterman writes about the lives of the camp prisoners, with special attention to the women's camps. In this regard, she argues that in general women adapted to and survived camp life better than male prisoners. She confronts openly the demoralizing effect that privileged Jewish camp functionaries had on other prisoners. She also documents the capacity of prisoners to sustain a modicum of both cultural and spiritual life under the most debilitating circumstances, but without succumbing to the temptation of a falsely heroicized and redemptive narrative.

One of the most impressive achievements of the book is her treatment of the “death marches” from and liberation of many of the Gross-Rosen subcamps. Because she deals with so many varying cases, she can convincingly conclude that there was no uniform policy or explicit orders for the conduct of the marches, and that in the midst of anarchy and collapse “the actual management of the death marches was totally in local hands.” However, the attitudes “instilled” in not only the camp guards but also a variety of ad hoc escorts and

the civilian population along the routes contributed to the routine killing of stragglers and extraordinary death rates among the marchers.

Gutterman makes maximum use of both fragmentary evidence and scholarship inaccessible to many because of her ability to utilize primary and secondary sources in Polish, German, English, Yiddish, and Hebrew—a linguistic mastery enjoyed by only a handful of scholars in the field. The major weakness of the book is the placement of her topic in the wider scholarship and debate over the interplay of Nazi ideology on the one hand and economic and labor policy on the other. For wider context, she relies on older works: Edward Homze and Benjamin Ferencz on forced labor, Helmut Krausnick and Martin Broszat (*Anatomy of the SS State* [1970]) on the concentration camps, and a relatively uncritical use of Albert Speer (*The Slave State* [1981]) for relations between the SS and industry. Barely touched are Michael Thad Allen on the WVHA (economics and administration ministry of the SS), Sybille Steinbacher on Silesia, and Wolf Gruner on Jewish forced labor. Not used at all are Peter Hayes on I.G. Farben, Ulrich Herbert on forced labor, Richard Overy and Adam Tooze on the Nazi economy, or Karin Orth on the concentration camps. The result is that Gutterman's discussion of the wider context feels quite dated in embracing the notion of “destruction through work” as a uniform policy for Jewish labor, though the phrase was originated by Minister of Justice Otto Georg Thierack in correspondence about prison inmates turned over to the SS and does not appear in German documents about Jewish labor. I would argue that the German use of Jewish labor varied so much according to time and place that no single phrase such as “destruction through labor” can capture some presumed consistency and essence of Nazi policy. For instance, where Himmler had his way, Jewish labor was destroyed in its entirety in actions like the great Erntefest massacre in the Lublin district (in which 42,000 Jewish workers were murdered outright in two days in November 1943), not by systemic attrition. Where Himmler had to compromise, the outcome varied according to economic exigencies and the balance between SS control and industrial autonomy. In the labor camps attached to some key munitions factories not directly under SS control, death rates among Jewish slave laborers declined sharply in 1943–1944. Gutterman herself notes considerable variation even among the Gross-Rosen subcamps, but she attributes it to personal factors, not the absence of a single, uniform policy. But even those who find aspects of Gutterman's discussion “dated” will nonetheless find a wealth of valuable information made accessible to the English reader for the first time.

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BARBARA EPSTEIN. *The Minsk Ghetto, 1941–1943: Jewish Resistance and Soviet Internationalism*. (The S. Mark Taper Foundation Imprint in Jewish Studies.) Berkeley

and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2008. Pp. xiv, 351. \$39.95.

Ten years ago, Barbara Epstein was learning Yiddish in Vilnius when a fellow student mentioned the presence in Minsk of Holocaust survivors who had been active in underground resistance. She traveled to meet them and later wrote this monograph, based primarily on over fifty oral history interviews she conducted with the help of interpreters in Minsk and Israel. She also used transcripts of interviews conducted decades ago in Israel, publications in Hebrew (which she learned for this project), and archival documents and studies in German and Russian (which she had others translate).

The citywide underground and the underground in the ghetto cooperated in the printing of leaflets, the rescue of hundreds of Jewish children, and the sending of supplies and thousands of Jews to the Soviet partisans active in the countryside. Epstein demonstrates that from no other East European ghetto did so many Jews escape to engage in resistance, and that no large underground in any other city facilitated such escapes. Of the various reasons Epstein offers for this remarkable story, most convincing are the weakness of Belorussian nationalism, the shared communist ideology and party membership of the Jews and non-Jews involved, and a strong Soviet pride, especially among young people, in interethnic bonds, which Epstein calls internationalism. But the book is not convincing about the concept of *solidarity*, which appears in two nearly identical chapter titles and which contrasts sharply with the critical stance of some survivors and scholars such as Shalom Cholvsky, Leonid Smilovitzky, and Daniel Romanovsky. Epstein even argues that the entire country stood out by an "acceptance of Jews as Byelorussians" (pp. 43, 74).

Various facts that appear in passing actually fail to support the notion of solidarity between Jews and Belorussians and indeed undermine it. Outside Minsk, "internationalism" was much weaker and "there were partisan units in which Jews encountered anti-Semitism" (pp. 56, 295 n. 3). It was unknown at the time, but the leader of the citywide underground, Isai Kazinets, arrested in September 1942, was a native of Ukraine who was himself of Jewish descent. Some others who helped the Jews of the ghetto were not Belorussian either, such as the Ukrainians Semen Ganzenko and Olga Simon. Another issue is the matter of scale: an "unusually large" proportion of the non-Jews in Minsk were involved, yet they were a "small minority" (pp. 42, 148). Meanwhile, the book dismisses as minor other factors that could help explain the cooperation between the ghetto and citywide undergrounds: individual altruism; a common conviction that the Germans would surely murder all the ghetto inhabitants; the absence of a brick ghetto fence; and the proximity of partisans. But why all of that should have been less important remains unclear.

The communist underground inside and outside the ghetto developed independently from Moscow and

therefore officially did not exist. The leader of the Belorussian branch of the party, Panteleimon Ponomarenko, publicly insisted that he had organized a massive and successful evacuation from Minsk; no one loyal to the Soviet system had remained behind, this implied. An important element of the story, therefore, which Epstein tells well, is suspicion of the Minsk activists. Late in 1942, in the wake of massive German arrests, Ponomarenko warned the partisans against what he called the fake underground in Minsk. By 1949, Moscow had arrested at least 126 underground activists or affiliated persons. Their names were formally cleared a decade later, but the notion that they had been ploys of a German scheme remained, and the suspicion never fully lifted.

Epstein's book is written with great enthusiasm and offers numerous fascinating details about all kinds of people, such as the activist Chasya Pruslina. But the chapters have no conclusion, and it is frustrating to see details reappear in similar wording, often even twice. Examples involve the Jewish term "Russian district" (pp. 93, 110, 117); the escape of war prisoners in barrels (pp. 23, 143); the hospital boiler room as the informal headquarters of the ghetto underground (pp. 97, 123); the open call to flee by Jewish Council head Moishe Yoffe in July 1942 (pp. 99, 144); the torture and death of Emma Radova (pp. 128, 146); and a Soviet agent's finding that the German arrests had occurred because the rules of conspiracy had been ignored (pp. 137, 245, 247). The waves of German mass murder of Jews in November 1941, March 1942, July 1942, and October 1943 also reappear with much repetition (cf. pp. 99–100, 105, 144; 103, 123; and 104–105, 138–139).

Overall, the author deserves credit for producing this important book, but its analytical and stylistic weaknesses preclude me from recommending it without reservation.

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A. DIRK MOSES. *German Intellectuals and the Nazi Past*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. ix, 293.

At the beginning of his book, A. Dirk Moses announces that he is not meeting the "expectation" that he would be the "generational biographer" of the so-called "forty-fivers": those intellectuals born in the late 1920s and early 1930s for whom Nazism and its end were the crucial experience and who were to shape much of the cultural and political life of West Germany. Instead, he provides something that is more modest and more ambitious at the same time. He is not interested in reconstructing the details of the acrimonious debates about the Nazi past in the Federal Republic; rather, he seeks to uncover their inner dynamics—what he calls an "underlying, transgenerational structure of political discourse and political emotions centered on questions of stigma, trauma, and basic trust in national institutions."

Drawing on various approaches in the history of political thought (in particular, J. G. A. Pocock's concept of political languages), Moses identifies two major strands of postwar thinking: integrative and redemptive republicanism. These two languages correspond to two types of thought that Moses sees as dominating the intellectual life of West Germany: the "German German" and—here Moses adapts Isaac Deutscher's notion of the non-Jewish Jew—the "non-German German." The former did not explain National Socialism as the outcome of particular German traditions but rather deep-rooted problems of modernity; the latter sought a complete disavowal of German political and cultural heritage. Moses's main example of the "German German" is the political scientist Wilhelm Hennis, a broadly Aristotelian thinker who also gained some practical experience in government. The main protagonist of redemptive republicanism, in contrast, is Jürgen Habermas. The social philosopher, Moses claims, sought a much more radical transcendence of German identity or something akin to an inner cleansing; redemptive republicans in general lacked trust in the political institutions and personnel of the Federal Republic, given their continuities with the Nazi past.

Moses argues that the famously polarized and acrimonious nature of German debates relating to the Nazi past—what he calls a "cultural civil war"—is explained by this underlying opposition. He coins the term "Weimar syndrome" to claim that the two opposing *Lager* perceived each other precisely as incarnations of the forces that had led to fascism, with the logical consequence that an all-out discursive battle was mandated by nothing less than sincere antifascism.

Moses then focuses on the battles of the 1960s and 1970s in particular: *Streite* surrounding the New Left and university reform that did indeed lead to an enormous polarization. It is not plausibly explained, however, why these debates should serve as primary evidence for Moses's thesis; the later historians' dispute and subsequent debates about the past seem more plausible. Moses engages with these polemics toward the end of the book but in somewhat cursory fashion and not without value judgments that effectively take sides, although he does not lay his own normative cards on the table.

Still, this is a rich study drawing from an impressive range of disciplines; Moses's reconstruction of Habermas's and Hennis's trajectories in particular is subtle and insightful. Beyond that, the book displays the virtues and drawbacks of any structuralist approach: the basic grid is enlightening and makes sense of a number of German controversies (although it is less obvious whether what Moses highlights as binary oppositions of "memory and forgetting" are in any way peculiar to Germany); at the same time it fails to capture a whole range of intellectuals who were neither conservative nor putting their hopes into a complete transcendence of German identity, particularly liberals such as the late Ralf Dahrendorf, who thought that the causes of Nazism were indeed to be found in German history, but

who sought to create a democracy that blended German and Anglo-American traditions. Even Moses's prime example of an integrative republican, Hennis, does not quite fit as neatly, since Hennis was famously eager to break with a specifically "German view of the state," a project aided by a focus on ancient as well as British and U.S. political thought and constitutionalism. Furthermore, Moses's focus on "political emotions" sometimes leads him to psychologize. Can we really be so confident that we are able to "read off" (in quotation marks in Moses's text, to be sure) political emotions from German intellectuals' writings and make claims about Habermas's "unconscious political fantasy"?

In the end Moses joins those who want to tell a success story about the old Federal Republic (and, less directly, united Germany). A democratic consensus, he claims, is now in place; it was less a victory of one republican side over the other than a "discursive achievement" resulting from a continuous contestation of memory and its consequences for the politics of the present. This is surely right, although it might again be less a German peculiarity than might seem at first sight. French and American democratic identities are not determined by foundational debates either; their constitutions and political cultures are ongoing processes. Or put simply, Germany has become normal.

JAN-WERNER MÜLLER
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DIRK VERHEYEN. *United City, Divided Memories? Cold War Legacies in Contemporary Berlin*. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books. 2008. Pp. viii, 301. \$80.00.

This is a busy year for the German capital. City planners are getting ready for the twentieth anniversary celebration of the *annus mirabilis*, when the dramatic dismantling of the Berlin Wall provided the perfect telegenic moment symbolizing the end of the Cold War. Over the course of the autumn the city will play host to countless retrospectives about the capital's—and the nation's—post-Cold War transformation.

Dirk Verheyen's contribution offers a readable historical account of some of the most nettlesome identity issues facing the city and its residents. His departure point is that Berlin serves as a "more intensified metaphor for broader German issues and debates" (p. 2), and that the protracted discussions about the city's built environment mirror deeper questions about German national identity since unification in 1871. But instead of tackling this whole period, Verheyen's well-researched book focuses on the presence of Berlin's Cold War legacies amid its contemporary landscape.

The book is divided into three parts, each one addressing specific material confrontations with various Cold War relics. The first one—and least known—concerns the legacy of the Great Powers, the United States, and the USSR. Here Verheyen chronicles how the massive Soviet war memorials in Treptow, Pankow, and the Tiergarten became awkward issues for German-Russian relations in the 1990s. While the German Demo-

cratic Republic (DDR) celebrated the memorials as emblems of political thanksgiving toward the Soviet Union, the governments of the new Germany have been much less keen to keep up appearances, barely honoring their promise to Mikhail Gorbachev to maintain Russian memorials and military cemeteries in exchange for Soviet support for reunification. The city's attitude toward its American patrons has been a different matter, evidenced in the high-profile celebrations of the fiftieth anniversary of the Berlin Airlift in 1998 and the comparably upbeat farewell ceremonies for the departing U.S. troops. The American cultural legacy of educational institutions and civic centers, such as the Free University, Amerika-Haus, Kongresshalle, and the Berlin Document Center, has been comparatively well integrated into Berlin's municipal life.

Part two takes up the Stasi legacy. While this story has been told many times before, Verheyen looks at the material dimension of the Stasi patrimony "beyond files and trials." In particular he draws attention to the protracted debate about the construction of a Stasi museum, what became known as the *Forschungs- und Gedenkstätte Normannenstrasse*. In particular he is interested how the mystique of the Stasi was converted into an educational center comprising documentary materials and Stasi paraphernalia. Citizen groups spearheading the initiative set their sights on reconstructing Stasi bureaus and surveillance equipment, complete with office furniture, decorative items, and "polit-kitsch" from Erich Mielke's emporium in order to recreate the sprawling secret police's unique atmosphere of intimidation and petty-bourgeois proclivities. Equally interesting is Verheyen's discussion of the successful grassroots effort to convert the most-hated symbol of the Socialist Unity Party's (SED) tyranny, the Hohenschönhausen prison, into a "site of memory" for an anti-*Ostalgie* reckoning with the repressive edge of Germany's "second dictatorship."

Part three, for its part, addresses the controversial memorialization of the disappearing Wall itself after 1989. Verheyen ably revisits the tortured debates about how to commemorate the 866-mile-long East-West German border, 116 miles of which surrounded Berlin. The events of 1989 witnessed the popular "decommissioning" of the former Cold War landmark, the constitutive concrete of which was rapidly sold off as coveted tourist trinkets. Although most people wished to do away with the hated wall as soon as possible, others felt that its historical gravity demanded special remembrance beyond Checkpoint Charlie sensationalism. Calls to have the remaining sections of the Wall put under UNESCO protection may have failed, but citizen activists managed to persuade the city government to build several local memorials. Among them were the Berlin Wall Memorial in Bernauer Strasse, the Museum of Forbidden Art in Kreuzberg, and the popular East Side Gallery of wall art in Friedrichshain.

Several issues in Verheyen's book remain undeveloped. There is scant mention of the heated discussion of the demolition of the Palace of the Republic or the

controversial construction of the more commercially oriented DDR Museum. Not much effort is paid to relate these post-1989 "culture wars" to their Cold War forerunners. While these links are handled well with the discussion of the German Historical Museum, they are less explored in regard to Cold War attitudes—whether in East or West—toward Nazi-era buildings and ruins across the city. The photographic images are also insufficiently integrated into the discussion of monuments, and more attention could have been paid to changing photographic styles of these laden memorial sites. One wonders too how newly popular pre-Cold War stories of German victimhood resulting from Allied bombing raids during World War II have complicated this post-Cold War "memory culture" of both the city and the nation. Still, Verheyen's book is a useful and welcome history of reunified Germany's troubled capital over the last two decades.

PAUL BETTS
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KRISTIE MACRAKIS. *Seduced by Secrets: Inside the Stasi's Spy-Tech World*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. xix, 370. \$28.00.

Kristie Macrakis has shifted her research interest from East German science to the East German Ministry for State Security, the so-called Stasi. This detailed monograph is based on interviews with former Stasi, KGB, West German, and CIA officers; court records; and accessible Stasi files (including those obtained through the so-called Rosenholz operation whereby CIA officers successfully obtained a microfilm copy listing the names of Stasi agents). She has supplemented her research on the Stasi records by successfully reconstructing the East German agency's development and extensive use of spy technology (hidden cameras, containers, listening devices, invisible inks, and special paper), which she acquired through painstaking searches of private collections, museums, court exhibits, and the Western Federal Criminal Office. Her purpose in this tightly formulated study is to "reveal the secret methods and sources of a spy and security agency as they related to technology" (p. xiv) and, as importantly, to repair a major deficiency of spy novels and the literature on intelligence agencies that downplay (by focusing on often-colorful characters) the importance of technology to intelligence operations.

Macrakis divides her thoughtful monograph into two parts. The first, based on personal case files, recounts the Stasi's recruitment methods and spying operations and focuses primarily on foreign intelligence operations. Both in this and the technology section, Macrakis only minimally discusses the Stasi's domestic surveillance activities. She describes the motivations (primarily mercenary) of the recruited agents and informers and their quest, beyond military and political secrets, for Western industrial and computer technology. In her lengthier second section, she recounts in great detail the Stasi's extensive spy technology and its purposes

and uses, focusing again on the agency's foreign intelligence and counterintelligence operations.

Macrakis's well-researched monograph provides useful insights into the operations of this infamous East German intelligence agency. In particular, she highlights the Stasi's distinctiveness from the operations of Western intelligence agencies both in its quest for Western technology and interest (before and after the Berlin Wall) beyond identifying Western spy recruits in forestalling the defection of its citizenry to the West. She further documents how the Stasi's quest and efforts to reconstruct Western technology proved to be counterproductive, contributing to corruption, money laundering, and outmoded technology and yet failing to compensate for the repressive effect on East German science and technology of the stifling Communist political system. Her detailed description of spy technology (particularly invisible inks and special paper) might command the interest of spy buffs but adds little to an understanding either of the Stasi's role or the significance of the work of intelligence agencies during the Cold War era. In part, her study suffers from the limitations of personal case files, which provide numbing, often mundane detail about the individual agent but reveal little about the decisions of Stasi bureaucrats, the Stasi's relationship to East German political leadership, or the Stasi-KGB relationship. Nonetheless, Macrakis's book is a welcome contribution to the literature on East Germany and opens a window into the general role that intelligence agencies played during the Cold War era, a role more prosaic than consequential. Moreover, Macrakis makes a powerful case for her overall assessment: namely, "how a spy and security agency was seduced by the power of technological secrets to solve intelligence and security problems, and, conversely, how it overestimated the power of stolen technology from the West to boost its own technological capacities" (p. 5).

ATHAN THEOHARIS
Marquette University

FREDRIK LINDSTRÖM. *Empire and Identity: Biographies of the Austrian State Problem in the Late Habsburg Empire*. (Central European Studies.) West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 311. \$34.95.

In this contribution to the political history of late imperial Austria, Fredrik Lindström employs three sets of political biographies in which he pairs a central figure with a secondary one. Former imperial Austrian Minister-President Ernest von Koerber is twinned with political journalist-historian Heinrich Friedjung, who wrote his obituary; dramatist-poet Hugo von Hofmannsthal with his childhood friend, the diplomat Leopold von Andrian; and the historian and liberal member of parliament Joseph Redlich with his long-time acquaintance, the Josephist civil servant-turned-Austrian Social Democratic member of Parliament, Karl Renner. Lindström analyzes both the problems of democratization and nationalization of society in the

context of increasing modernization in the late empire and the problems of Austrian culture and identity. He examines several "fields of tension": between the state and the people, between the role of monarchic bureaucracy and popular sovereignty, and between Austrian supranationalism and German nationalist hegemony. Each biographic pair illustrates a particular aspect of the "Austrian state problem": the Austrian state itself, Austrian culture, and Austrian people(s). And, as Lindström notes, "Austrian identity" had a range of meanings, from Friedjung's "German national" identity at one end of the spectrum to Andrian's "Austrian" identity at the other. He joins other historians who have revised Carl E. Schorske's paradigm of the failure of Austrian liberalism. He also follows James Shedel's argument contra Schorske that the Austrian constitutional state provided Viennese artists and intellectuals a robust political framework within which to realize their projects.

In his introductory overview of the organizational development of the Austrian state from the Pragmatic Sanction in 1713 to the dissolution of the monarchy in 1918, Lindström asserts that the Josephist state provided a stable framework for the sometimes turbulent politics, often national, in the Habsburg dynastic state. Nationality conflict in Austria was mainly channelled through the legal and parliamentary systems, seldom erupting into open violence. Moreover, the Josephist bureaucracy continued functioning through what Lindström asserts was a process of "transition" from the Habsburg Monarchy to the successor states in 1918. Indeed, the Josephist bureaucracy supplied these countries with functioning bureaucracies of their own. The constitutional state was more (Koerber, Redlich, Renner) or less (Andrian, Friedjung, and Hofmannsthal) central—if in different ways—to the political projects of these six men.

Koerber's reform proposals for the Austrian state between 1900 and 1905, which are analyzed in the first section of the book, were aimed at "reconstructing and buttressing the historical supranational state as a framework of a modern multinational society" (p. 48). Lindström asserts that Koerber's solution to the "Austrian problem" was the most traditionally Josephist of the six men. Like Friedjung, who long studied Koerber, Lindström considers Koerber, who came from a family of civil servants and officers, to represent the ideal Josephist official.

In the next section, Lindström examines Hofmannsthal's entire oeuvre, arguing that it demonstrates that Hofmannsthal's Austrian project was one of cultural regeneration rather than alienation. Thus wartime political engagement of this cultural figure for Habsburg Austria—both he and Andrian viewed the war as potentially reinvigorating Austria and the Austrian idea—reflected the maturation of long-held sentiments rather than temporary deviation. Indeed, Lindström argues that Andrian contributed to the construction of Austrian national mythology by ensuring the incorporation of Hofmannsthal—whose attitude toward Austrian cul-

ture and identity was very complex—into its core following Hofmannsthal's early death in 1929.

Redlich and Renner, whose political activities are the subject of the book's third section, both sought to resolve the Austrian state problem by refashioning the monarchy as a supranational federation. Differences in their political visions, however, resulted in divergent political trajectories, which became increasingly apparent between the wars when Renner turned to a Great German position and became an advocate of *Anschluss*. Redlich quit participating in politics after the demise of the monarchy in 1918, while Renner was active in interwar politics, ironically ending his career, as Lindström points out, as the head of Austria, a small, divided, and occupied state that denied its German heritage after 1945.

This volume draws on a variety of primary sources, including memoirs and letters. Much of the secondary literature is dated with fewer than half of the sources consulted published after 1990. Moreover, the volume is rendered less accessible to the general reader by both the failure to present the text in clear English and the overuse of German-language terms, often without translation. Better editing might also have reduced inconsistencies in place naming and use of diacriticals, as well as errors of fact and grammatical infelicities, including the gendering of Austria and other inanimate objects female.

Lindström adds to the history of late imperial Austria with his close, careful, and sometimes revisionist readings of these six men's contributions to—and hopes for—the political life of late imperial Austria.

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PAMELA M. JONES. *Altarpieces and Their Viewers in the Churches of Rome from Caravaggio to Guido Reni*. (Visual Culture in Early Modernity.) Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2008. Pp. xiv, 360. \$99.95.

In the five case studies that comprise this excellent book, Pamela M. Jones eschews grand theories and epistemological pyrotechnics in favor of painstaking research and judicious argument. Each chapter addresses a Roman altarpiece executed between ca. 1595–1597 and 1625–1626. Chosen less for their later reputation than for their contemporary importance, these are, respectively: Tommaso Laureti's *Martyrdom of Saint Susanna* in that saint's eponymous church; Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio's *Madonna of Loreto* at the church of Sant'Agostino; Andrea Commodi's *S. Carlo Venerating the Holy Nail* at S. Carlo ai Catinari; Guercino's *Penitent Magdalene* at the since-destroyed S. Maria Maddalena delle Convertite al Corso; Guido Reni's *Holy Trinity* at SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti.

The use of case studies is superficially deceptive, for the book is more than the sum of its parts. Jones respectfully de-emphasizes approaches to audience reception by scholars such as David Freedberg, John

Shearman, Wolfgang Kemp (pp. 5–6), and Hans Belting (p. 10, n. 2; pp. 327, 329, n. 1). She privileges a historical approach that employs a diverse range of contemporary sources to relate the altarpieces to the larger pictorial and architectural programs of which they formed part, and to evoke spatial, temporal, religious, social, and political—as well as stylistic and iconographical—contexts that function as discursive frameworks of analysis.

These contexts allow Jones to recover and analyze many of the groups who viewed and used public religious art in the period, as well as the critics and aesthetes who fostered the afterlife of these particular works. She returns repeatedly and explicitly to a series of leitmotifs which provide specific insights and link the chapters into a unified narrative. These leitmotifs, which put on argumentative weight as one reads further into the book, include the ever-growing devotion to the cult of the Trinity; the nails of the Passion; the frequent references to feet in a variety of texts as well as in the paintings themselves, which signified penitent humility, charity, and love of the Savior. By the final chapter one has the sense not only of having looked anew at a series of signal works of art, but of having learned much about the tenor of religious life in Counter-Reformation Rome.

Jones vividly communicates many private and institutional concerns that motivated aristocratic art patrons such as the reforming, moralizing Cardinal Girolamo Rusticucci, the devout Ernesto Cavelletti, and cardinal-nephew Ludovico Ludovisi (sponsors, respectively, of Laureti, Caravaggio, and Reni). She convincingly infers the responses of the male and female religious who occupied the churches housing the objects of her inquiry. In each chapter, iconographic and stylistic detail combines with exterior evidence to suggest what contemporaries, religious and lay, actually thought when regarding visual sermons on chastity, charity, humility, salvation, and religious faith. Excitingly, Jones goes beyond expected, prescribed responses to reveal unsanctioned—sometimes illicit—reactions. Her use of bowdlerizing pamphlet literature in chapter one makes clear just “how rich, multifaceted and complex the imagery's reception could be” (p. 66). Congruent observations in the final chapter demonstrate the doctrinal ignorance afflicting so many of the pilgrims who flooded early *seicento* Rome, and whom confraternities and clerics sought to educate so that they might at least begin to understand a complex image such as Reni's *Trinity* (pp. 293–297).

In recreating the “experiential context” (p. 155) of Caravaggio's *Madonna of Loreto* and Commodi's *S. Carlo Venerating the Holy Nail*, Jones's sensitive analysis of contemporary piety and devotion reveals the vulnerability of church teaching to unpredictable reception. In contemporary and later aesthetic criticism of Caravaggio's *Madonna* she detects traces of the class-consciousness and growing contempt for the poor that greeted the theme of penitent mercy suffusing both paintings. Elsewhere the humility and repentance of Guercino's

beautiful *Penitent Magdalene* is undercut by the harsh realities confronting reformed prostitutes (*convertite*) who struggled both with a misogynistic society and, on occasion, against themselves to preserve their secular and religious virtue. Chapter one introduces the perennial threat of sexual yearning that tormented young female novices, which the exemplary chastity of Laureti's *S. Susanna* may have helped Cistercian nuns to overcome (pp. 48–49). When we later encounter recalcitrant *convertite* who simply refused to repent (p. 227), we are reminded, however, of one of the book's central arguments: that none of these images carried a single message or elicited a monolithic response. It is typical that this point about the complexity and the historicity of contemporary imagery and its reception emerges in a chapter which places the social history of a disreputable pocket of the Campo di Marte in the service of visual analysis. Such genuine interdisciplinarity, and the lightness with which Jones wears her learning, make this book important and stimulating reading for specialists, and for any scholar concerned with the relationship of art and society in the early modern period.

NICHOLAS A. ECKSTEIN
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SANDRA CAVALLO. *Artisans of the Body in Early Modern Italy: Identities, Families and Masculinities*. (Gender in History.) New York: Manchester University Press, distributed by Palgrave, New York. 2007. Pp. xii, 281. \$84.95.

Sandra Cavallo's exceptional study of the coincident professional and kinship alliances among surgeons and other "artisans of the body" in early modern Turin posits an original, rhizomic methodology that promises to change how history is done. Cavallo's study is as important therefore for her innovative method of inquiry and analysis as for the wealth of new information she provides about the interconnected working life of barber-surgeons, *perruquiers*, perfumers, *aiutanti di camera*, jewelers, and the like, whose care of the body extended from the Court of Savoy to the local *cantone* or Turinese neighborhood.

Cavallo describes her method as "biographical," by which she means the study of the national and social origins, vocational training, work-life, and overlapping professional and kinship ties of individual surgeons and those in affiliate body crafts. This description is, I would suggest, insufficient in capturing the pathbreaking mode of data collection and interpretation she employs to unearth a complex network of horizontal relationships among the arts and artisans of the body in late seventeenth-century and early eighteenth-century Turin. Her analysis of this occupational milieu, like the botanical rhizome, has multiple roots and shoots and is formed by conjunctions rather than based on distinctions and oppositions as is commonly the case in a more conventional historiographical approach. Grounded in rigorously local primary source data—censuses, parish registries, municipal, military and hospital records, li-

censing records for medical practitioners and artisans, the writings of ordinary barber-surgeons—Cavallo's reconstruction offers a comprehensive account of the mundane life of individual surgeons and whole family networks attending to the eclectic bodily needs of Turin's populace. By radically reframing the context in which the work and cultural status of the early modern barber-surgeon is viewed, she is thus able to invalidate presumed dichotomies between the learned physician and the practicing barber-surgeon, indeed between surgeon and barber, public and private medical practice, mental and manual labor, the care of the inside and of the outside of the body, the medical arts and other arts for treating and ornamenting the body, men's and women's work within artisanal classes, and finally between the conjugal family headed by the father and families formed without *paterfamilias*, common surnames, and direct blood ties. Not only does the author replace cliché class divisions with a more accurate account of who cared for elite and common bodies, her unconventional method also allows her to make visible the obscure work of women and the young apprentice.

The biographical sketch of barber-surgeon Bernardo Calvo, with which the book opens, immediately and persuasively challenges many of the presumed dichotomies mentioned above. An ordinary neighborhood medical practitioner cupping, leeching, trepanning, and vesicating clients from his *cantone*, Calvo nevertheless published medical tracts based on doctrines, such as humoral theories, that are typically considered the province of the elite university physician. The case of Calvo also serves to launch one the most important revisions Cavallo makes in her book to early modern notions of masculinity.

Disputing conventional suppositions about the patrilineal transmission of professional knowledge and resources, Cavallo demonstrates instead the pervasive influence of "diagonal male relationships," steered by uncles, fathers-in-law, cousins, etc., and even those with no biological ties, on the burgeoning artisan of the body.

While Cavallo's methodology merits replication in studies of similar occupational milieus in the early modern period, I have some doubts about the transferability of her specific findings to other sites on the Italian peninsula and beyond. Italy did not exist at this time, of course, except as a set of geographical boundaries. Italian city-states had highly distinct cultures, systems of governance, topographies, languages, currencies, and institutional and professional traditions and paradigms. To take Bologna as a point of contrast: rather than a court culture, it was the second city after Rome of the Holy See, co-administered by a secular *gonfalonier* and a cardinal legate sent from Rome. During the years that Cavallo studies, the cultural decline of the university reached its nadir. Private and civic leaders endeavored to restore the city's former standing as the "Mother of Learning" with institutional reforms and the establishment of the Institute of Sciences in 1714. There was a renewed emphasis on the study of medicine and par-

ticular attention to the revival of the annual public anatomy. Andreas Vesalius, it must be remembered, had performed some of his most important dissections here, recorded by his student Baldassar Heseler. This particular history necessarily influenced the professional identity and affiliations of surgeons in ways that diverge from the Turinese model. Cavallo's rhizomic historical method would undoubtedly illumine exactly how the life of the Bolognese barber-surgeon and other artisans of the body differed from that of their Turinese counterparts.

I look with anticipation, therefore, to new studies built upon the critical method of historical investigation and the interpretive model Cavallo has so skillfully defined and put into effect.

REBECCA MESSBARGER
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FRANCESCA BILLIANI. *Culture nazionali e narrazioni straniere: Italia, 1903–1943*. (Saggi, number 65.) Florence: Le Lettere. 2007. Pp. 374. €32.00.

Writing in his *Notebooks* on Americanism and Fordism, Antonio Gramsci commented on Sinclair Lewis's *Babbitt* (1922): "It would be interesting to analyze the reasons why *Babbitt* was such a great success in Europe . . . [since] it is of cultural more than artistic importance: the criticism of manners prevails over art. That there exists in America a realistic literary current that starts out as a criticism of manners is a very important cultural fact. It means that there is an increase in self-criticism . . . The intellectuals are breaking loose from the dominant class in order to unite themselves to it more intimately, to be a real superstructure and not only an inorganic and indistinct element of the structure-corporation. European intellectuals have already partially lost this function . . . The European petty bourgeoisie laughs at *Babbitt* and therefore laughs at America which is supposedly populated by 120 million Babbitts. The petty bourgeois cannot get outside himself or understand himself, just as the imbecile is incapable of understanding that he is an imbecile (without demonstrating thereby that he is intelligent). The real imbecile is the one who doesn't know he is one."

Gramsci's invitation to analyze *Babbitt*'s success in Italy and to do so within the context of nationalism and fascism, of the formation of a modern Italian intelligentsia and the latter's relationship to the creation of a national culture as an act of self-criticism against (petty bourgeois) imbecility—has been accepted by Francesca Billiani in this rich and thoroughly documented monograph. The author engages the editorial politics and practices of importing and translating foreign literatures to Italy in the period between the rise of Italian nationalism (1903) and the collapse of the fascist regime (1943); in other words, she treats the complex interaction between translation of the "foreign," nationalism as an ideology, and the fascist politics of economic and cultural autarchy. Billiani grounds her analysis in a meticulous compilation of contempo-

rary essays and letters written by and between editors, publishers, translators and (largely fascist) government officials. She divides her analysis into three, overall standard periods in Italian historiography: the period spanning the growth of Italian nationalism and the country's entry and experience of World War I; the advent of fascism and its first decade as a "revolutionary movement"; and the 1930s, that is, the years of consent, World War II, and the regime's collapse in 1943.

What Billiani demonstrates is to some extent a curious paradox: it was precisely during the period of right-wing nationalism and fascism that the Italian publishing industry produced, for the first time in the country's national life, an economically consolidated translation policy on a national scale. In the years between 1903 and 1943 the country witnessed a veritable explosion of the Italian market for foreign literary products, indeed one that was destined to last until today. In addition, so Billiani argues, editors and translators (the most active intellectuals in this domain were the "Americanists" Elio Vittorini and Cesare Pavese, who were both important novelists in their own right) defended an Italian encounter with foreign literature as a vehicle to produce a modern *Italian* culture, one capable thereby to hold its own against America and the rest of Europe.

Because translation in Italy was understood as an act of national (re)construction, Billiani's book is built upon the following theses. First, the fascist regime—and this despite its claims to cultural autarchy—did not repress translations of foreign works, because they were produced in order to be an integral part of Italian literary and cultural activities and a crucial component of national(ist) renewal. Second, she demonstrates that as a consequence the act of translation allowed for the presence of contradictory or "foreign" voices, precisely because they were harnessed to the support of national cultural survival. Implicitly, therefore, Billiani argues that a simple exclusionary logic of heterophobia and heterophilia is inadequate for an understanding of fascist cultural politics, to the extent that fascist consent-building cannot be reduced either to simple repression or imbecility. Third, while she engages the translation on the part of Italian intellectuals of the canon of European literature (Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, the French naturalists, or the nineteenth-century British novel) and links these editorial decisions to the creation of an Italian canon (via the articulations made, for example, between a new translation of Goethe's *Werther* and a new edition of Ugo Foscolo's *Ortis*), Billiani's real critical edge is provided by the importation of American literature and, by extension, a popular literature for a mass reading public. "American" comes then to connote not just the proper names of Herman Melville, William Faulkner, or John Steinbeck, but more broadly the absorption of genres—whether these be realist fiction, the crime novel, or descriptions of the everyday life of the people. Translation, or so I understand Billiani's central thesis, not only found its first mass diffusion under fascism, but did so in order to create a

reading public that was made up of the 120 million Babbitts evoked by Gramsci.

To some extent, these many Babbitts are emblematic and also symptomatic of the fascist regime's complex modern cultural politics vis-à-vis domestic masses and foreign influences, as well as of its building of mass consent. *Babbitt* was published in 1922 and translated into Italian in 1930, both crucial years in the history of modern Italy. While the 1922 March on Rome signaled the onset of the so-called "fascist revolution," 1930 coincided with the regime's transition from its "revolutionary" phase to its transformation into or desire for a stable regime. Not insignificantly, so Billiani writes, the Italian *Babbitt* generated a vigorous debate among Italian intellectuals. Was Babbitt the symptom of a process of cultural leveling, of an uncritical adaptation to a life that was not his making? Or was he the vehicle for a critique of the "American way of life," the faithful portrait of a crisis of American values? Realism and social criticism were, so Billiani argues, brought together under the umbrella of an Americanism that in Italy could function ambivalently, as a critique of "American" capitalism and could therefore *both* critique and also support the fascist regime.

Billiani captures the complexities of literary-editorial productivity under the years of the regime very well and she certainly has gathered materials that will be of great interest to students of the period. However, it is disappointing that she provides no examples of actual translations created by those who had to navigate through both a repressive terrain and the Italian traditional literary canon, beyond assertions that cuts and changes had to be made by editors and translators in order to pass censorship laws. More concrete evidence of what took place at the level of texts in order to "translate" the foreign into the national would have strengthened and probably complicated her argument even more. In other words, she does not engage the paradox she herself has proposed: that it was precisely during the years of nationalism and cultural autarchy that Italy began to import foreign cultural products on a mass scale. Instead, she somewhat flatly and unconvincingly invokes—and this never in reference to actual translations—theorists such as Homi Bhabha or Gayatri Spivak, in order to make claims about the complex interactions between national and subaltern languages. Perhaps she should have stayed closer to home and with that astute observer of Americanism and Italian fascism, Gramsci. Certainly a critic of both, Gramsci understood that Babbitt was no laughing matter and therefore no imbecile. Beyond that, however, he also understood his creator to be a new type of intellectual, one who had sprung loose from the traditional boundaries of art and put himself at the service of the "real superstructure," of national culture and therefore of the state. Why, one would like to ask Billiani in the end, was an *Italian Babbitt* so successful?

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KARL P. BENZIGER. *Imre Nagy, Martyr of the Nation: Contested History, Legitimacy, and Popular Memory in Hungary*. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books. 2008. Pp. ix, 201. \$65.00.

"He who controls the past controls the future," George Orwell wrote in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (1949), "and he who controls the present controls the past." Karl P. Benziger, the author of this thoughtful look at the often politicized memories and assessments of Imre Nagy, prime minister of Hungary during the 1956 Revolution, does not allow any of them to prejudice his own view.

He begins by observing that Nagy was an "unlikely hero" (p. 33). An unprepossessing man, the Hungarian fell into Russian hands during World War I and, while a POW, embraced Bolshevism. As an émigré in the Soviet Union from 1930 to 1944, he managed to survive, but at a price: when necessary, he informed on others. Yet unlike the leading Hungarian communists—Mátyás Rákosi and Ernő Gerő—he never cut completely loose from his moral moorings; that is one reason why he favored a relatively moderate policy after the communists seized power in postwar Hungary.

When Joseph Stalin's successors concluded that the Rákosi clique was driving the country to ruin, they elevated Nagy to governmental power, though primarily because of his party loyalty and the fact that he was not, like many of his hated comrades, of Jewish origin. From 1953 to 1955, he set the country on a "New Course" by ending the terror, amnestying political prisoners, and instituting economic reforms.

As a result, Nagy attracted those, including many of his countrymen, who longed for a more *national* socialism, one with a human face. This led to new concerns in Moscow, and Soviet leaders soon removed him from power and turned once more to Rákosi. It was, however, too late for a Stalinist revival, and voices of discontent refused to be silenced. Because most members of the growing opposition remained communists, they looked to Nagy for leadership.

Drawing upon the work of János M. Rainer, Nagy's biographer, and other Hungarian scholars, Benziger guides readers through the tumultuous days of revolution (October 23–November 4, 1956), a period that witnessed Nagy's second prime ministry and his ever greater awareness that the New Course was no longer enough. Although divided on many issues, Hungarians were as one in their demand for freedom and national sovereignty.

After days of indecision, Soviet leaders concluded that Nagy, who in the meantime had tied his fate to that of the revolutionaries, represented a destabilizing threat. On November 4, they crushed the revolt and charged János Kádár, who had been imprisoned during the Stalinist period, with responsibility for restoring order. Nagy and several of his lieutenants were lured from their place of asylum in the Yugoslav embassy, arrested by the Soviets, and flown to Romania to be interrogated. Brought back to Hungary, they were tried in se-

cret and, at Kádár's insistence, hanged on June 16, 1958.

After ordering savage reprisals, Kádár, a chess master, liberalized his rule and gained begrudging respect from Hungarians without making moves that would alarm the Soviets. Yet as Benziger observes, he knew that his legitimacy depended upon his ability to impose his interpretation of 1956: the popular uprising had always to be characterized as a "counterrevolution" and Nagy vilified as a traitor. Throughout his years in power (1956–1988), however, Kádár acted as though he were haunted by Nagy's ghost; in a speech delivered shortly before his death in 1989, he referred to his victim almost fearfully as "that man" (p. 114 n. 63).

In the most original sections of his book, Benziger reflects upon the public funeral held for Nagy and his followers on June 16, 1989. He argues that the thousands who gathered to pay their respects were, like those of the earlier generation, united by a desire for freedom and national sovereignty but by little else. With the fall of communism, debate began over Nagy's place in Hungarian history. Based upon a consideration of parliamentary actions and a study of school textbooks and curricula, Benziger concludes that those who stood to the right of center minimized Nagy's historical role and characterized 1956 exclusively as a war of independence. Those on the left insisted that Nagy was akin to the biblical Saul, who became St. Paul after a dramatic conversion; for them, 1956 was as much about the tragic leader's "democratic" socialism as it was about national sovereignty. In 1996, parliamentary socialists were able to push through an Imre Nagy Memory Bill that declared him to be a "martyr of the nation."

As a historian, not a political partisan, Benziger rightly believes that Nagy cannot fairly be denied a place in the pantheon of Hungarian heroes and martyrs. The fallen prime minister must be judged in the context of the real, as opposed to the wished for, possibilities open to him at the time; although he never abjured his communist beliefs, he sacrificed his life for his countrymen.

LEE CONGDON
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CHARLES KING. *The Ghost of Freedom: A History of the Caucasus*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. xviii, 291. \$29.95.

As fortune would have it, I was reading the final chapter of *The Ghost of Freedom* in August 2008, as Russian tanks rolled into Georgia in the brief war over South Ossetia. As news analysts struggled to make sense of the events, I could only lament that more of them had not read this excellent book. There are few trustier guides to the history of the marvelously diverse, culturally fascinating, and geopolitically crucial Caucasus region. This is a rare work with something for all readers: a masterful new synthesis for the specialist; brilliant insight and accessible writing for those searching for an introduction to the Caucasian peoples. King's ability to

tease out the broader historical patterns in all their complexities and subtleties is remarkable. At the same time, he possesses the sort of keen eye for detail and telling stories that bring the region truly to life in all its vibrant color.

King has taken on a daunting task: to craft into a single coherent narrative the breathtaking ecological, ethnic, religious, social, and political complexity of the Caucasian region (from the Black Sea to the Caspian, and both the north and south sides of the mountains). There are few books that attempt such a complete sweep of modern Caucasian history. Yet, by bringing the whole region (and the entire modern period) into the same frame of analysis—and by examining this complex region from a multiplicity of vantage points—King forces us to understand the region's history differently. The resulting composite picture of the Caucasus is at once more engaging and enlightening for its focus on regional integration and interaction, rather than separation and distinction.

The book runs generally chronologically from the late eighteenth century to the early twenty-first. King tells the story of the Caucasus on three interconnected levels: the history of the internal dynamics of the peoples of the region; the importance of external forces in determining the fate of the Caucasus (especially Russians, Turks, Iranians, the "West," and Caucasian diaspora groups); and the history of how the region has been viewed, imagined, and classified over the past three hundred years (especially by outsiders). Of the three, which he approaches as inextricably related, the latter two (on geopolitics and cultural imaginings) take pride of place.

King's book forces us to rethink the nature of the tsarist conquest in the nineteenth century. He highlights how the war for the Caucasus was by no means a unitary process, with events and tactics varying in the northwest and in the northeast. At the same time, the conquest took on an important spatial component—"a matter of altitude rather than latitude" (p. 38)—as the Russian conquest of the lowlands took place more quickly and easily than the mountain regions, which lay outside of Russian control for years and decades. Resistance to Russian expansion was as much a consequence of internecine struggles for sociopolitical power and contests over the proper practice of Islam as it was a direct revolt against tsarist rule.

King highlights that the main focus of the tsarist state was "how to strengthen traditional hierarchies in the highlands as a first step toward bringing these elites into the administrative structure of the empire. It was not so much a question of how to divide and rule as how to unite and absorb" (p. 38). He underscores the importance of local knowledge and native partners in making possible Russian control. "Indigenous groups, in turn, could become violent subcontractors, settling scores with old enemies by offering superior knowledge and warrior skills to imperial pawnbrokers. As in any borderland, the obverse of resistance was not acquiescence but rather the active pursuit of personal and communal

interests within frameworks provided by the empire itself" (p. 156).

Shifting to the twentieth century, King emphasizes the important prerevolutionary transformations of urbanization, demographic growth, modernization, and industrialization, all of which combined with growing national identity and local cultural politics. Here, he ably navigates the twists and turns of the Georgian socialist movement, the transformative effects of World War I (especially demographically), the unexpected collapse of the tsarist state and the even more unexpected rise of Bolshevik power in Russia, and the fraught history of the independent South Caucasian states and their eventual integration into the Soviet sphere. He rightfully stresses the importance of early Soviet-era border drawing for carving up the region into new territorial units that would become, by the 1990s, one of the causes of the terrible violence in the region. Following a discussion of the mass deportations and population movements of the 1930s and 1940s, King examines the post-World War II history of the region, with particular focus on the long tenure of the communist leaders, rising nationalism (with a focus on the past and territoriality), the ongoing problems of corruption, and "strengthening of familial and patron-client relationships" (p. 202).

King then goes on to explore the roots of the violence of today's Caucasus. While in most areas the collapse of the Soviet Union took place with relatively little fighting, "the Caucasus was a major exception" (p. 211). He offers excellent snapshots of the events involving Abkhazia, Ossetia, Nagorno-Karabakh, and Chechnya. Throughout he argues that the unusually violent fate of the Caucasian states was not inevitable. "Rather, the violent politics and territorial uncertainties were the result of, among other things, basic structural features of the Soviet state, the decisions of key political elites, and the fact that dysfunctional politics can sometimes serve the interests of politicians themselves even as they lead the people they claim to represent toward certain ruin" (p. 211).

At the heart of the book is King's exploration of the imaginings and constructed meanings of the Caucasus, to which he dedicates a separate thematic chapter. These evolving views of the region have tended to be both extreme and polar: "a place of both unimaginable beauty and everyday barbarity" (p. 5) and "of liberty and lawlessness, of things both awe-inspiring and awful" (p. 7). Throughout, ideas of freedom, violence, and sexuality dominated. Beginning with the Russian romantic literature of the early nineteenth century (from Aleksandr Pushkin and Mikhail Lermontov on to Lev Tolstoy), he spotlights the importance of the themes of slavery (and freedom), imprisonment, raiding, kidnapping, desertion, captivity, and hostages. Increasingly, the Caucasus entered into the "imperial mind-set of average Russians . . . In art, music, literature, cuisine, and popular culture Russians were gradually coming to see themselves as tied, both culturally and emotionally, to the Caucasus . . . Imagining the Caucasus as a place

both far away and yet intimately familiar would soon extend beyond the boundaries of the empire to the drawing rooms, museums, circus midways of western Europe and America" (p. 100).

In a personal anecdote that leads off the book, King discusses the perils as an author of becoming a "captive of the Caucasus" (p. 5) in all its misleading and bipolar stereotypes. We are in his debt that he has avoided such captivity and brought the history of Caucasia into such clear and engaging light.

NICHOLAS B. BREYFOGLE
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DANIEL BEER. *Renovating Russia: The Human Sciences and the Fate of Liberal Modernity, 1880–1930*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2008. Pp. ix, 229. \$45.00.

This stimulating and ambitious book argues that the ideas and theories of prerevolutionary Russian liberal psychiatrists, social psychologists, and criminologists contributed to the ideological foundations of Soviet-era efforts to transform society and to identify and repress individual deviance. Working securely within a burgeoning camp of scholars who emphasize the modern elements of the Bolshevik project, Daniel Beer challenges the notion that Russian liberalism died with the revolutions of 1917. Liberals may have failed to secure the political reins, he contends, but their ideas lived on.

The book's boldest claims concern modernity and the Soviet Union; the bulk of the story, however, takes us back into late imperial Russia, when liberals and radicals alike turned to new biological and social theories both to analyze the rampant troubles of life under the tsar and to strategize about how to improve, or perfect, society. The focus of the book is on social and individual "degeneration," with four thematic chapters addressing the concept in Russia from roughly 1880 to 1917. Chapter one shows how the Frenchman Benedict Augustin Morel's 1857 book on degeneration helped Russian biologists and social scientists theorize about how unfavorable circumstances and abnormal heredity could lead to dangerous and interrelated mental and physical disorders. Recognition of rampant degeneration fueled anxieties about the health of society in *fin-de-siècle* Russia. Beer makes clear in chapter two that Russian scientists tended to emphasize the role of human agency in this process. Accepting neo-Lamarckian ideas of heredity prominent at the time, they recognized the degree to which deviance could be passed from one generation to the next, and they insisted that biological disorders had their origins in historical, political, and social circumstances. Whether the root of the problem was the legacy of serfdom, urbanization, industrialization, capitalism, or the calcified tsarist state, the remedy would come from social reform or even revolution. After the Revolution of 1905, however, Russian liberals found themselves in a bind: they came to realize that the repression endemic to the existing regime and the popular violence associated with revolution both led to degeneration. Both created problems; neither promised a

solution. A similar emphasis on environmental over biological factors permeated theories about social deviants and criminals, as chapter three explains. Resisting atavism, Russian criminologists emphasized the role of poor living conditions and unhealthy environments in creating the physical markers of degraded individuals. Until society itself was thoroughly reformed, criminals had to be identified and isolated in the name of collective health and social hygiene. Making sure the implications for the Soviet years are clear to his readers, Beer concludes the chapter with ominous foreshadowing, "Both theoretical urges, the reform of society and the isolation of the deviant, would, as I will argue, find their apotheosis in the revolutionary project of the Bolsheviks" (p. 130). Chapter four shows how social degeneration could spread through society like biological contagions. Social psychologists recognized how the irrational energy of the crowd could overwhelm even individuals with well-formed rational defenses. Once again, 1905 is crucial for Beer's analysis. Liberal observers saw in the revolution of that year an epidemic of disturbing behavior that suggested that the irrationality of the crowd typified mass politics more generally. Here, too, Beer sees key features of the Bolshevik future emerging from the fog of late imperial liberalism. In their efforts to defend reason and order from the chaos of mass politics, liberal theorists took an "initial step in the direction of a circumscription of democracy and the rise of authoritarianism that was to culminate under the Bolshevik regime" (p. 164).

If that was an initial step, what were the subsequent ones? How exactly do we get from liberal theories crafted in the shadow of an illiberal tsarist state to Soviet authoritarianism? Beer's fifth chapter takes on the burden of trying to tie his substantial and innovative study of late imperial thought to his conjectures about the nature of Bolshevik modernity. He notes, "An intellectually fertile union between Marxism and the biomedical sciences was central to the development of a discourse that explained the origins of social disorder, moral and ideological deviance, and even political subversion and proposed the means to combat them" (p. 171). In this reading, the Bolsheviks did not co-opt the social sciences for their own ends. Instead, Beer emphasizes that building socialism fit neatly with the liberal impulse to harness science and rationality to improve society and eliminate disorder. Citing Peter Holquist, Beer concludes that the decisive ingredients that the Bolsheviks brought to the table were a Manichean worldview and an adversarial nature. The irony that the liberal theorists themselves were soon swept away as deviant and irredeemable holdovers from an outdated era is not lost on Beer. But the brutal repression of the 1930s—which lurks in the wings of the book without ever coming to the fore—invites a more explicit reckoning with the connection between liberal thought and Bolshevik power. Perhaps the Soviet system retained so many of the tools of the absolutist state, and, at least by the 1930s, subordinated the disciplines so unabashedly to the regime itself that we are talking

about a whole different species of modern tyranny. Beer does not see it that way, and he may be right. But the relatively light treatment of the postrevolutionary period and Bolshevik ideology made this section of the book more provocative than convincing.

This study is a stunning and powerful contribution to our understanding of liberal thought in late imperial Russia. Because it grapples with the big questions that have animated Russian and Soviet history for years, it will be a must-read book in the field. And Beer's admirable attention to the pan-European context of Russian thought should make this of great interest to other scholars concerned with power and knowledge in modern European history.

ETHAN POLLOCK
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STEFANI HOFFMAN and EZRA MENDELSON, editors. *The Revolution of 1905 and Russia's Jews*. (Jewish Culture and Contexts.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2008. Pp. ix, 320. \$55.00.

Dedicated to the eminent scholar Jonathan Frankel, this book's seventeen essays are loosely clustered around the topics of Russian Jews and their experience of the 1905 Revolution. A useful summary lies in Benjamin Nathans's description of the revolution as both "a nodal point in the history of Jewish Eastern Europe" and "a crucible for ideas and practices that would shape Jewish life in Europe and beyond" (p. 1). Two of the authors set the table, as it were, by providing background especially useful for readers who are not specialists in Russian history. The first, Abraham Ascher, the foremost historian of the revolution, furnishes a historical survey of interpretations of 1905. He concludes that, even though it was aborted, the revolution opened up possibilities for reform in Russia that have not yet been achieved. The second, Richard Wortman, noted for his expertise on the Russian monarchy, paints a vivid picture of Nicholas II still stubbornly clinging to his notion of autocracy even after granting constitutional concessions. The tsar's vision could only bode ill for Jews, who, in contesting autocracy, were perceived as contaminating it.

Some Jews, however, did make short-term gains. Dmitrii Elyashevich argues that censorship was relaxed for Jewish publications, which became subject to the same restrictions of the mainstream press and not judged separately as before 1905. Jewish secular civil society benefited substantially with the rapid expansion of the Society for the Promotion of Enlightenment among the Jews of Russia (OPE), as Brian Horowitz's interesting essay demonstrates.

Twentieth-century secularization, modernization, and urbanization, factors that made possible the OPE, also contribute to the theme of Scott Ury's provocative essay. For him, the Revolution of 1905 was one of many crises of the early twentieth century. He describes a broader phenomenon of Jews within Russia and Eastern Europe who left the village for secular urban cen-

ters where at first they experienced poverty, alienation, and depression. Their loneliness was partially assuaged by forming male friendships, a bond that ultimately contributed to the politics of nationalism. Dissatisfied with their goal of self-fulfillment, many of these secularized Jews turned to "collective fantasies of community, purpose, and nation" (p. 100). Whether Zionism should be listed on the plus or minus side of the ledger in assessing the 1905 Revolution depends on the bias of the reader.

Vladimir Levin is equally ambivalent about the long-range impact of the revolution on Jews. While after 1907 membership in Russian Jewish socialist parties dried up, socialist newspapers folded, and unions withered away, many socialist Jewish leaders retained their influence by participating in public life as teachers, journalists, and other professionals, thus enhancing Jewish culture. Socialists temporarily put on hold the dream of realizing their program and cooperated with community institutions, while maintaining their ideology. When the February Revolution of 1917 destroyed the tsarist regime, these socialists, still sharp in organizational skills and in touch with the masses, were able to resurrect to full force the pre-1905 revolutionary Jewish socialist parties in Russia.

Some authors clearly believe that the 1905 Revolution adversely affected Jews. Robert Weinberg presents his case by reproducing and analyzing hideous reactionary antisemitic cartoons and slogans. Semion Goldin has no doubt that the treatment of Jews in the tsarist army worsened. Before the revolution, Jews could become officers; after 1910, they could not. Considered to be unpatriotic and morally and physically unfit for military service, Jews were no longer to be conscripted, according to legislation under consideration on the eve of World War I, thus obliquely labeling them unfit for full citizenship as well.

Theodore R. Weeks nimbly follows the decline in relatively amicable Polish-Jewish relations. Prior to the revolution, leading liberal Poles regarded Jews as capable of being assimilated or as fellow opponents to Nicholas II's autocracy. But once the Duma was established, the views of the antisemitic Polish National Democratic Party, essentially a conservative anti-revolutionary organization, predominated among the Polish delegates. They blamed Jews for the chaos during the revolution and the ensuing failure of Poland's obtaining autonomy. Worse yet, they blamed Jews even more than the Russians for thwarting Polish nationalist aspirations, so that once promising Polish-Jewish relations deteriorated to the breaking point.

Some authors are concerned more with the impact of the revolution on literature than on life. Agnieszka Friedrich portrays a variety of fictional figures that mirrored Polish political views and concludes that, while novelists presented a range of characters, including a few positive Jewish figures, the Jewish revolutionary stereotype prevailed. As shown by Hannan Hever, the Hebrew writer Josef Haim Brenner, residing in London and previously espousing various political views, was so

shocked, disgusted, and disillusioned by the 1905 pogroms that he renounced politics altogether and expressed his despairing pessimism only through his writing.

For Brenner, Hebrew was the language of lament, but, as Barry Trachtenberg demonstrates, Yiddish came into its own as a vehicle for propaganda before the Revolution in 1905 and as a medium for literary and scholarly criticism after the revolution and "stood at the very center of a new national project" (p. 184). Kenneth Moss demotes the centrality of the revolution in the burgeoning Yiddish literature and culture. He reminds the readers that leading Yiddish literary figures such as Y. L. Peretz, S. Asch, H. M. Bialik, and H. D. Nomberg flourished before 1905. Unlike Trachtenberg, Moss argues that a process of fashioning Yiddish as an aesthetic literary mode of expression was ongoing even during the revolution and that it was not primarily developed as a reaction to the failure of politics in the aftermath of the revolution, although the "revolution and its suppression clearly acted as powerful catalysts" (p. 190). While Moss minimizes the impact of the revolution on the content and form of Yiddish literature, outlining continuity between the pre- and post-revolutionary periods, he does acknowledge that legislation after 1905 lifted restrictions on the use of Yiddish in journalism and theater, which created a mass audience for Yiddish popular culture. In reaction to perceived commercialism, intellectuals consciously developed Yiddish high culture. Jeffrey Veidlinger also affirms that legislation of the 1905 era allowed the opening of space for the proliferation of Jewish volunteer associations similar to the OPE that disseminated knowledge and self-awareness to the rapidly growing urban population.

As some of the authors cited above show, in the minds of contemporary Jewish liberals and socialists, the 1905 Revolution signified bitter failure. In the Stalin era, however, Jewish writers reworked the revolutionary theme to represent it as one of the most glorious episodes in Russian Jewish history in conformity with the formula of socialist realism. Yet, as Mikhail Krutikov illustrates, these Yiddish writers "wrote between the lines," smuggling into their texts hidden meanings that valorized traditional Jewish skills and virtues.

Rebecca Kobrin credits the pogroms in Russia, combined with the existence of modern means of transportation, as the driving force behind massive Jewish emigration to the United States, to which Jews brought their pre-revolutionary liberal ideals of "personal autonomy, individual economic betterment, education, professional status, rule of law and political integration" (p. 220). Agreeing that the sorry state of affairs in Russia resulted in the emigration of four million Jews to the United States in the decade prior to World War I, Eli Lederhendler points out that Jewish immigrants, including Sholom Aleichem, publicized Russian atrocities—no writing between lines for them—at the same time as they raised relief money for pogrom victims and

influenced official American foreign policy against Russia.

Simply toting up the pluses and minuses of the 1905 Revolution with regard to Jewish life and thought proves too complex to provide a bottom line. It was neither triumph nor tragedy. Nathans gives the reader pause to reflect, however, when he notes, "for each of the dozen Jews elected by their fellow citizens to the Duma, as the new parliament was known, more than two hundred and fifty paid with their lives in pogroms across the Pale of Settlement" (p. 1).

While there were many overlapping themes and connections among these essays, this collection would have flowed better had there been an internal dialogue among the various authors, that is, debates and comments on points of agreement and disagreement, tightening up the text. As it stands, however, this compendium illuminates many facets of Russian Jewish history previously unexplored and deepens our knowledge of more familiar episodes. It will prove indispensable for any serious student of modern Russian Jewish history.

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AARON B. RETISH. *Russia's Peasants in Revolution and Civil War: Citizenship, Identity, and the Creation of the Soviet State, 1914–1922*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. xiv, 294. \$110.00.

This book is a study of the manner and extent to which the rural inhabitants of a Russian province changed during eight years of world war, revolution, and civil conflict. It is one of a growing number of local studies of this period in Russian history, and it is one of the most ambitious in terms of its chronological parameters and also as regards the nature of its claims. The central aim of the book is to challenge the notions that Russia's peasants were narrowly concerned with issues regarding property and that their politics were distinguished by an essential anarchism that distanced them from the wider national community (such as it was). For Aaron B. Retish, the period of war and revolution accelerated the cultural changes in the Russian village that had been developing since the late nineteenth century. Rather than undergoing a process of rapid "archaization," the turning inward of peasant communities amid conditions of economic and political breakdown, Russian peasants remained engaged with the state during the period of civil war, demonstrating an acute sense of their place in the revolutionary order as well as of the role of the Soviet state therein.

It is this focus on the manner in which peasant horizons expanded that informs Retish's periodization. Contributing to a recent blossoming of research into Russia's experience of World War I, this study highlights the way the war directly affected people's lives, engaged the attentions of peasant communities, and brought them into consistent interaction with the state. According to Retish, the war marked the beginning of

an intense period in which rural communities were prompted to evaluate the balance of justifiable obligations and duties to the state with conscious expectations of rights and protections. Revolution in 1917 brought with it a more conventional political idiom regarding the latter field of rights, and Retish insists that peasant communities actively engaged with this new language and the attendant rituals and practices of newly "democratic" Russia, although they developed their own understandings of the balance of rights to obligations that distanced them from liberal politicians and state officials. Nevertheless, this divergence did not entail rejection of the state and its role in local affairs. Throughout the civil war, peasant communities continued to engage state institutions and officials, especially in situations in which the state was distributing scarce resources or could play a role as mediator in inter and intra-village affairs. This was especially the case when years of conflict produced such extremes of dislocation and hardship, and the Soviet state was truly the only actor that could assist communities in their survival.

Retish's study is of Viatka, a province in the northeast of European Russia. At several points in his description of village politics and society in Viatka, the author notes how different this province was from those in central Russia and the Volga regions, which have been the focus of several earlier studies of the countryside in this period. His book is therefore a useful addition to the growing number of local histories. However, the contrast between the rural communities of Viatka with those in other regions of Russia does not seem that striking, at least insofar as Retish's main points regarding interactions with the Soviet state. In other instances, the contrasts in the political behavior of peasant communities in Viatka with those in other parts of Russia may have had more to do with the prevailing strategic circumstances in that province than with the more stable political outlook of its inhabitants. For example, Retish discusses the initial enthusiasm of Viatka's rural communities for the Soviet committees of the poor (*kombedy*) during the civil war, institutions that provoked much peasant antipathy in other regions. Yet Retish himself notes that the committees were introduced to Viatka in the wake of the Red Army's defeat of a rival regional government in that territory. The committees in this context were as much institutions of military occupation as anything else, and it is difficult to evaluate local collaboration with the Soviet state independent of these circumstances.

From Retish's description, the reader gets the sense that Viatka's rural communities collaborated with the Soviet government when the state had something to offer, but that they resisted or rebelled when the state sought to extract grain or other resources beyond a level that civilians considered reasonable or just. What this tells us about the political worldview or mentality of Russia's peasants remains open to interpretation, but Retish's assertion that peasant behavior during this period reveals a coherent understanding of *citizenship* relies on one's definition of that concept. Despite a vi-

brant discussion of this theme in recent historiography, Retish's book does not contain a detailed consideration of the concept, and at times his description seems indistinguishable from certain understandings of nationalism. It is certainly true that the period under investigation by Retish was one in which rural communities were forced or drawn into greater contact with the wider world and the state. Whether this resulted in a substantive shift in mentality, however, might have best been tested by extending the chronological parameters further, into the post-conflict years of the 1920s. It seems fair to say, though, that the Bolsheviks themselves were skeptical.

Nevertheless, Retish's great accomplishment is the vivid description of the vast spectrum of rural life and politics in Viatka through the period of war and revolution, and his book is a rich addition to our understanding of lived experience in Russia during those turbulent years.

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LEWIS H. SIEGELBAUM. *Cars for Comrades: The Life of the Soviet Automobile*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2008. Pp. xiv, 309. \$39.95.

It is easy to see why Lewis H. Siegelbaum was attracted to the topic of cars in the Soviet Union. The history of what official usage terms "light vehicles" (trucks and tractors are included along the way, but the main emphasis is on cars) pulls together a number of issues that historians have usually addressed separately. Communications and travel (including both business and leisure); labor history; the tensions between collective and individual identity in state planning (or as Siegelbaum himself puts it, "between cars and Communism" [p. 10]); consumption; and social symbolism (especially the conflict between cars as the attributes of power for a fortunate few and the automobile as something which every Soviet family could expect): these are only some of the themes that are invoked in this wide-ranging, incisively written, and enjoyable survey.

Arranging his analysis chronologically but also to reflect the topics that he sees as being most important at a given time, Siegelbaum begins with car manufacturing. The first chapter runs from the feeble beginnings of production through the early 1930s, at which point an unnamed American engineer working at the Stalin Factory (ZIS) in Moscow could tell the factory newspaper that his plant was "equipped according to the latest word of technology" and that it could "proudly stand in the ranks of the largest automobile factories in America" (p. 19). Alongside describing the ambitions of management and workers with reference to production, Siegelbaum also offers an all-around picture of factory life. While workers might have access to brand new machines during the day, at night they lived in crowded and primitive conditions (with less than four meters of living space per person in the first decades of

Soviet power, and shoddy barracks-style housing and polluted air to contend with in its last decades).

If the ZIS workforce was a "social melting pot" for newcomers (p. 31), the products of the capital's factory were masterpieces of homogeneity at the level of technology: for example, the ZIS-110, pride of the postwar years, is described by Siegelbaum as "the Soviet state on wheels," including as it did material from seventy-three enterprises, not least workshops in prison camps devoted to leather manufacture (p. 27). But, as so often happened, the resources sucked into Moscow were destined to remain there: "of the seventy-one vehicles assigned by the middle of 1946, thirty-eight remained in the Soviet capital," with the next most favored destination, Kiev, receiving a mere seven (p. 27).

Chapter two moves the scene to Gor'kii (Nizhnii Novgorod), where workers in the plant town of Avtostroi were slightly more capaciously housed (a whole five meters each [p. 48]) and produced rather more earth-bound vehicles than the ZIS-110, such as the Pobeda ("Victory"): "the first Soviet car that individuals could purchase, if only in principle" (p. 63). Rolling off the production lines beginning in 1948-1949, the Pobeda was assiduously manufactured through the 1950s; by the start of the 1960s, the number to emerge from the factory was close to a quarter of a million. But the GAZ (Gor'kii Motor Factory) plant also produced some less "democratic" vehicles, such as the Volga (manufactured from 1956, and the source of collectors' nostalgia by the time it began to vanish from the roads in the early twenty-first century), and the Chaika, the post-Soviet answer to the ZIL limousines, which began its life as a car for the Soviet elite and later ended up serving the new social institution, the "Palace of Marriages."

It was, however, another car plant again, VAZ at Togliatti (formerly Stavropol'-on-Volga, the all-out "carsville" that is the subject of chapter three), which became the generator for the production boom of the Brezhnev years, manufacturing the Zhigulis, Moskviches, and Ladas that conveyed an unprecedented freedom to roam upon the unprecedentedly prosperous, by national measures, middle-class population of late Soviet towns.

The following chapters offer a close-up on the mechanics and results of this new mobility. Chapter four, "Roads," deals not just with the expansion of the route network, but also with less practical aspects, such as the craze for rally races. The next two chapters move to car ownership. Chapter five is concerned with the rarefied situation that obtained in the prewar decades (when "typical" cars included the vehicle assigned to Vladimir Maiakovskii, later an exhibit in the investigation after the poet's suicide). Chapter six moves to the mass-motoring years that followed, when truck drivers became familiar and, as Siegelbaum points out, "liminal" figures in many rural communities, bringing with them the romance of the open road, and when the struggles of ordinary citizens to get hold of (*dostat'*) and maintain a car became the stuff of cartoons and folklore as well

as lived experience. The fascinating information provided includes the hierarchy of car models (limousines at the top, Zhiguli marking the boundaries of respectability, and Moskviches and Pobedas at the miserable bottom [p. 241]); the ways of gaining access to essentials such as gas and desirables such as garages; the ever-present nuisance of the traffic police; and the car as a way of facilitating and justifying male sociability. The sources used range as widely as the discussion itself—from architecture journals (mined for information about the model buildings of these showpiece factories) to oral history; from comic novels such as Ilya Il'f and Evgenii Petrov's *The Golden Calf* (1931) to statistical tables. A short review cannot do justice to the sheer amount of detail packed into a narrative that at the same time is admirably well structured.

Of course, no single study of the Soviet car can ever be exhaustive. To name several subjects more or less at random, the reader will not find much here about the tussles between drivers and the northern Russian and Siberian climate (forgotten bottles of cola, I am reliably informed, remain liquid at lower temperatures than antifreeze); or hitchhiking; or the important link between driving and access to the dacha; or (descending to the level of farce) the use of the car for illicit liaisons (vehicles did not *only* facilitate all-male sociability). More extensive (and cross-gender) oral history and recourse to ethnographical studies, such as Tat'iana Shepanskia's work on the place of the road in Russian culture, might have brought subjects like this into focus. There could have been more, too, about a subject that comes up in official reports of "vox pop" meetings in the early 1960s: the politics of envy. Judging by the Leningrad Party archives, at any rate, it was common at this point for angry questions to be posed from the floor about why private car owners did not have to pay swingeing taxes on their vehicles.

But these are subjects for future researchers. As a study not just of cars for their own sake, but of cars as a mediating force in social change, not to speak of a discussion that manages to convey the faults of Soviet automobiles and the romance that they held for their owners and admirers, the problems of mass car use, and the reasons why this was at some levels genuinely "democratic," Siegelbaum's book is impressive. It deserves to be heralded by a whole Moscow traffic-jam full of tooting horns.

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MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

VOLKER L. MENZE. *Justinian and the Making of the Syrian Orthodox Church*. (Oxford Early Christian Studies.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. viii, 316. \$110.00.

Volker L. Menze has written an original and important study, "*une histoire événementielle*" of the four decades

between 518 and 556 A.D. when the Syrian Orthodox Church came into existence. Using sources in Syriac that are not well known, he has documented the church's internal development. Although the thesis behind the book is visible in excessively long footnotes and the odd slip (George Ostrogorsky was not German), it provides a clear analysis of the theology that created this church, which survives as a significant force in the Middle East today.

In five long chapters, conveniently divided by subtitles, Menze demonstrates the distinct stages of the church's creation and development. After a general introduction on the reception of the Council of Chalcedon held in 451, he analyzes the first stage: the development of an anti-Chalcedonian, theological understanding of Christ's nature. The second stage opened in 518 when Emperor Justin I ordered the anti-Chalcedonians to conform and they refused; many bishops and monks were persecuted and went into exile in Egypt. From there, they directed their loyal followers through letters and instructions in the form of canons. In the third stage, they began to ordain priests so that the scattered communities hostile to Chalcedon could receive the eucharist from untainted priests, and in the fourth, the anti-Chalcedonian clergy elected a hierarchy of bishops who created a rival church.

Through these four stages Menze has documented the emergence of the Syrian Orthodox Church. It is a remarkable story, made all the more curious by the conflicts between well-known rulers, such as Justinian and Theodora and Severus, anti-Chalcedonian patriarch of Antioch, as well as the participation of many less celebrated authors who wrote in Syriac. In particular Menze draws on his own translations of the canons of John of Tella, who organized mass ordinations of priests in the 530s. He cites the familiar story of Theodora's protection of Patriarch Anthemios, who disappeared into her private quarters after his condemnation and emerged only after her death in 548, and concludes that Theodora became the mouthpiece of the opposition to Chalcedon at court after 536 but did not try to impose anti-Chalcedonian theology against Justinian's views.

Among his many insights, Menze highlights the way a network of clergy opposed to the Chalcedonian definition created "eucharistic communities" of true believers, which in due course reduced support for the official church. His analysis of the economic aspect of the eucharist, based on the offerings of the faithful and the importance of priest-monks from highly educated communities, is especially helpful. He emphasizes the liturgical use of diptychs, lists of the names of past leaders, which were read out in church as part of the culture of remembrance, a way of managing memory. The diptychs had always been used to strengthen particular traditions; indeed, in the late fifth century they were constantly altered by changes of position for and against Chalcedon. They also played a critical role in building the Syrian Orthodox Church.

Menze's presentation provokes two main criticisms.

The first is a repetitive and heavy written style, full of Germanic sentence constructions and inaccurate English expressions, which should have been corrected by the series editors. Unfortunately Menze's adoption of the term "non-Chalcedonian" for the parties that opposed the 451 Council exacerbates this problem and produces some very clunky writing when comparing Chalcedonian with non-Chalcedonian practice. His determination to avoid the terms "monophysite" or "miaphysite" is justified by the argument that they conceal important differences among the "one-nature" supporters. In the debate over Christ's divine and human natures, many Christians in the East Mediterranean defended the formulation of Saint Cyril of Alexandria, "one incarnate nature of the Word," even though they divided over Chalcedon. Conflicts among the one-nature believers, sparked by Julian of Halicarnassus and others, prevented a more united opposition to sixth-century Neo-Chalcedonian interpretations.

The second criticism is the lack of a map, infuriating in a study with such a significant geographical dimension. Church dioceses are often cited as if the reader should know which lies east or west of the Euphrates. Although Menze knows the Syriac Orthodox regions of modern Turkey, Syria, and Iraq, the reader is unable to locate many monasteries and bishoprics, such as Batabu, Meloe, Doliche, Sura, and Tall Bi'a, and references to maps in other publications (for example, on pages 123 and 127) are not much help.

But by clarifying the aims of Justinian, who wished to bring all Christians to a shared faith that was defined at the Fifth Ecumenical Council of 553, and the opponents of Chalcedon, who could not compromise, Menze has made a major contribution to our understanding of both the theological battles and the historical development of the sixth century.

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MUSTAFA AKSAKAL. *The Ottoman Road to War in 1914: The Ottoman Empire and the First World War*. (Cambridge Military Histories.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. xv, 216. \$99.00.

This book discusses the immediate conditions that led to Ottoman entry into World War I and argues that "Ottoman leaders in 1914 made the only decision they believed could save the empire from partition and foreign rule" (p. 2). After a rather unclear introduction, Mustafa Aksakal considers the intellectual atmosphere after the Balkan Wars of 1912–1913, which had resulted not merely in a simple loss of territory but also a sense of humiliation. Aksakal argues that it was this humiliation which fueled the desire for revenge and prepared the ground for the Ottoman entry into World War I. In the following chapter, he relates the Ottoman desire to enter the war to Ottoman-Greek rivalry in the Mediterranean as well as to Russian plans for controlling the Straits, arguing that, alarmed, the Ottoman authorities in this period searched for support and allies in their

struggle against Russia and Greece. Failing to obtain any such support, they therefore sought to protect their interests by signing an alliance with Germany, the only power prepared to conclude a treaty with them, albeit somewhat reluctantly. For the Ottomans, this alliance was not an absolute commitment to enter the war but a document that could be used to negotiate further guarantees for the future of the empire. However, under constant German pressure for prompt entry, the Ottomans found themselves precipitated into the conflict.

The appearance of a book that sets out to present the Ottoman account of the empire's entry into World War I is a welcome contribution as histories of the period in English generally tend either to ignore the Ottomans or to represent Ottoman territories as a theater of war but the Ottomans themselves as tangential pawns in the hands of the Central Powers rather than active actors in their own right. However, although the idea is a good one, this book does not succeed in examining the entry into the war from the Ottoman perspective.

Although the author has clearly collected a great deal of archival material from the German War and Foreign Ministry archives and used it extensively, especially in chapters four through six, the same cannot be said for Ottoman data. While some documents from the Military Archives in Ankara and the Ottoman Archives in Istanbul have been consulted, one wonders why more Ottoman archival material was not used, Aksakal referring only to three catalogues from the Ottoman archives and not making use of the available Ottoman Foreign Ministry material. Further, there is very limited use of published memoirs or of the Ottoman press, with very few references, for example, being made to the newspaper *Tanin*, the governing party's organ. Inevitably this has led the author to infer the Ottoman approach to certain events from the German material or published Russian material in German translation (see, for example, pp. 129 and 166–167). The book therefore at times consists more of a discussion of the German or Russian take on Ottoman entry into the war as a German ally than the Ottoman one.

A further source of frustration is the book's introduction. Here Aksakal gathers together many controversial points only to leave them undeveloped in the following chapters. Thus, Aksakal reduces the Ottoman "modernity" policy in 1914 to a mere "militarization of society and its institutions" (p. 3) without making any reference to the many projects undertaken in the social and economic arenas. Similarly, he refers to an "imposed historical amnesia" or "post-war amnesia" in the history-writing of the early Turkish Republican era as a part of the "complete break" with the Ottoman past (p. 13). This, however, merits further discussion, as there is much scholarly work arguing against such an interpretation. Another controversial issue needing further elaboration concerns the discussion of the "Ottoman policy of Turkification" (p. 52) in this period. Aksakal refers here to the exchange of population between Greece and the Ottoman Empire as a mani-

festation of Turkification, an argument linked to the texts he chooses to examine in chapter one which *a priori* accept the dismemberment of the empire and establishment of Anatolia as the fatherland well before the dissolution of the empire. Interestingly, these texts do not include, for instance, those written by the well-known "Turkists" of the period such as Ziya Gökalp or Yusuf Akçura. Here again, such an argument needs to be constructed well and to take into account contemporary material that would appear to support a totally different interpretation.

This book, therefore, while providing a detailed insight into German interpretations of the Ottoman entry into World War I, unfortunately does not do so for the Ottoman perceptions themselves..

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YARON PELEG. *Orientalism and the Hebrew Imagination*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 153. \$35.00.

This book is as much a political project as it is a scholarly endeavor. Its declared purpose is to counter the so-called post-Zionist accounts—typically inspired by a postcolonial approach—of the Jewish colonization of Palestine. Yaron Peleg analyzes literary works of early Zionist writers. His thesis is that turn-of-the-century Jewish writers such as David Frishman, Moshe Smilansky, and L. A. Arielli developed a Zionist orientation that had been premised on a yearning for the East, treating it—through the experience of interacting with Arabs in Palestine—as a model to be adopted, as an anchor for uniting with the ancient Hebrew past, and as a cultural force to which they belonged. Indeed there are many indications that such a nostalgic/romantic/heroic view was shared by many Zionists in the early phases of the colonization of Palestine. Not only in literature, but also in other fields such as politics and law, early Zionists espoused a view of the East as an awakening cultural force. Shmuel Eisenstadt, a Russian-born Jewish lawyer, thus wrote that "to this Eastern society . . . with whose spirit our soul is affiliated, with whose emotions ours are tied, we must introduce our advanced law, the law of the ancient Semitic people" ("The History of Hebrew Law" in *The Future: A Literary Collection of Essays on Jews and Judaism* [1910], p. 208).

As long as one holds to an understanding of Orientalism as a one-dimensional and demeaning colonialist gaze at the East, the thesis is valid, albeit not particularly novel. However, Orientalism—and its exposition by postcolonial analysts—is significantly more sophisticated and complex. The book misrepresents the complex body of postcolonial scholarship about the many faces of Orientalism by reducing it to a dangerous, single-minded attempt to abolish Zionism, to restore the Jews to the diaspora, and to dismantle the State of Israel (p. 12). Ironically, it would best be read as an unintentional postcolonial analysis in and of itself. The

interpretations Peleg offers successfully undermine the supposedly fixed epistemologies that divide social reality into East vs. West, Arabs vs. Jews, modern vs. primitive, virtuous cultures vs. deplorable ones, and so on. In this sense, and in this sense alone, Peleg in fact adopts a postcolonial approach precisely because the latter is sensitive to the multifaceted character of the Orientalist gaze.

The publication of Edward W. Said's *Orientalism* (1978) forever changed the way scholars interpret social relations, whether in political life or literary fiction. The Orientalist gaze, uncovered and analyzed from a postcolonial perspective, is all about ambivalence. The Orientalist gaze never engaged only in demeaning "the East"; it was forever implicated also in admiration and awe and, most importantly, in constituting one's own identity through the prism of the "other." Postcolonialism, at first by dissecting the scholarly discipline of Orientalism, engaged us in understanding that it takes a "project of knowledge" to create both an East and a West. Postcolonialism is about the hybridity of social relations and associations, and Peleg—while wholeheartedly engaging in "fighting" the political agenda of postcolonial analyses of Zionism—cannot do without relying on this insight.

Against its own intentions, the book clearly shows that the Zionist project in Palestine had been a colonial project through and through, mixing the often contradicting ideas of self-redemption with a civilizing mission, romanticism with paternalism, segregation with assimilation, distinction with imitation, and a will to learn with ignorance. Along these lines, one would expect to find in this book a more critical and reflexive stance toward the literary works of early Zionist writers. Yet it seems that Peleg shares with his subjects of study (and their texts and narratives) a distinctly Jewish-centered perspective that fails to capture the nuanced richness of Palestinian society. For example, Peleg does not bring into light the fact that the writers he studied adopted a narrow point of view, mainly considering the Arab as a peasant or a nomad. In reality, Palestine had also been home to aspiring Arab urban middle classes, most notably in Jaffa. Moreover, Palestine had been part of the Ottoman Empire, part of a rich cultural zone that included Jaffa alongside Beirut and Cairo. In this sense, the book uncritically follows those it analyzes, portraying Palestine as an empty "Eastern" space to be redeemed, not to say conquered. Peleg cannot be more explicit when he insists that Zionism is a project "not for the purpose of domination and dispossession but in order to build a new Jewish identity and invent a new Jewish tradition in Eretz Israel" (p. 99). Yet if we consider the insight that the building of a new identity entails a hybrid mixture of appropriation and dispossession, the book in fact ends up affirming the postcolonial argument about the role that Arabs played in that project of Jewish "renewal": an imagined "other" (half brother/half savage) with whom one had to learn how to deal.

The book should also be read in light of another pub-

lication, *Orientalism and the Jews*, edited by Ivan Davidson Kalmar and Derek Penslar (2004). This collection of essays offers a profound intellectual opportunity for probing into the very nature and origins of the Orientalist gaze. Along these lines, Peleg's work could, for instance, consider the idea that the early Zionist writers were articulating an experience of having been at once "orientalized" (looked at as belonging to the East by Europeans) and "orientalizing" ("returning" to the East with a Western orientation). Unfortunately, the political project of undermining the legitimacy of the post-Zionist/postcolonial paradigm took the better part of the author's energies.

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SANDRA M. SUFIAN. *Healing the Land and the Nation: Malaria and the Zionist Project in Palestine, 1920–1947*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2007. Pp. xviii, 385. \$40.00.

In September 2008, we took our two small daughters, aged four and one at the time, on a tour of northern Israel. Our route took us to the Hula Valley and the Hula Swamp. We admired the flora and fauna and marveled at the many different animals we saw in the reservation. For our daughters it was no different than any other fun day out in a huge park. We as parents, however, reflected on the changing narratives of Zionism. As schoolchildren in the Israeli education system, we were taught that the drainage of the Hula Swamp in the 1950s and its conversion into agricultural land was a great triumph of man over nature, part of the Zionist project of redeeming what was then perceived as vacant wasteland. In the 1990s, however, when the scope of the ecological damage caused was grasped, the region was partially re-flooded and turned into a lake and a swamp. This transformation of the site's role also transformed the narrative explaining it, now emphasizing that the swamp is a national park and the valley reclaimed as a crucial stopover for many bird species migrating south to Africa before winter and north to Europe before summer.

The medical and ecological aspects of the Zionist ideology and practice in the pre-state period are the focus of Sandra M. Sufian's monograph. This book originated as graduate paper on history and colonialism, later developing into a dissertation on nationalism and health at New York University. It critically tackles for the first time the relationship between Zionism and medicine and health by concentrating on Malaria control in Mandatory Palestine, 1920–1947. For Sufian, malaria, its vector (the *Anopheles* mosquito), and the swamps where it bred are not merely physical issues. She regards malaria as a rich site of symbols, tensions, and interactions among individuals, communities, humans, and nature. Her starting point is colonial medicine, while she simultaneously highlights unique features of Zionism. Sufian claims that Zionism, more than other nationalist movements of that period, clearly

linked health with a nationalist agenda, tying medicine, science, and technology with civilization, morality, and rationality.

Sufian underlines two ideological as well practical themes within Zionism: the physical and technological conquering, or "taming," of the land, and the bodily change of Jews, including the shedding of the old image of the pale and frail Jew of the ghetto for the bronzed and brawny new Jew of Israel. The structural division of the book into two sections, titled "Draining the Swamp to Heal the Land" (chapters two to five) and "Fighting Malaria to Heal the Jewish Nation" (chapters six and seven), supports her discussion.

These aspects of Zionism are well known, but so far no one has demonstrated how historically close the relationship was between medicine and health, or ecology and environment, and Zionism. Although social history of medicine is a well-established field, and history of medicine is a field with a history of its own within Middle Eastern history, for most historians of the Middle East it remains at the periphery of the discipline. Furthermore, work on the social history of medicine started off as a Western-oriented project. Recent developments in medical anthropology and social history of medicine of North Africa and Persia make it now impossible to overrate the "tyranny" of Anglo-Saxon narratives, a criticism that was relevant in the 1980s and 1990s. More and more research is being carried out on colonial societies; however, cases in which the history of medicine overlaps with the history of the national Middle East are still scant in the fields of history, sociology, and anthropology.

Sufian's book is based on an impressive range of archival, journalistic, and literary sources. She is thus able to discuss the perceptions of various experts—physicians, politicians, engineers, etc.—as well as laypersons who participated in Zionist ecological projects or observed them. It appears as if Sufian has left no stone unturned. It is clear that Sufian's analysis privileges Zionist ideology and practice in Mandate Palestine. The book does not offer a meaningful discussion of other players in the Palestine arena, namely the British and the indigenous Palestinians. Sufian does enrich her narrative with British Mandate sources and interviews conducted with several contemporary Palestinian physicians still living at the time of the research, yet she does not presume to compare malaria history among the Jewish-Zionist community and the Palestinian-Arab one. Sufian points to the paucity of Arabic sources on this topic as a major difficulty. After reading this fascinating book, we should all hope that Sufian's study will soon be complemented by a comparative study analyzing the Palestinian community.

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HILLEL COHEN. *Army of Shadows: Palestinian Collaboration with Zionism, 1917–1948*. Translated by HAIM WATZMAN. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2008. Pp. viii, 344. \$29.95.

Given my interest in land ownership in Palestine/Israel, I have on my wall a framed land deed from British mandatory Palestine attesting to the fact that in January 1948, one Hanan Ramberg registered a small parcel of land in the village of Salama. I always have been intrigued about how Ramberg, a Jew, came to own land in a Palestinian village. According to the reigning nationalist discourse among Palestinian Arabs during the period of the British mandate in Palestine (1920–1948), selling land to Jews constituted collaboration, even treason. However, some Palestinians were involved in land transfers to Jews nonetheless, either as direct sellers or as brokers. What motivated them?

In recent years scholars of Israel, the Palestinians, and the Arab-Israeli conflict have been fortunate to welcome a growing body of literature dealing with an aspect of the conflict that long escaped scholarly attention: the degree to which some Palestinians were willing to work with Zionism—and after 1948, Israeli—projects and institutions despite the opprobrium thrown at them by fellow Arabs that, in doing so, they had become collaborators with an enemy seeking to dispossess them. Rhoda Kanaaneh's *Surrounded: Palestinian Soldiers in the Israeli Military* (2009) is one such study of the post-1948 era. The work under review here, Hillel Cohen's fascinating study of Palestinian collaboration with Zionism prior to 1948, is another. A unique book, it "aims to depict the diversity of attitudes and practices toward Zionism as well as differing attitudes toward what it meant to be a Palestinian nationalist" (p. 4) in an effort to offer a fuller history of Palestine and the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Basing his work on a range of archival and secondary sources, Cohen approaches his subject chronologically. He periodizes the study by framing it around three stages of Palestinian history during the mandate: the early years from 1917 to 1935, the period of the Arab Revolt from 1936 to 1939, and the waning days of British rule from 1939 to 1948. Throughout, he describes and details the various motivations that led some Palestinians to cooperate overtly or covertly with Jews and Zionist organizations in Palestine. Sometimes, it was for financial gain. At other times, it stemmed from antipathy toward the "councilist" faction of the Palestinian national leadership, led by al-Hajj Amin al-Husayni, the mufti of Jerusalem. Still others were convinced that only through some kind of cooperation and compromise with Zionism could Arab Palestine survive.

It is in part to refute the "prejudiced view" (p. 259) of Palestinian history that marginalizes those who opposed al-Husayni that Cohen wrote his book. He argues that the various forms of Palestinian collaboration with Zionism during the mandate not only were prevalent, but constitute an important part of the narrative of Palestinian Arab history. "Collaboration was not only common but a central feature of Palestinian society and politics," he writes, and "[t]he history of the [Palestinian] national movement cannot be studied without a thorough examination of collaboration" (p. 259). Cohen—an Israeli Jew—admits that it is not for him to

determine what constitutes "treason" in the Palestinian context. Even for the Palestinians themselves, he argues, this was not so simple, for while they "shared a national consciousness and nationalist sentiments," they "were divided about the practical implications of that nationalism" (p. 266).

Throughout the book, Cohen treats us to a wealth of information about episodes of Palestinian-Zionist cooperation. Some of his subjects are well-known: the "Farmers Parties" that were sustained by Zionist funds to divide and weaken the Palestinian nationalist movement in the 1920s; Fakhri al-Nashashibi, a pillar of the "opposition" faction who formed the "Peace Units" to fight pro-Husayni "councilist" guerrillas during the Arab Revolt; the Zaynati (also Zeinati) family of bedouin shaykhs who sold land in the Jordan Valley to Zionist interests; and the Abu Ghawsh (Abu Ghosh) family near Jerusalem, who maintained a long tradition of contact and cooperation with Zionists. Yet what make this book particularly rewarding reading are the myriad accounts of less famous individuals who collaborated or otherwise maintained contact with Jews in mandatory Palestine for various and sundry reasons, and of the dilemmas they faced and the punishments they received. Cohen also examines the confessional differences that sometimes factored into the equation of collaboration, such as certain hard-line Muslim nationalists' views of their Christian compatriots and the attempts by Druze Palestinians to remain neutral in the Arab-Jewish struggle.

One fact emerges clearly from Cohen's account: regardless of what one thinks of the actions of hard-line "councilists," the more accommodationist "opposition," or indeed of any other Palestinians who felt that the choices they made were for the good of Arab Palestine, all of these approaches failed in the end. Palestinian society was shattered during the first Arab-Israeli war of 1948, no independent Arab state of Palestine emerged, and Palestinian history was doomed to undergo renewed debates framed around the question of what constituted "collaboration" with Israel and Zionism.

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ILANA FELDMAN. *Governing Gaza: Bureaucracy, Authority, and the Work of Rule, 1917–1967*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 324. Cloth \$79.95, paper \$22.95.

Gaza has often been thought of as ungovernable, yet as Ilana Feldman points out, it has also experienced a "surfeit of government" (p. 1). Departing from the standard political and labor histories of Palestine/Israel, this book is part historical ethnography, part anthropology of government. Over the course of six substantive chapters, Feldman's book, which covers both the British Mandate (1917–1948) and the Egyptian Administration in Gaza (1948–1967), relies on careful archival research in Cairo, Jerusalem, and London as well as

ethnographic research conducted in and around Gaza City. Exploring the “everyday work of government” through its mundane and quotidian bureaucratic civil service practices, Feldman provides what she terms an “analytics of government” in Gaza. She underscores how “tactical government,” that is to say, government marked by piecemeal, makeshift, and temporary solutions, “permitted deferral and distraction to occupy the space of resolution” (p. 20). In so doing, she addresses the question of how government functions in uncertain times, not in the complete absence of legitimacy, but in circumstances in which questions of legitimacy were temporally deferred and displaced.

In part one, “Producing Bureaucratic Authority,” many of the components of government in Gaza—the reiterative circular authority of bureaucracy, the status of the “file” and filing, the habits and demands of civil service, the repertoire of civil service authority—will appear unexceptional. Other aspects, such as the attenuation of expertise in favor of a civil servant who functions more as a bricoleur than a sterile expert in order to enable “everyday government in extraordinary times,” will appear novel and their treatment analytically insightful. While part one details bureaucratic authority through the production of civil servant habits, part two explores actual “Tactical Practice and Government Work” by looking at government service provision, as well as the provision of community services, in everyday times and times of crisis. Readers will find part two empirically richer, as it deals with tensions and contradictions in what the author calls, following Michel Foucault, “the ethics of care,” and the difficulty of service provision during specific historical crises, such as the 1936–1939 revolt, or the 1948 *nakba* (catastrophe). Questions surrounding housing, particularly for refugees, were fraught with difficulties as the provision of housing was meant to simultaneously resolve a social crisis and to be temporary in order not to forestall claims for the right of return. Distinctions between refugees and native Gazans were equally fraught, as housing often marked the distance between the two groups. In her discussion of “servicing everyday life” Feldman looks at the ways in which place and public were formed in minor government practices, such as transportation and communication services, and the way in which incapacity was used as a tactic to shape Gaza.

Feldman’s most interesting chapter deals with community services and discusses religious and associational life. A more historical picture emerges here, for example, in the Egyptian administration’s intensification of the control of religious services and depoliticization of the educational curriculum—aimed at creating “nonpolitical national subjects,” much as was the case in Egypt itself. A more detailed historicization of transformations in the discourse of moral improvement and the transformation in legal structures from the Ottoman period to the British mandate could have situated mandate Palestine within a comparative historical perspective. Instead, the comparative contextualization

provided sometimes bounces back and forth between colonial and ethnographic descriptions (for example regarding the Islamic discourse of “commanding right”) that hardly do justice to the specificity of the case at hand. This is also indicative of the larger narrative and methodological style of the book. Concerned as it is with “analytics,” a certain ethnographic and archival thinness may disappoint historians looking for more textured evidence. Similarly, very little secondary literature on Palestine/Israel, or even other mandates, is referenced, which might have helped empirically underscore her claim that Gaza was, indeed, unexceptional.

It is in her conclusion, however, that Feldman broaches the more comparative temporal and geographical dimensions of the contradictory nature of reiterative authority and tactical government. In her final few pages she details the significance of an analytics of government beyond Gaza, not just in thinking about “failed states,” but also, for example, in thinking of the U.S. approach to governance in Iraq. In a brief discussion of the post-1967 Israeli occupation, she looks at the explicit policy of “government but not administration” in Gaza and the goal of separating population from place, leading to interventions far more extensive than tactical government. In the end, Feldman’s most innovative insight is that rule is shaped both by place and by people, and that a non-totalizing governmental field is best analyzed through practice rather than through ideology, prescriptive discourses, or policy. In revealing the regularity, singularity, contradiction, continuity, and rupture at the heart of governing Gaza, Feldman’s original and important book has much to teach scholars of the colonial and postcolonial world, as well as scholars concerned with the historicity and ethnography of government as such.

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JOHN GLOVER. *Sufism and Jihad in Modern Senegal: The Murid Order*. (Rochester Studies in African History and the Diaspora.) Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press. 2007. Pp. viii, 236. \$75.00.

The Murrīdiyya, a Sufi Muslim brotherhood founded by Cheikh Amadu Bamba M’Backe (1850–1927) in western Senegal, has exerted an enormous influence on the political, economic, and religious history of Senegambia. Drawing on copious written and oral sources in French, Arabic, and Wolof, numerous scholars have examined the life of Amadu Bamba, his complex relationships with traditional Wolof leaders, and Bamba’s and the Murids’ changing and often contentious interactions with the French colonial administration. Others have studied the life and ideology of Cheikh Ibra Fal, Bamba’s most famous disciple and founder of the Bay Fal, a controversial and highly visible sect of Murids. Scholars have also analyzed the development of the influential Murid brotherhood in colonial and postcolo-

nial Senegal and its centrality in modern Senegalese politics. The pilgrimage town of Touba-M'Backe in central Senegal, now a major metropolitan area, has likewise received extended treatment from historians, anthropologists, and political scientists. John Glover, in this excellent and extremely well-researched book, makes an original contribution to the extensive Murid literature by examining the life and ideology of Amadu M'Backe's younger half-brother, Cheikh Ibrahima Faty M'Backe, more commonly known as Maam Cerno, who established an important Islamic learning and pilgrimage site at Darou Mousty, north of Touba-M'Backe.

Glover carefully and convincingly traces the development and spread of Sufi brotherhoods in North and West Africa, situating the Muridiyya, sometimes considered an anomaly or an exceptional sect, squarely as part of a larger tradition of Sufi and Islamic reform movements in the middle and late nineteenth century. He considers a generation of Muslim reformers in early colonial Western Senegambia, including al-Hajj Umar Tal, Mabba Jaxu, and Sidiyya Baba, who, like Amadu Bamba, interacted with local leaders and with the French in varying degrees of resistance and cooperation. Glover contributes to the ongoing debate in colonial studies of resistance versus collaboration, concluding that Amadu Bamba and his brother Maam Cerno usually accommodated the French colonial presence in order to further their own interests. Neither of the M'Backe brothers pursued confrontation, or jihad, with the colonial administration; rather, their focus was on an inner jihad against evil and paganism. Murid teachings emphasized religious study rather than resistance. The French, in turn, used the Murid brotherhood, and especially Maam Cerno, to further their economic interests, especially in opening up new areas for peanut cultivation, the main colonial and postcolonial export crop of western Senegal. The story of Maam Cerno and the founding of the Murid satellite or peripheral center of Darou Mousty adds to our understanding of the economic and political transformation of the Senegambian region under colonial rule.

The book's central and most interesting sections, chapters three and four, focus specifically on the relationship between Amadu Bamba and Maam Cerno, the founding of Darou Mousty in 1911, and the development of Maam Cerno's concepts of jihad, education, and modernity. The oral sources utilized shed considerable new light on the interactions between the two half-brothers and on the teachings and sayings of Maam Cerno. The oral sources also reveal the perceptions of the marabout by his followers and other Murids, particularly the followers of Amadu Bamba and his successor, his oldest son, Muhammadu Moustapha M'Backe. Glover provides an interesting analysis of the succession which, despite French speculation, apparently caused no ill will between Touba and Darou Mousty. Throughout the 1930s and 1940s the citizens of Darou Mousty and the French intensified their mutual cooperation to further their own interests. The colonial

administration needed the Murids to cultivate peanuts, attract new cultivators, and maintain social order and administration in an area that remained largely beyond French control. Maam Cerno also aided the French in tax collection, military conscription, and agricultural labor recruitment. Maam Cerno thus pursued his own interests without colonial interference and even occasionally with French support. Glover concludes with a cursory, and somewhat disappointing, discussion of Murid historical identity.

Several weaknesses need identification. Like many studies of the Muridiyya, little if any mention is made about the families of Amadu Bamba or Maam Cerno. Nor do Murid women figure in the narrative. While the importance of the male lineage is obvious, the women of the M'Backe family have been traditionally neglected, perhaps owing to the paucity of sources. With regard to sources, there is relatively little archival material listed. The historiography is quite selective; the secondary literature is considerably more extensive than cited here. Finally, the oral interviews are listed in endnotes but not in the bibliography, and no locations or useful contextual information are provided for the sessions. Yet these minor omissions should not detract from the original contribution Glover has made to the Muridiyya literature.

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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

GREG THOMAS. *The Sexual Demon of Colonial Power: Pan-African Embodiment and Erotic Schemes of Empire*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 200. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$21.95.

Our primary sources for the history of Africa and people of African descent often contain racist or eurocentric assumptions. The mainstream media, meanwhile, commonly reproduce demeaning, often sexualized imagery about the continent and its diverse, scattered peoples. Serious scholars consequently pay careful attention to colonialist and other oppressive tendencies insidiously embedded in hegemonic discourses. Cultivating awareness of such tendencies is *de rigueur* in undergraduate courses about African and African diasporic history and culture. How best to achieve desired anti-colonialist principles in scholarly praxis? Empiricism? Afrocentrism? Feminist discourse analysis? These are ongoing and important debates. One thing seems clear, however. Hyperbole, accusation, conspiracy innuendo, and blatant disregard of contradictory evidence are not very effective strategies. It thus feels strange when Greg Thomas picks up the cudgels in such a tired and self-discrediting manner as does the manifesto under review here.

Chapter one sets out an ambitious agenda: to reveal subterranean racist, sexist, and homophobic constructs in select texts dealing with the historical experiences of

Africans and people of African descent. Five subsequent chapters critically analyze the work of prominent black writers such as E. Franklin Frazier, Frantz Fanon, and Jamaica Kincaid. Tropes of sexual desire and/or violence are teased out from their work in sometimes astute ways. One of Thomas's goals is to identify, then "explode" (p. 128), internalized, supposedly eurocentric and imperial constructions of sexuality in these authors' works. Homophobia and the binary of hetero/homosexuality are major targets. To that end, the final chapter dissects the anti-homophobic strand in black nationalist thought in the United States. This is a muted strand that Thomas—correctly, in my view—sees as vital to forging a truly revolutionary black nationalism.

Unfortunately, one of the first assertions of the book is patently false: "the carnal dynamics of white domination rarely receive sustained attention" (p. 1). It requires determined blindness to maintain this claim. In my own area of specialization—southern Africa—a seminal work on this precise dynamic appeared in 1976. Applications of Foucauldian analysis—often sharply critical of Michel Foucault's Eurocentrism—then took off in the 1990s. These were primarily concerned with how colonial power and racial identities in Africa were constructed and contested in part through ideologies of differential sexualities. Thomas considers virtually none of this painstaking research in Africa. The absence of obvious key works about the Americas and colonial sexuality elsewhere—by Ann Laura Stoler and J. Lorand Matory, for example—is similarly striking.

Among the activists and scholars Thomas does engage, Senegalese historian Cheikh Anta Diop is favored. The legacy of Diop in the West, he claims, has been "repressed by Occidentalism in truly Hellenomaniacal fashion" (p. 10), presumably because of white people's fear of the truth. In fact, Diop is respected as an important polemicist in the pan-African pantheon, and he has a prominent role in the work of popular historian Basil Davidson and the award-winning sociologist Ifi Amadiume. But Diop is also known for seizing upon isolated scraps of evidence to concoct vast essentialist and romantic visions of pan-African cultural unity and victimhood. Much of this focuses on the blackness (or not) of ancient Egypt, and the supposed existence of matriarchal and sexually democratic traditions in what Thomas refers to as "the hub of Africa" (p. 13). Rare is the African historian today who takes these narratives seriously.

Harsh selectivity undermines the book's major potential value, its critique of queer theory. Thomas claims that the latter "routinely erases the history of race and empire" (p. 4), and there is an important grain of truth both in this and in the view that sexualities in Africa do not easily conform to Western theoretical models or gay rights prescriptions. Yet one of the books singled out for criticism—*Hidden from History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past*, edited by Martin Duberman, Martha Vicinus, and George Chauncey (1989)—contains several pioneering chapters on non-Western or black histories, including one very pertinent

one on Harlem and another on black migrant worker sexuality in South Africa. Thomas does not mention these, nor subsequent powerful monographs on the topic such as T. Dunbar Moodie and Vivienne Ndatshé's *Going for Gold: Men, Mines, and Migration* (1994).

Thomas is not a historian by profession. But making huge claims about "five-hundred-plus years . . . of white racist imperialism" (p. 160) invites attention to the cavalier way his book treats historical research. Colonialisms were far more complicated than the caricature offered here. Moreover, if so-called white words (p. 21) are such a problem, why not explore African languages? An abundance of heteropatriarchal concepts that long predate colonialism—and that fundamentally problematize a major presumption of this book—would be revealed.

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KRISTIN MANN. *Slavery and the Birth of an African City: Lagos, 1760–1900*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 473. \$55.00.

Kristin Mann's magisterial study of Lagos, Nigeria, represents a major contribution to the burgeoning field of African slavery and its demise. With extraordinary insight and the strength of more than three decades of archival and field work she reveals the complexity and contradictions of emancipation. Her path-breaking work is also an original and provocative study of British colonialism in the second half of the nineteenth century.

This is an elegantly written and finely balanced narrative of the largest slave port in West Africa. By the time of the British bombardment in 1851, Lagos had become the leading slave exporter north of the Equator. Mann vividly explains how the tiny and inconsequential kingdom of Lagos evolved into a major center of Atlantic commerce, initially in slaves from the 1760s and then in palm products, and eventually into Britain's major imperial capital in West Africa. She argues persuasively that "while slavery expanded dramatically in Lagos in the era of the slave trade it did not change fundamentally in character. Meaningful transformations in the way slaves were used and in the cultural value attached to them awaited the era of palm produce trade and production" (p. 11). Mann meticulously traces the rise of the slave trade at Lagos, what stimulated it, who profited from it, and what propelled it. The Lagosian ruling hierarchy garnered impressive profits from the slave trade and engaged in the conspicuous consumption of a wide array of imported luxury goods.

A skillful multidisciplinary, Mann penetratingly analyzes the myriad varieties of human bondage and deftly employs the "wealth-in-people" paradigm that African wealth and power rested on control of people, not on ownership of land. She reminds us that slavery was a means for incorporating strangers into house-

holds and that before the spread of capitalism and Western notions of private ownership of property big men sought to empower themselves by amassing extensive households of dependents, ranging from concubines and royal slaves to traders and common laborers. Slavery was deeply entrenched and widely accepted long before British intervention, and the ruling hierarchy initially regarded emancipation as a threat to its economic well-being and to the social and political order.

For decades Britain argued that slavery and the slave trade would end with the promotion of legitimate commerce in natural resources and manufactured goods. Yet in the short term the growth of legitimate trade in the second half of the nineteenth century only led to the explosive growth and proliferation in slave-owning among Lagos's ruling oligarchy. Thus, when the British annexed Lagos in 1861 they were faced with a moral dilemma and a seeming paradox. They justified their conquest largely on the argument that it was necessary to stop the slave trade, abolish slavery, and promote legitimate commerce. Yet it became painfully apparent that emancipation could not be accomplished abruptly without weakening and alienating the ruling hierarchy whose support they initially needed. Moreover, they came to regard slavery, especially the domestic kind, as rather benign.

Thus, early on government officials and missionaries condemned slavery in principle but accepted it in practice. Additionally, colonial rule sparked new types of legitimate commerce in raw materials that actually enlarged the local market for slaves and transformed the nature of indigenous slavery. Gradually, slaves did more trading on their own and acquired enough capital to buy their freedom. Wage labor may have changed the position of former slaves, but it did not always improve their material conditions.

Mann's work is an intellectually engaging, multifaceted, and tantalizingly in-depth study of slavery's gradual demise. She does an admirable job of offering fresh insights into the redefinition and rearrangement of employer-worker relationships in Lagos Colony, especially in the last decade of the nineteenth century. She argues that the trade in palm products fueled an explosive expansion in indigenous slavery, but she posits that "unlike the growth of the slave trade the development of the produce trade changed the nature of local slavery by increasing the value of slaves as workers" (p. 5). Nevertheless, by the opening of the twentieth century the local ruling hierarchy had easily made the transition from slave trade to legitimate trade as the two proved to be complementary. The author also observes that Lagosians found new mechanisms of domination and control through their ability to extend credit to the newly emancipated. "Credit and debt provided powerful instruments of subordination" (p. 312). In the final analysis, British colonial rule brought legal and administrative changes that created new economic opportunities for both male and female slaves, as well as for slave

traders and former slaves, and gave all of them an unprecedented chance to improve their lives.

This is an important, highly informative, and eminently readable book, perfectly suited to courses in urban and social history and in the history of slavery and the Atlantic slave trade.

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DAVID PRATTEN. *The Man-Leopard Murders: History and Society in Colonial Nigeria*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 425. \$49.95.

This book examines the circumstances surrounding over two hundred mysterious murders among the Annang people of the Calabar Province of southeastern Nigeria between 1945 and 1947. The economic hardships caused by World War II, and the disbanding of soldiers who returned from the war, provided the immediate background to the murders, which were largely attributed to "leopard men." The murders were initially blamed on the ritual activities of secret societies and various interpersonal conflicts within Annang society, but it soon became clear that the factors that triggered the murders were more complex and diverse, notable among them the debilitating and disruptive effects of colonial imperialism and Christian missionary activities on Annang society. Various colonial officials confronted the major challenge of how to resolve the mysteries surrounding the murders. David Pratten places the murders within the context of similar occurrences in other African societies by discussing, in the introductory chapter, the nineteenth-century "human leopard" killings in Sierra Leone and similar killings in the Congo in the 1920s and Tanganyika in the 1940s.

Although the primary focus of the narrative is the "man-leopard" murders, Pratten aims to use his analysis to interrogate how various aspects of life in colonial Nigeria contributed to the murders and what can be gleaned about life in colonial Nigeria through the murders and their investigations. Chapters two through four and a substantial part of chapter five are devoted to analyzing life in Annang society up to the end of World War II. The second chapter examines the social and political organization of Annang society, highlighting the nature and methods of initiation into various secret societies, including the leopard society. Integration into European imperial trading networks, imposition of colonial rule, and Christian missionary activities had disruptive effects on existing power, social, and gender relations. These effects, which were accentuated between 1900 and 1945, created new tensions and challenges within Annang society and in turn elicited disparate reactions from the people. Pratten's discussion of the tensions and conflicts fostered by imperialism in Annang society during this phase of colonial rule reiterates familiar themes on the colonial experience of various Nigerian communities. The warrant chief system and the associated native courts, Christian missionary activities, spirit movements, taxation, the

women's war, tensions between the old elite and the newly emergent elite, and activities of "progressive" unions such as the Ibibio Union have been well documented in previous works. Pratten examines these issues as they applied specifically to Annang society. However, his elaborate discussion tends to detract from the book's primary focus on the man-leopard murders, as their linkage with the murders is not clearly demonstrated.

Pratten returns to the discussion of the man-leopard murders on page 197. He skillfully discusses how the mysterious murders posed challenges to colonial authority from the administrative, legal, and medical perspectives. Three major theories were propounded to explain the murders: namely "the 'master-juju thesis', the 'secret society revival' and 'witchcraft'" (p. 221). These theories were situated within the context of the Christian missionaries' and colonial administrators' depiction of African societies as backward and savage, thereby justifying their so-called civilizing mission. Furthermore, the quest by the colonial administration to understand the murders through the failed recourse to anthropologists helps to draw attention to the relationship between colonialism and anthropology, a factor that accounted for the unpopularity of the discipline in postcolonial Africa.

Pratten conducted exhaustive archival research in Nigeria and the United Kingdom and makes extensive use of secondary materials. He has therefore produced a well-documented history and ethnography of colonial Annang society before 1950. However, archival sources should have been balanced with systematic oral interviews. Since the murders occurred mainly between 1945 and 1947, there were participants and observers of the events still living during the period of field research whose information could have provided useful indigenous insights and helped to balance the biased information from missionaries and colonial officials. This omission leads to some questionable assertions based on colonial and missionary sources. For instance, it is rather simplistic to explain the source of conflict between the churches and Annang elders on the basis of Margery Perham's notion of Christianity knocking the bottom out of elders' investments because they were unable to recoup secret society initiation fees. Similarly, reliance on colonial and missionary publications results in exaggerated claims of the positive impact of colonialism and Christianity on the status of Annang and Ibibio women.

Despite the shortcomings, Pratten's book is a major contribution to the colonial history of Annang society. As a study of the tensions colonial institutions generated in an African community and the varied agendas and responses of colonial officials, the book will be useful to scholars of colonial imperialism in Africa.

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SIDNEY LITTLEFIELD KASFIR. *African Art and the Colonial Encounter: Inventing a Global Commodity*. (African Ex-

pressive Cultures.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2007. Pp. xviii, 381. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$27.95.

Sidney Littlefield Kasfir first studied the expressive culture of Idoma people of Nigeria and then, years later, that of Samburu people of Kenya, a continent's breadth away. In this extraordinarily savvy book, Kasfir addresses obvious differences of environment, language, culture, political economy, and history, while finding intriguing commonalities between the two peoples, especially with regard to their creative reactions to and exploitations of the British colonialism that both groups endured. Comparative studies are oddly rare in art history, yet, as Kasfir amply demonstrates, they can be astonishingly revelatory of the social processes that lead to identity formation, local-level politics, and expressive culture. Kasfir's development of comparative methods and theories will be of value to many, and those wishing to know more about these two ethnic groups will find much in Kasfir's pages.

Idoma live in the Benue Valley of southwestern Nigeria, in a region of great ethnic complexity due to coastal-to-inland flows of ideas, technologies, goods, and people, matched by equal inputs from Sahelian groups to the north. Kasfir has long studied Idoma masquerade and rituals of sacred kingship, as well as Fulani and British interventions leading to contemporary senses of Idoma identity. In 1991, she shifted her research to Samburu people of the northern Rift Valley of Kenya. Idoma are sedentary agriculturalists living in small chiefdoms, whereas Samburu are semi-nomadic pastoralists whose socio-political organization is realized through age-grades. In earlier times, both groups stressed the abilities and aesthetics of the warrior, and both were subject to British (re)interpretations of this institution and its symbols. Colonial authorities outlawed headhunting by Idoma warriors in 1917 as part of a broader "civilizing mission," for instance, and made it punishable by hanging. They similarly banned Samburu fighting with spears in 1934. Yet, even as Idoma and Samburu warriors were vanquished and "reinvented" in the harshly policed colonial gaze, they transformed their bellicose traditions and art forms, leading to the commodification of their material arts and new audiences for their performances determined in large measure by "Western spectatorship" (p. 202).

"Warrior theater" among Idoma and Samburu was adapted in reaction to British colonial hegemony, and Kasfir's chapter on these matters is a tour-de-force of academic achievement. As she notes, in these societies "the body of the warrior is both an aesthetic locus and a site of signification" (p. 201). Male identity is carefully constructed through ritual processes with many dramatic twists and turns, as among Samburu when initiation of boys into the ranks and responsibilities of manhood is marked by symbolic (re)birth. Men don women's ornaments and clothing to act out this shift deemed essential to male identity. Resulting ambiguities of gender allude to "that amorphous grey area somewhere between the female-dominated world of

childhood and the male-regulated adult world" (p. 204). To become men, boys must learn to endure fear and pain without showing it, and honor and shame are motive forces in fiercely contested arenas where cattle become the currency of power and prestige. When homicide and cattle theft could no longer be the proving ground of masculinity (although neither is unknown to contemporary Samburu society), other performance idioms afforded opportunities for display of courage. Body arts, dancing, and other expressive means directed to such purposes have had new outcomes, as they strike tourists as just the forms of African nobility they seek to photograph, while feeling the *frisson* of being in the company of such dangerously independent beings. For many expatriates, these spear-wielding men are "Africa," and for a slight fee one can take their pictures and for another reasonable sum their spears can be purchased and carried home to triumphs of touristic narrative.

Idoma arts have also proven adaptive, as head-taking and the venerative display of trophy skulls have morphed into vigorous masked dancing. And as with Samburu, such expression allows men to be men for local purposes of self and group identity while providing opportunities for income-generation through tourist performances, sales of masks and other material arts, and the like. These processes are what some might call "culture-building:" dynamic and tactical reactions to social change. As such, they are interesting unto themselves, but of greater importance is Kasfir's ability to investigate eventful African art *histories*: how material and expressive forms change over time because of particular influences, interactions, and opportunities. The significance of such work cannot be overemphasized: who more than Samburu and related peoples of eastern Africa are more "timeless" according to non-African imaginaries? Listening to and sharing such histories as conveyed by Samburu and Idoma are most worthy ends; Kasfir gives them voice, while explaining their motivations and adaptive genius.

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SEAN REDDING. *Sorcery and Sovereignty: Taxation, Power, and Rebellion in South Africa, 1880–1963*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press. 2006. Pp. xi, 266. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$26.95.

Sean Redding's study is a welcome addition to the still relatively sparse literature on South Africa's Transkei. It started out, as the author explains in the introduction, as an investigation into the role of tax payments as a ritual of rule in colonial South Africa. This alone is a novel departure. Most historians of colonial Africa would concur in the view that the poll tax provided the mortar with which, block by block, the colonial state was built, but Redding extends the significance of tax payments further to interpret them as a key dimension and symbol of the exercise of colonial sovereignty in the Transkei. Yearly tax payments, Redding argues, rein-

forced and reenacted in a highly personalized ritual Africans' subordination to the state in a public transcript of submission. This I find fully persuasive. State personnel in the Transkei were spread fairly thin on the ground, and tax payments could be evaded. Indeed, as Redding observes, the waxing and waning of state authority can be calibrated quite precisely by the prevailing levels of tax payments and tax arrears.

Redding, however, does not let the argument rest there, and suggests that Africans submitted to tax payments and the related exercise of state sovereignty for so long because of a belief in the supernatural power of the state. Africans "participated in rituals to appease State officials and render their use of such power more predictable." In this context, an ordinary slip of paper such as a tax receipt acquired the status of a potent object that could protect Africans from the legal and supernatural powers of the state. Redding is absolutely convincing when she claims that "people's actions are not based only on their material circumstances, but also on their interpretations and explanation of these circumstances which are often infused with the notion of the supernatural" (p. 9). She is less persuasive, however, when she seeks to trace out the precise connections of the supernatural to the exercise of state power. She cites social anthropological studies of the 1930s which recorded that Transkeians believed whites to be possessed of a powerful sorcery, and asserts that many Africans believed in the collusion of white magistrates with sorcerers since the former banned witchcraft accusations and trials. Finally, she observes that Transkeians believed that the raft of diseases that swept through the Transkei between 1897 and 1920 had been introduced by whites in order to impoverish them. But the evidence in the end is tenuous, sparse, and inferential, although I am inclined to accept her general view that political quiescence may be related to beliefs in the supernatural.

Redding also plots the extension of the Glen Grey (quit rent) system in the region in the 1920s and the much higher revenue demands that this entailed, as well as the doubling of Poll Tax in 1925, both of which are important aspects of declining material conditions in the area in the 1920s. Here her study makes another significant contribution. It was apparently around this time that local people began to refer to the Poll Tax as *impundulu* (the lightning bird), which Redding argues shows that many Transkeians equated the state's demands for taxes with the use of magical and malevolent beings. Two millenarian movements, those of Wellington and the Le Fleur, which rose partly in response to these travails, are then interpreted in terms of Transkeians' supernatural understandings of them, while the Bambatha rebellion in Natal is treated in a similar fashion. This reviewer finds these equations not fully conclusive, and indeed the author exercises appropriate historical caution when she makes fairly liberal use of such terms as "may well have" and "might have."

Redding concludes by analyzing the Mpondo Revolt of the early 1960s. She notes that anti-stock theft or-

ganizations which fed into the revolt, as well as the rebels more generally, used methods such as hut burning, historically employed to punish witches, to punish their opponents and saw their role as ridding their society of anti-social elements including witches and collaborators such as chiefs. However, she acknowledges that it is impossible on the basis of extremely flimsy evidence to know how widespread the analogy of chiefs and witches was, or how far the assertion of witchcraft by the state was accepted as a metaphor or a literal truth.

This study is thus both original and hugely thought provoking. It addresses head on a key issue that has often been ducked in South African historiography—how Africans understood the world they lived in—and it elevates the subject of witchcraft, which is now beginning to attract appropriate attention in South African studies, to center stage. Nevertheless there are points when the argument proceeds more by assertion than by full proof, and so it remains to be clinched.

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

ROSEMARY BRANA-SHUTE and RANDY J. SPARKS, editors. *Paths to Freedom: Manumission in the Atlantic World*. (The Carolina Lowcountry and the Atlantic World.) Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 2009. Pp. viii, 397. \$59.95.

ORLANDO PATTERSON, Three Notes of Freedom: The Nature and Consequences of Manumission. WILLIAM D. PHILLIPS, JR., Manumission in Metropolitan Spain and the Canaries in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries. DEBRA G. BLUMENTHAL, The Promise of Freedom in Late Medieval Valencia. JONATHAN SCHORSCH, Transformations in the Manumission of Slaves by Jews from East to West: Pressures from the Atlantic Slave Trade. MARY CAROLINE CRAVENS, Manumission and the Life Cycle of a Contained Population: The VOC Lodge Slaves at the Cape of Good Hope, 1680–1730. EVELYN P. JENNINGS, Paths to Freedom: Imperial Defense and Manumission in Havana, 1762–1800. JOHN F. CAMPBELL, How Free Is Free? The Limits of Manumission for Enslaved Africans in Eighteenth-Century British West Indian Sugar Society. WILLEM WUBBO KLOOSTER, Manumission in an Entrepôt: The Case of Curaçao. ROSEMARY BRANA-SHUTE, Sex and Gender in Surinamese Manumissions. MARIANA L. R. DANTAS, Child Abandonment and Foster Care in Colonial Brazil: Expostos and the Free Population of African Descent in Eighteenth-Century Minas Gerais. KEILA GRINBERG, Manumission, Gender, and the Law in Nineteenth-Century Brazil: Liberata's Legal Suit for Freedom. BEATRIZ GALLOTTI MAMIGONIAN, Conflict over the Meanings of Freedom: The Liberated Africans' Struggle for Final Emancipation in Brazil, 1840s–1860s. SCOTT HANCOCK, From "No Country!" to "Our Country!" Living Out Manumission and the Boundaries of Rights and Citizenship, 1773–1855. ERIC BURIN, "If the rest stay, I will stay; if they go, I will go": How Slaves' Familial Bonds Affected American Colonization Society Manumissions. EVA SHEPPARD WOLF, Manumission and the Two-Race System in Early National Virginia. SEAN CONDON, The Slave Owner's Family and Manumission in the Post-Revolutionary Chesapeake Tidewater: Evidence from Anne Arundel County Wills, 1790–1820. ELLA ESLINGER, Liberation in a Rural Context: The Valley of Virginia, 1800–1860.

ALEXANDER LABAN HINTON and KEVIN LEWIS O'NEILL, editors. *Genocide: Truth, Memory, and Representation*.

(The Cultures and Practice of Violence.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2009. Pp. 340. Cloth \$84.95, paper \$23.95.

KEVIN LEWIS O'NEILL and ALEXANDER LABAN HINTON. *Genocide, Truth, Memory, and Representation: An Introduction*. VICTORIA SANFORD, What Is an Anthropology of Genocide? Reflections on Field Research with Maya Survivors in Guatemala. SHARON E. HUTCHINSON, Perilous Outcomes: International Monitoring and the Perpetuation of Violence in Sudan. JENNIE E. BURNET, Whose Genocide? Whose Truth? Representations of Victim and Perpetrator in Rwanda. LESLIE DWYER, A Politics of Silences: Violence, Memory, and Treacherous Speech in Post-1965 Bali. ULI LINKE, The Limits of Empathy: Emotional Anesthesia and the Museum of Corpses in Post-Holocaust Germany. DEBRA H. RODMAN, Forgotten Guatemala: Genocide, Truth, and Denial in Guatemala's Oriente. ELIZABETH F. DREXLER, Addressing the Legacies of Mass Violence and Genocide in Indonesia and East Timor. CONERLY CASEY, Mediated Hostility: Media, Affective Citizenship, and Genocide in Northern Nigeria. PAMELA BALLINGER, Cleansed of Experience? Genocide, Ethnic Cleansing, and the Challenges of Anthropological Representation. ANTONIUS C. G. M. ROBBEN, Epilogue: The Imagination of Genocide.

CALVIN B. KENDALL et al. *Conversion to Christianity from Late Antiquity to the Modern Age: Considering the Process in Europe, Asia, and the Americas*. (Minnesota Studies in Early Modern History, number 1.) Minneapolis: Center for Early Modern History. 2009. Pp. ix, 449. \$95.00.

FELIPE FERNÁNDEZ-ARRESTO, Conceptualizing Conversion in Global Perspective: From Late Antique to Early Modern. OLIVER NICHOLSON, Constantinople: Christian City, Christian Landscape. LAURA HEBERT, Pagans and Christians in Late Antique Aphrodisias. ROBIN DARLING YOUNG, The Conversion of Armenia as a Literary Work. CALVIN B. KENDALL, Modeling Conversion: Bede's "Anti-Constantinian" Narrative of the Conversion of King Edwin. CHRISTIAN AGGELER, A Path to Holiness: Hagiographic Transformation and the Conversion of Saint Guthlac. JONATHAN SHEPARD, The Coming of Christianity to Rus: Authorized and Unauthorized Versions. PATRICK PROVOST-SMITH, The New Constantinianism: Late Antique Paradigms and Sixteenth-Century Strategies for the Conversion of China. JOHN F. SCHWALLER, Conversion, Engagement, and Extirpation: Three Phases of the Evangelization of New Spain, 1524–1650. JOHN KOEGEL, Music and Christianization on the Northern Frontier of New Spain. JAMES B. TUELLER, Networks of Conversion: Catholic Congregations in the Mari-

anas Islands, 1668–1898. JOHN M. HEADLEY, *Conversion in Retrospect*.

JONATHAN STROM, HARTMUT LEHMANN, and JAMES VAN HORN MELTON, editors. *Pietism in Germany and North America 1680–1820*. Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2009. Pp. x, 289. \$114.95.

JONATHAN STROM, Introduction: Pietism in Two Worlds. HARTMUT LEHMANN, Pietism in the World of Transatlantic Religious Revivals. STEPHEN J. STEIN, Some Thoughts on Pietism in American Religious History. D. F. DURNBACH, Communication Networks as One Aspect of Pietist Definition: The Example of Radical Pietist Connections between Colonial North America and Europe. ALEXANDER PYRGES, Religion in the Atlantic World: The Ebenezer Communication Network, 1732–1828. RUTH ALBRECHT, Johanna Eleonora Peterson in the Context of Women's and Gender Studies. DOUGLAS H. SHANTZ, Homeless Minds: The Migration of Radical Pietists, Their Writings, and Ideas in Early Modern Europe. WILLI TEMME, From Jakob Böhme via Jane Leade to Eva von Buttlar: Transmigrations and Transformations of Religious Ideas. HANS-JÜRGEN SCHRADER, Traveling Prophets: Inspirationists Wandering through Europe and to the New World; Mission, Transmission of Divine Word, Poetry. HERMANN WELLENREUTHER, Heinrich Melchior Mühlenthal and the Pietisms in Colonial America. BEVERLY PRIOR SMABY, "Only Brothers should be accepted into this proposed council": Restricting Women's Leadership in Moravian Bethlehem. KATHERINE CARTÉ ENGEL, The Evolution of the Bethlehem *Pilgergemeinde*. JON SENSBAUGH, "Don't Teach My Negroes to Be Pietists": Pietism and the Roots of the Black Protestant Church. HELENE M. KASTINGER RILEY, "If you want to be the Lord's servant, Resign yourself to Confrontation": The Pietist Challenge in Early Georgia. BENJAMIN MARSCHKE, Halle Pietism and the Prussian State: Infiltration, Dissent, and Subversion. JAMES VAN HORN MELTON, Pietism, Print Culture, and Salzburg Protestantism on the Eve of Expulsion. CHRISTOPHER CLARK, "The Hope of Better Times": Pietism and the Jews. ULRIKE GLEIXNER, How to Incorporate Gender in Lutheran Pietism Research: Narratives and Counternarratives.

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

BRIAN J. GLENN and STEVEN M. TELES, editors. *Conservatism and American Political Development*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2009. Pp. xi, 379. \$24.95.

BRIAN J. GLENN and STEVEN M. TELES, Introduction: Studying the Role of Conservatives in American Political Development. MARC ALLEN EISNER, Environmental Policy from the New Deal to the Great Society: The Lagged Emergence of an Ideological Dividing Line. EDWARD BERKOWITZ and LARRY DEWITT, Social Security from the New Deal to the Great Society: Expanding the Public Domain. GARETH DAVIES, Education Policy from the New Deal to the Great Society: The Three Rs—Race, Religion, and Reds. RICHARD HARRIS, Environmental Policy from the Great Society to 1980: A Coalition Comes Unglued. NANCY ALTMAN and TED MARMOR, Social Security from the Great Society to 1980: Further Expansion and Rekindled Controversy. PATRICK MCGUINN, Education Policy from the Great Society to 1980: The Expansion and Institutionalization of the Federal Role in Schools. JUDITH A. LAYZER, Environmental Policy from 1980 to 2008: The Politics

of Prevention. STEVEN M. TELES and MARTHA DERTHICK, Social Security from 1980 to the Present: From Third Rail to Presidential Commitment—and Back? JEFFREY HENIG, Education Policy from 1980 to the Present: The Politics of Privatization. BRIAN J. GLENN and STEVEN M. TELES, Conclusion: Conservatism and American Political Development. STEPHEN SKOWRONEK, An Attenuated Reconstruction: The Conservative Turn in American Political Development.

CHARLES MATHEWES and CHRISTOPHER MCKNIGHT NICHOLS, editors. *Prophesies of Godlessness: Predictions of America's Imminent Secularization, from the Puritans to the Present Day*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. xiii, 250. \$25.00.

CHRISTOPHER MCKNIGHT NICHOLS and CHARLES MATHEWES, Introduction: Prophesies of Godlessness. WILSON N. BRISSETT, Puritans and Revolution: Remembering the Origin; Religion and Social Critique in Early New England. JOHANN N. NEEM, The Early Republic: Thomas Jefferson's Philosophy of History and the Future of American Christianity. MATTHEW MUTTER, The Romantic Era: Emerson's Churches of One. WAYNE WEISIANG HSIEH, The Civil War: Redeemer President and Warrior Prophet: Abraham Lincoln, William T. Sherman, and Evangelical Protestantism. ANDREW WITMER, After the Civil War: Auguste Comte's Theory of History Crosses the Atlantic. CHRISTOPHER MCKNIGHT NICHOLS, The Gilded Age and Progressive Era: Mastery, Modern Doubt, and the Costs of Progress. KEVIN M. SCHULTZ, World War I and After: Godlessness and the Scopes Trial. DAVID CIEPLEY, The Thirties to the Fifties: Totalitarianism and the Second American Enlightenment. SLAVICA JAKELIĆ, The Sixties: Secularization and the Prophesies of Freedom. JOSEPH E. DAVIS and DAVID FRANZ, The Seventies and Eighties: A Reversal of Fortunes. JOSHUA J. YATES, From 11/9/1989 to 9/11/2001 and Beyond: The Return of Jeremiaad and the Specter of Secularization. CHRISTOPHER MCKNIGHT NICHOLS and CHARLES MATHEWES, Conclusion: Prophesies, in Retrospect and Prospect.

EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

DAVID ONNEKINK, editor. *War and Religion after Westphalia, 1648–1713*. (Politics and Culture in North-Western Europe 1650–1720.) Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2009. Pp. xvi, 274. \$124.95.

DAVID ONNEKINK, Introduction: The "Dark Alliance" between Religion and War. PAUL SONNINO, *Plus Royaliste que le pape*: Louis XIV's Religious Policy and His *Guerre de Hollande*. CHRISTOPHER STORRS, The Role of Religion in Spanish Foreign Policy in the Reign of Carlos II (1665–1700). ANDREW C. THOMPSON, After Westphalia: Remodelling a Religious Foreign Policy. DAVID ONNEKINK, The Last War of Religion? The Dutch and the Nine Years War. STÉPHANE JETTOT, Diplomacy, Religion and Political Stability: The Views of Three English Diplomats. K. A. J. MCLAY, The Blessed Trinity: The Army, the Navy and Providence in the Conduct of Warfare, 1688–1713. MATTHEW GLOZIER, Schomberg, Miremont and Huguenot Invasions of France. DONALD HAKS, The States General on Religion and War: Manifestoes, Policy Documents and Prayer Days in the Dutch Republic, 1672–1713. STEPHEN TAYLOR, An English Dissenter and the Crisis of European Protestantism: Roger Morrice's Perception of European Politics in the 1680s. JILL STERN, A Righteous War and a Papist Peace: War, Peace

and Religion in the Political Rhetoric of the United Provinces 1648–1672. EMMA BERGIND, *Defending the True Faith: Religious Themes in Dutch Pamphlets on England, 1688–1689*.

HANS ERICH BÖDEKER, CLORINDA DONATO, and PETER HANNS REILL, editors. *Discourses of Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Enlightenment*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press, with the UCLA Center for Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Studies and the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, Los Angeles. 2009. Pp. xii, 257. \$55.00.

HANS ERICH BÖDEKER, Prologue: Towards a Reconstruction of the Discourse on Tolerance and Intolerance in the Age of Enlightenment. GEOFFREY SYMCOK, *Toleration and Ragion di Stato: Jews and Protestants in the Savoyard State, ca. 1650–1750*. RICHARD ASHCRAFT, *Locke and the Problem of Toleration*. TERENCE BALL, *Political Parties and the Legitimacy of Opposition*. RICHARD POPKIN, *Millenarianism and Tolerance*. HARTMUT LEHMANN, *The Practice of Religious Tolerance and Intolerance in Late Eighteenth-Century Württemberg*. FRANCES MALINO, *Jewish Emancipation in France in the Eighteenth Century*. DAVID SORKIN, *The Jewish Question in Eighteenth-Century Germany*. HANS-JÜRGEN LÜSEBRINK, *Discrediting Slavery: From the Société des Amis des Noirs to the Haitian Revolution; Ideological Patterns and Anthropological Discourses*. MADELYN GUTWIRTH, *The Intolerable Other*. ANN GOLDBERG, *Masculinity, Lunacy, and the Sexual Deviant*. PETER BECKER, *Extirpation and Toleration: Villain and Whore—Some Thoughts about the Toleration of “Social Evil” in Bourgeois Society*.

SUSANNE HEIM, CAROLA SACHSE, and MARK WALKER, editors. *The Kaiser Wilhelm Society under National Socialism*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2009. Pp. xxiv, 477. \$80.00.

SUSANNE HEIM, CAROLA SACHSE, and MARK WALKER, *The Kaiser Wilhelm Society under National Socialism*. RÜDIGER HACHTMANN, *A Success Story? Highlighting the History of the Kaiser Wilhelm Society's General Administration in the Third Reich*. BERNHARD STREBEL and JENS-CHRISTIAN WAGNER, “No Time to Debate and Ask Questions”: *Forced Labor for Science in the Kaiser Wilhelm Society, 1939–1945*. WOLFGANG SCHIEDER, *Adolf Butenandt between Science and Politics: From the Weimar Republic to the Federal Republic of Germany*. HANS-WALTER SCHMUHL, *Brain Research and the Mur-*

der of the Sick: The Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Brain Research, 1937–1945. ACHIM TRUNK, *Two Hundred Blood Samples from Auschwitz: A Nobel Laureate and the Link to Auschwitz*. HELGA SATZINGER, *Racial Purity, Stable Genes, and Sex Difference: Gender in the Making of Genetic Concepts by Richard Goldschmidt and Fritz Lenz, 1916 to 1936*. SUSANNE HEIM, *Kog-Sagyz: A Vital War Reserve*. GÜNTHER LUXBACHER, *Raw and Advanced Materials for an Autarkic Germany: Textile Research in the Kaiser Wilhelm Society*. BERND GAUSEMEIER, *Political Networking and Scientific Modernization: Botanical Research at the KWI for Biology and Its Place in National Socialist Science Policy*. HELMUT MAIER, *Ideology, Armaments and Resources: The Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Metal Research and the “German Metals,” 1933–1945*. MORITZ EPPLÉ, *Calculation, Measurement, and Leadership: War Research at the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Fluid Dynamics, 1937–1945*. FLORIAN SCHMALTZ, *Chemical Weapons Research in National Socialism: The Collaboration of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institutes with the Military and Industry*. MARK WALKER, *Nuclear Weapons and Reactor Research at the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Physics*. CAROLA SACHSE, “*Whitewash Culture*”: *How the Kaiser Wilhelm/Max Planck Society Dealt with the Nazi Past*. MICHAEL SCHÜRING, *The Predecessor: The Uneasy Rapprochement between Carl Neuberg and Adolf Butenandt after 1945*.

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

JENNIFER COLE and LYNN M. THOMAS, editors. *Love in Africa*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2009. Pp. 265. Cloth \$63.00, paper \$23.00.

LYNN M. THOMAS and JENNIFER COLE, *Thinking through Love in Africa*. LYNN M. THOMAS, *Love, Sex, and the Modern Girl in 1930s Southern Africa*. LAURA FAIR, *Making Love in the Indian Ocean: Hindi Films, Zanzibari Audiences, and the Construction of Romance in the 1950s and 1960s*. KENDA MUTONGI, “*Dear Dolly's*” *Advice: Representations of Youth, Courtship, and Sexualities in Africa, 1960–1980*. JENNIFER COLE, *Love, Money, and Economies of Intimacy in Tamatave, Madagascar*. MARK HUNTER, *Providing Love: Sex and Exchange in Twentieth-Century South Africa*. DANIEL JORDAN SMITH, *Managing Men, Marriage, and Modern Love: Women's Perspectives on Intimacy and Male Infidelity in Southeastern Nigeria*. RACHEL SPRONK, *Media and the Therapeutic Ethos of Romantic Love in Middle-Class Nairobi*. ADELINE MASQUELIER, *Lessons from Rubi: Love, Poverty, and the Educational Value of Televised Dramas in Niger*.

Documents and Bibliographies

Books listed were recently received in the AHR office. Works of these types cannot normally be reviewed by the AHR.

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

FROST, LINDA, editor. *Conjoined Twins in Black and White: The Lives of Millie-Christine McKoy and Daisy and Violet Hilton.* (Wisconsin Studies in Autobiography.) Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 2009. Pp. xiii, 232. \$29.95.

ASIA

EDIB, HALIDÉ. *Inside India.* Foreword by MUSHIRUL HASAN. Paperback edition. New York: Oxford University Press. 2009. Pp. lxxix, 272. \$24.00.

KUNITAKE, KUME, compiler. *Japan Rising: The Iwakura Embassy to the USA and Europe 1871-1873.* Edited by CHUSHICHI TSUZUKI and R. JULES YOUNG. Foreword by IAN NISH. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2009. Pp. xxx, 528. \$29.99.

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

ALBERT, PETER J., et al., editors. *The Samuel Gompers Papers, Volume 11: The Postwar Years, 1918-21.* Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2009. Pp. xxxv, 659. \$125.00.

BACON, EDWARD W. *Double Duty in the Civil War: The Letters of Sailor and Soldier Edward W. Bacon.* Edited by GEORGE S. BURKHARDT. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. 2009. Pp. xiii, 258. \$27.95.

BREITMAN, RICHARD, BARBARA McDONALD STEWART, and SEVERIN HOCHBERG, editors. *Refugees and Rescue: The Diaries and Papers of James G. McDonald, 1935-1945.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. 2009. Pp. x, 359. \$29.95.

BRIEGER, GERT H., editor. *Medical America in the Nineteenth Century: Readings from the Literature.* Paperback edition. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2009. Pp. x, 338. \$30.00.

CRITCHLOW, DONALD T., and NANCY MACLEAN. *Debating the American Conservative Movement: 1945 to the Present.* (Debating Twentieth-Century America.) Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2009. Pp. viii, 235. Cloth \$44.95, paper \$18.95.

GAYLE, ADDISON, JR. *The Addison Gayle Jr. Reader.* Edited by NATHANIEL NORMENT, JR. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2009. Pp. xlvii, 454. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$35.00.

GORRELL, HENRY T. *Soldier of the Press: Covering the Front in Europe and North Africa, 1936-1943.* Edited by KENNETH

GORRELL. Foreword by JOHN C. McMANUS. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2009. Pp. xi, 314. \$34.95.

KELLEY, FLORENCE. *The Selected Letters of Florence Kelley, 1869-1931.* Edited by KATHRYN KISH SKLAR and BEVERLY WILSON PALMER. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2009. Pp. lxi, 575. \$65.00.

LEWIS, CATHERINE M., and J. RICHARD LEWIS, editors. *Jim Crow America: A Documentary History.* Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press. 2009. Pp. xxxiii, 271. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$19.95.

LIXL, ANDREAS, editor. *Memories of Carolinian Immigrants: Autobiographies, Diaries, and Letters from Colonial Times to the Present.* Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 2009. Pp. xxxv, 269. \$38.00.

MCNEILL, SALLIE. *The Uncompromising Diary of Sallie McNeill, 1858-1867.* Edited by GINNY MCNEILL RASKA and MARY LYNN GASAWAY HILL. (Centennial Series of the Association of Former Students, Texas A&M University, number 109.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 2009. Pp. xvi, 195. \$32.50.

NADASEN, PREMILLA, JENNIFER MITTELSTADT, and MARISA CHAPPELL. *Welfare in the United States: A History with Documents, 1935-1996.* New York: Routledge. 2009. Pp. x, 241. \$29.95.

ROYCE, SARAH. *Across the Plains: Sarah Royce's Western Narrative.* Edited by JENNIFER DAWES ADKISON. (Women's Western Voices.) Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 2009. Pp. viii, 134. \$19.95.

SCHWARTZ, HARVEY. *Solidarity Stories: An Oral History of the ILWU.* Seattle: University of Washington Press. 2009. Pp. xi, 347. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$24.95.

WHITTLESEY, LEE H., and ELIZABETH A. WATRY, editors. *Ho! For Wonderland: Travelers' Accounts of Yellowstone, 1872-1914.* Foreword by PAUL SCHULLERY. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2009. Pp. xv, 336. \$29.95.

CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

DE AZARA, FÉLIX. *Voyage dans l'Amérique méridionale: 1781-1801.* Foreword by NICOLAS RICHARD. (Collection "Mémoire commune.") Paris: Colibris éditions. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes. 2009. Pp. lxxxii, 361. €22.00.

MEIER, JOHANNES, and CHRISTOPH NEBGEN. *Jesuiten aus Zentraleuropa in Portugiesisch- und Spanisch-Amerika: Ein biobibliographisches Handbuch mit einem Überblick über das außereuropäische Wirken der Gesellschaft Jesu in der frühen Neuzeit. Band 3: Neugranada (1618-1771).* Munster: Aschendorff. 2008. Pp. xxxvi, 244. €43.00.

EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

ATKINSON, J. E., editor. *Curtius Rufus: Histories of Alexander the Great, Book 10.* Translated by J. C. YARDLEY. (Clarendon

- Ancient History Series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2009. Pp. xiv, 274. Cloth \$140.00, paper \$55.00.
- DONNERT, ERICH, and EDGAR HÖSCH. *Altussisches Kulturlexikon*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag. 2009. Pp. 248. €57.00.
- MARTYN, JOHN. *Pope Gregory and the Brides of Christ*. New-castle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 2009. Pp. lvi, 113. \$52.99.
- EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN**
- BEIRACH, MOSHE. *Aus dem Ghetto in die Wälder: Bericht eines jüdischen Partisanen 1939-1945*. Translated by HANS DIETER SCHELL. Foreword by ANGELIKA BENZ. (Lebensbilder: Jüdische Erinnerungen und Zeugnisse; Die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus.) Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag. 2009. Pp. 230. €9.95.
- BRANDOLINI, AURELIO LIPPO. *Republics and Kingdoms Compared*. Edited and translated by JAMES HANKINS. (The I Tatti Renaissance Library, number 40.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2009. Pp. xxvi, 297. \$29.95.
- BUCHWALD, DIANA KORMOS, et al. *The Collected Papers of Albert Einstein*. Volume 12, *The Berlin Years: Correspondence, January-December 1921*. Assisted by JEROEN VAN DONGEN et al. Princeton: Princeton University Press, for the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the California Institute of Technology, Pasadena. 2009. Pp. lxxvii, 609. \$125.00.
- CRAIUTU, AURELIAN, and JEREMY JENNINGS, editors. *Tocqueville on America after 1840: Letters and Other Writings*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2009. Pp. xv, 560. Cloth \$95.00, paper \$32.99.
- DARWIN, CHARLES. *Charles Darwin's Shorter Publications, 1829-1883*. Edited by JOHN VAN WYHE. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2009. Pp. xxvi, 529. \$160.00.
- HAMILTON, KEITH, PATRICK SALMON, and STEPHEN TWIGGE, editors. *Documents on British Policy Overseas, Series III, Vol. VI: Berlin in the Cold War, 1948-1990*. (Whitehall Histories: Foreign and Commonwealth Office Publications.) New York: Routledge. 2009. Pp. vii, 119. \$150.00, with CD-ROM.
- JEROME, FRED, editor. *Einstein on Israel and Zionism: His Provocative Ideas about the Middle East*. New York: St. Martin's. 2009. Pp. xiii, 334. \$25.95.
- KING, DON W., editor. *Out of My Bone: The Letters of Joy Davidman*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans. 2009. Pp. xxxiv, 387. \$28.00.
- KUCHABSKY, VASYL. *Western Ukraine in Conflict with Poland and Bolshevism, 1918-1923*. Translated by GUS FAGAN. (The Peter Jacyk Centre for Ukrainian Historical Research: Monograph Series, number 4.) Edmonton, Alberta: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, with the Wirth Institute for Austrian and Central European Studies, Alberta. 2009. Pp. xxix, 361. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$34.95.
- RUBINSTEIN, WILLIAM D. *Who Were the Rich? A Biographical Directory of British Wealth-Holders. Volume I: 1809-39*. London: Social Affairs Unit. 2009. Pp. vi, 516. £20.00.
- SCHULZ, GERHARD. *Mitteldeutsches Tagebuch: Aufzeichnungen aus den Anfangsjahren der SED-Diktatur 1945-1950*. Edited by UDO WENGST. (Biographische Quellen zur Zeitgeschichte, number 25.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 2009. Pp. 269. €34.80.
- VIDA, MARCO GIROLAMO. *Christiad*. Translated by JAMES GARDNER. (The I Tatti Renaissance Library, number 39.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2009. Pp. xxviii, 464. \$29.95.
- MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA**
- AMR, SĀMĪ. *A Young Palestinian's Diary, 1941-1945: The Life of Sāmī Amr*. Translated and foreword by KIMBERLY KATZ. Foreword by SALIM TAMARI. (Jamal and Rania Daniel Series in Contemporary History, Politics, Culture, and Religion of the Levant.) Austin: University of Texas Press. 2009. Pp. xxiv, 179. \$45.00.

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The following books were recently received in the *AHR* office. Books listed here do not include works scheduled for review.

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- BATRA, NANDITA, and VARTAN P. MESSIER, editors. *Narrating the Past: (Re)Constructing Memory, (Re)Negotiating History*. Paperback edition. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 2009. Pp. vi, 160. \$25.99.
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REVIEWS

TO THE EDITORS:

In his review of my book *State and Society in Eighteenth-Century France: A Study of Political Power and Social Revolution in Languedoc* (AHR, April 2009, 491–492), Jonathan Dewald argues that I set out to find economic backwardness and thus avoided the works of Philip Hoffman and Jean-Marc Moriceau. I wish Dewald had been fair to my book by mentioning its thorough evaluation of the research on Languedoc, including that of Pierre Brunet, Robert Forster, Gilbert Languier, Georges Frêche, Alain Molinier, Gérard Sebatier, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, Anne-Lise Head-König, and Joseph Goy. Dewald could have mentioned a few of the historians I drew upon to make comparisons with other regions, such as Gérard Aubin, Guy Lemarchand, Louis Merle, Abel Poitrineau, Jean Jacquart, Jean Meuvret, Marc Venard, Cynthia Bouton, and Ernest Labrousse. The reasonable conclusion to draw from this research is that the early modern economy grew slowly and haltingly, and that the landed classes appropriated wealth through extractive rents rather than through productive investments.

These are *empirical* studies of farm sizes, wages, incomes, seigneurial rights, rents, prices, yields, output, etc., and Hoffman's explicitly revisionist book does not critically examine this evidence to show errors or incongruous extrapolations. In fact, Hoffman's own computations reiterate what the research shows, that agri-

cultural output did not grow any faster than did the population between 1500 and 1800 (pp. 134–136).

Hoffman's ahistorical position, that market opportunity and profit-seeking, when uninhibited by the state, at all times cause economic development, leads to an unconvincing argument. He draws attention to computations showing periodic gains in productivity in various regions and decades. These gains, he argues, rule out the possibility that the social structure caused stagnation. Instead, he emphasizes market interferences, namely war and taxation (p. 136).

Contrary to this argument, one would expect a social structure mired in feudal relations to periodically reverse gains and cause overall stagnation. Moreover, as George Grantham indicates, internal warfare was comparatively rare. In the Paris basin, where Hoffman makes the most of his computations, these show a century of slow, halting growth, 1650–1750, amid domestic peace (pp. 90, 92, 133, 137). Within Hoffman's model, Louis XIV's war taxes would have been more than offset by the opportunity to supply the extraordinarily large army of hundreds of thousands.

In any case, Hoffman's findings do not contradict my own that the landed classes sunk their wealth into the political relations of the old regime rather than into productive capital, for he ascribes the intervals of growth to adjustments of crop rotations, not to investment in drainage, buildings, wholesale changes of crops, enclosures, and consequent rural depopulation (pp. 144–151).

Moriceau, by contrast, argues that market opportunity spurred investment in labor-saving capital, and I therefore reviewed his claims in my book (pp. 34–35). Jean-Michel Chevet and Gérard Béaur critically examined Moriceau's evidence and showed that tenant farmers did not add new draft animals, plows, and implements, and actually employed extra labor over the course of the eighteenth century. The tenant farmers' spending on land for their children points to a traditional economic logic rather than to a capitalist one of maximizing their price/cost ratio through specialization, reinvestment of surpluses, and adoption of the latest techniques.

In my book, I argued that even if one allows Moriceau's list of investments, these paled by comparison to those of England a century earlier. Competitive pres-

tures led English agriculturalists to invest in wholesale changes of crops, converting the agrarian landscape of the South (formerly less fertile yet amenable to the latest husbandry) to grain production while transforming the former granary of the Midlands for animal rearing. The latest cliometric studies of Robert Allen, Gregory Clark, Mark Overton, E. A. Wrigley, and N. F. R. Crafts prove the dramatic growth of labor productivity in England and its uniqueness in Europe as a whole.

My overall point is to remind Dewald of the unique value of our profession, its ability to distinguish past contexts shaping logics of behavior different from our own. Formerly, many responded to market opportunity logically, given their social and political context, not by improving production, but by exploiting resources such as woods, accumulating political power to enforce seigneurial dues and monopoly rights, and extracting high rents and additional labor from dependent peasants. It is through social research on lords and peasants that we can understand France's economic history.

STEPHEN MILLER

University of Alabama at Birmingham

JONATHAN DEWALD RESPONDS:

My review praised much in Stephen Miller's book, including its "wide-ranging, imaginative research"; it is a book that addresses important problems and deserves careful reading. But I did indeed criticize Miller's failure to engage with some important recent scholarship, and his letter only confirms that criticism.

I expressed particular frustration at his inattention to recent work in economic history, which has blurred the sharp contrasts on which his arguments center: between English dynamism and French stagnation, peasant and capitalist agriculture, small and large agricultural enterprises. My review cited Philip Hoffman as an especially relevant example of this current of thought, but I might have cited numerous others. For instance, the economic historian Gregory Clark has written that "there was no agriculture revolution in England in the Industrial Revolution period, or indeed any time between 1600 and 1914. Instead there were modest gains in output, and even smaller gains in measured productivity all the way from 1600 to 1914 through minor and incremental changes in agriculture" (Clark, "Too Much Revolution: Agriculture in the Industrial Revolution," in Joel Mokyr, ed., *The British Industrial Revolution: An Economic Perspective* [Boulder, Colo., 1999], 206). Miller seems to attach little significance to such findings, which undercut his contention that French agricultural stagnation led to revolution. In fact they have been widely accepted and count among the contenders for disciplinary orthodoxy, though they are certainly not the only contenders.

In his letter Miller now offers an extended critique

specifically addressing Hoffman. The criticisms are not altogether relevant to my review, since they didn't appear in the book and don't address the range of economic issues that I raised. But even as a belated evaluation of one author, Miller's letter raises questions, for it misrepresents Hoffman's work—by describing it as "ahistorical" and suggesting that it offers a mainly theoretical approach to the Old Regime economy, ill-grounded in documentary research and guided by an "explicitly revisionist" agenda. This is inaccurate. Hoffman's conclusions in fact rest on impressive research, and the research is especially convincing in regard to the question (fundamental to Miller's arguments) of the productivity of small agricultural holdings. Small farms in Old Regime France (Hoffman's statistics show) were actually more productive than large. Hoffman indeed finds that French agriculture tended to stagnate in these centuries—but he finds that to be the result of war and its attendant fiscal pressures, not the logic of peasant farming.

Miller's letter also lists the numerous authorities on French rural history whose works are cited in his book. Again, the point is of limited relevance; I was not complaining about an overall lack of conscientiousness, but rather about inattention to one important line of research and analysis. But the list nicely illustrates my broader point, that Miller has relied on an outdated understanding of the Old Regime's economy. Of the seventeen books (by eighteen authors) that he lists, exactly one appeared after 1990 (in 1993); twelve of the seventeen appeared before 1975. Many of these remain classics in the field, but they also show the influence of their times—times in which social modernizers of all ideological stripes believed that big enterprises were the key to progress in underdeveloped societies. The twentieth century's experiences with those ideas were not, to say the least, happy ones.

I thus agree with Miller that historians' views of the Old Regime's agrarian history inevitably intertwine with their beliefs about the contemporary world, and I share at least some of his skepticism about free-market ideologies; having written my own book of "social research on lords and peasants," I also strongly agree with him on the value of that enterprise. But minimizing the economic potential of peasants and other small producers, as his book seems to me to do, carries its own uncomfortable ideological implications, shading easily into celebration of managerial rationality and economic consolidation. Whatever the ideological stakes, in any case, "the unique value of our profession" rests ultimately on our methods rather than on our results; and those methods include readiness to consider seriously the research and analyses underlying even results we disagree with.

JONATHAN DEWALD

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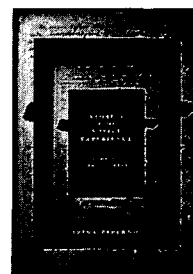
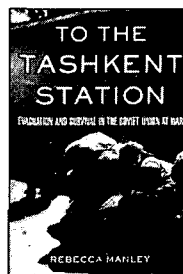
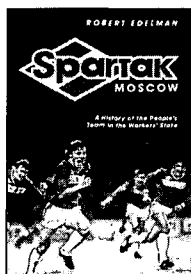
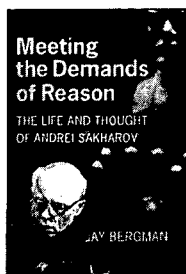
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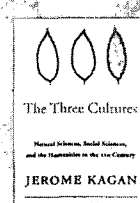
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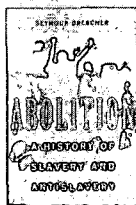
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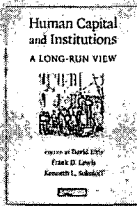
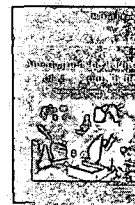
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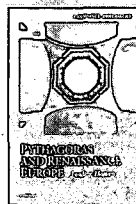
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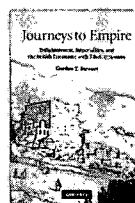
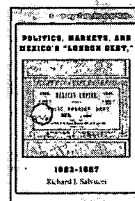
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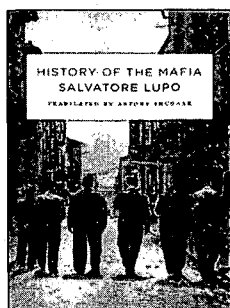
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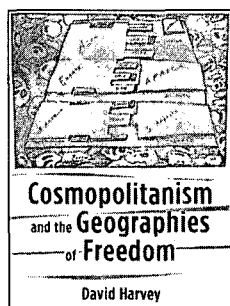
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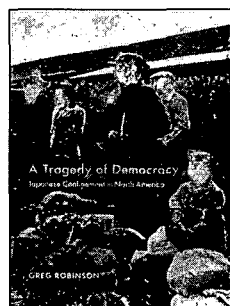
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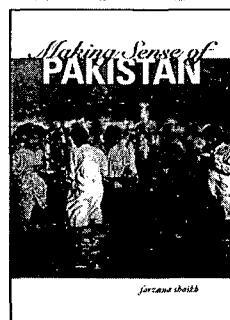
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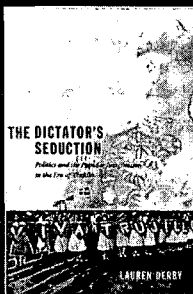


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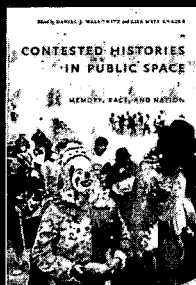
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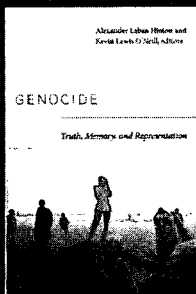
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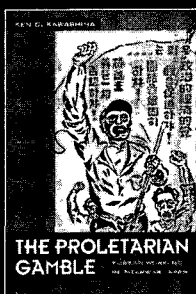
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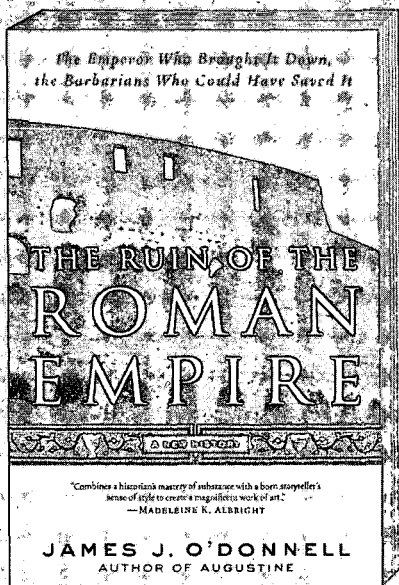
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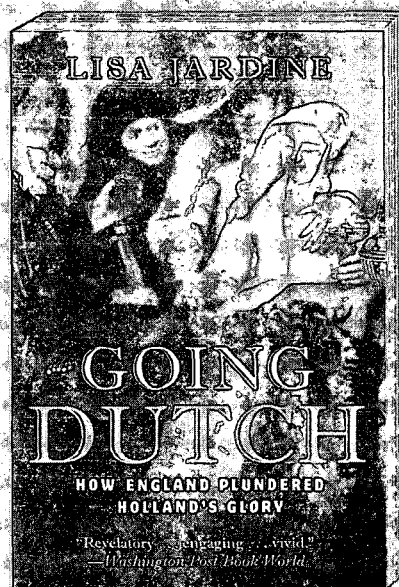
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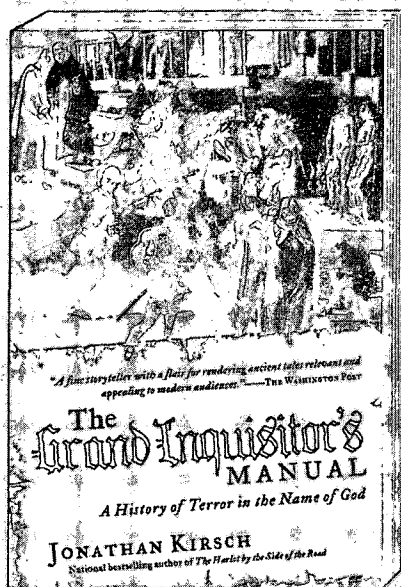
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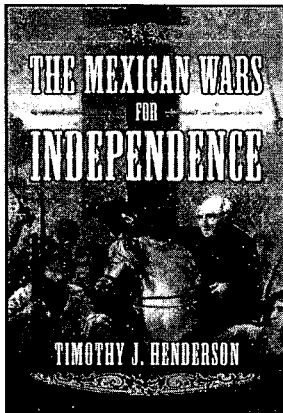
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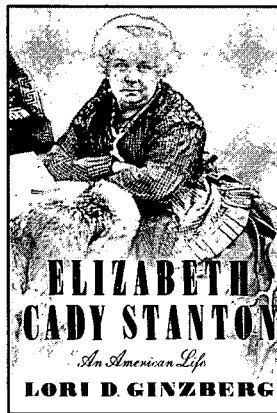
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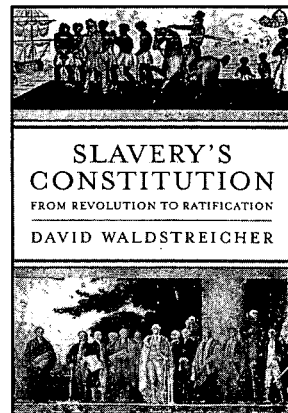
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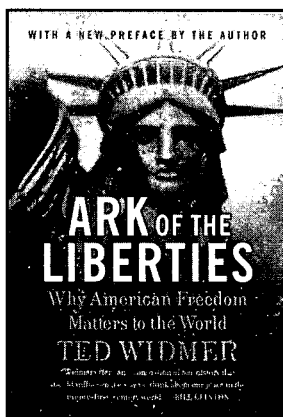
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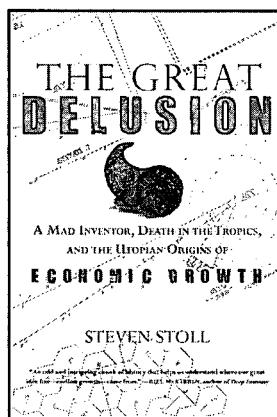
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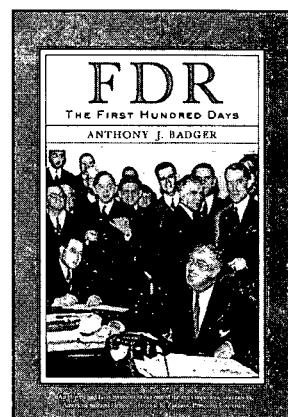
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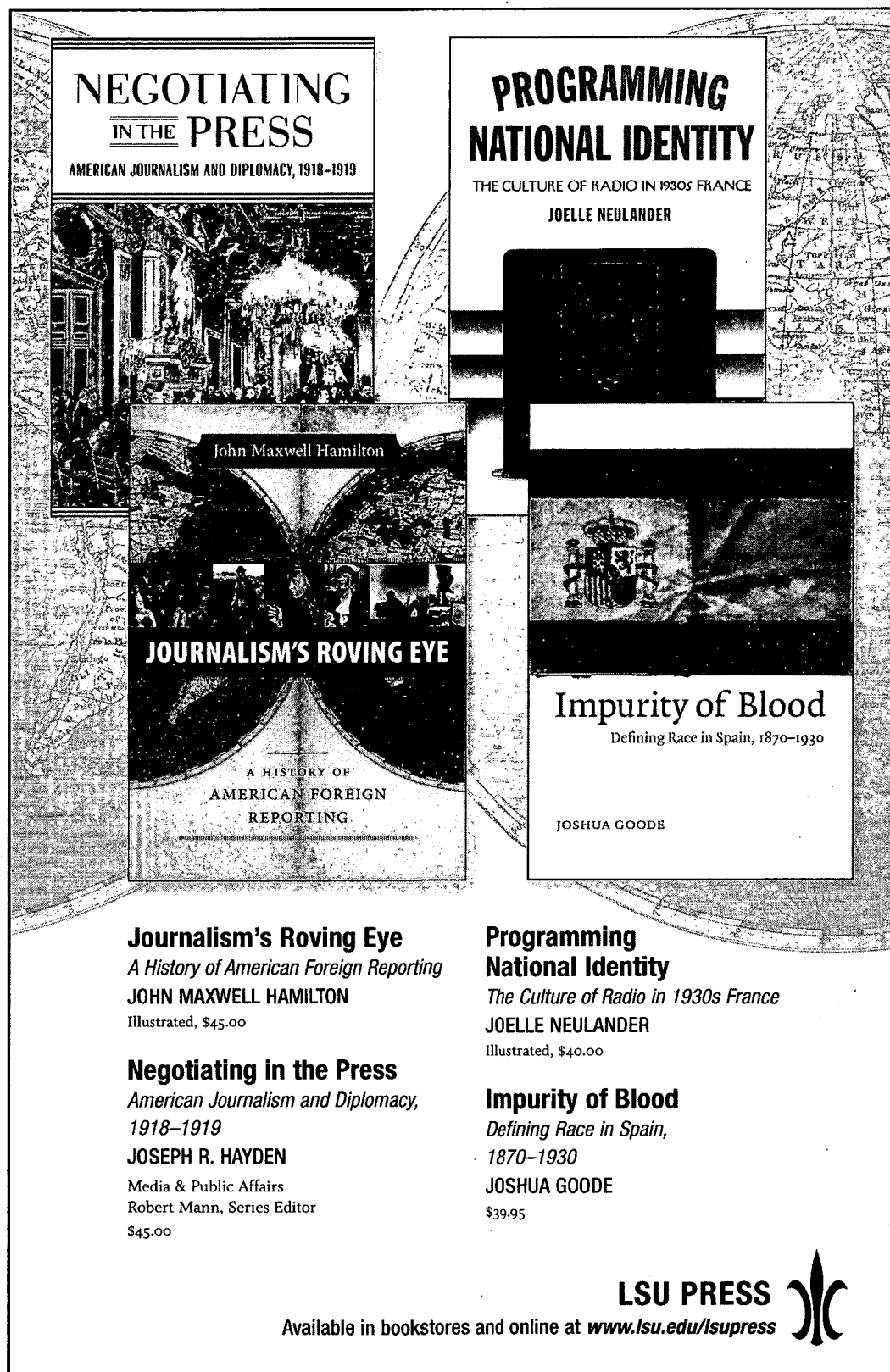


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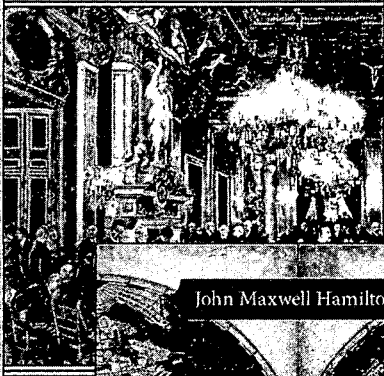
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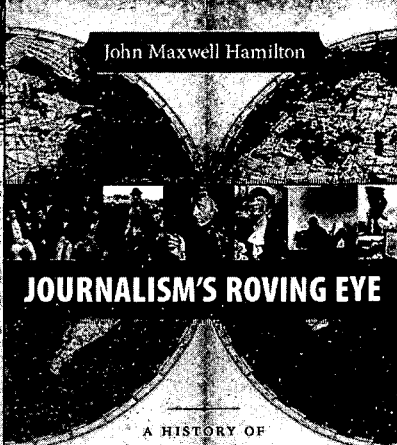
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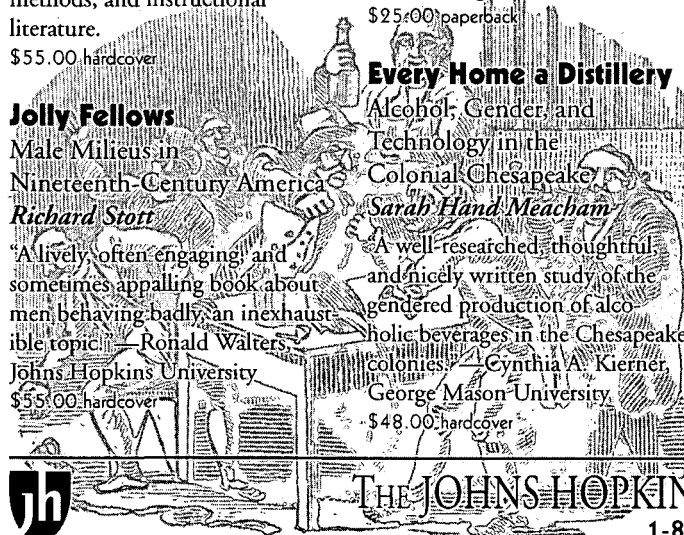
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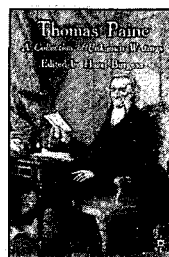
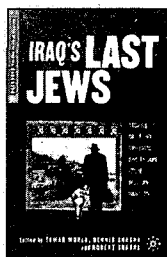
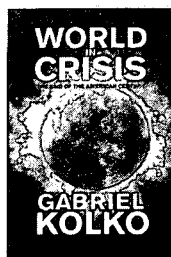
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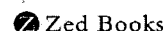
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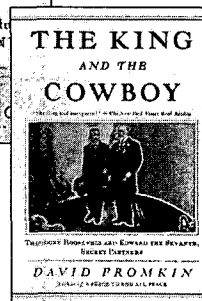
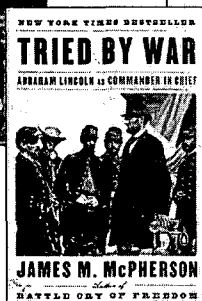
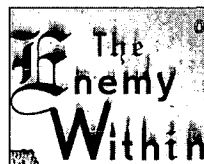
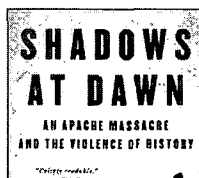
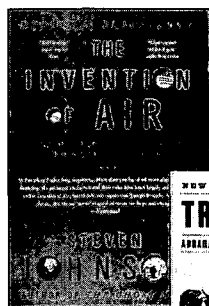
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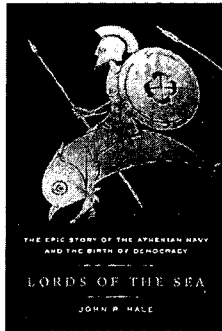
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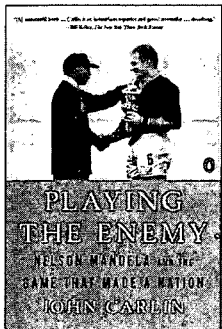
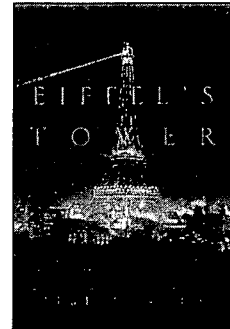
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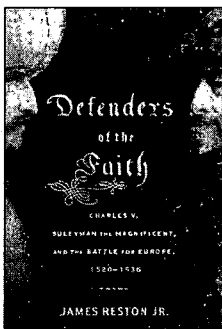
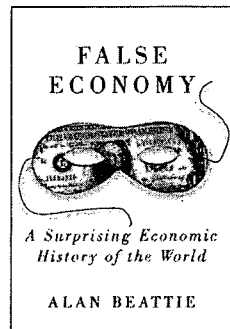
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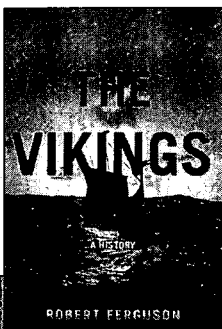
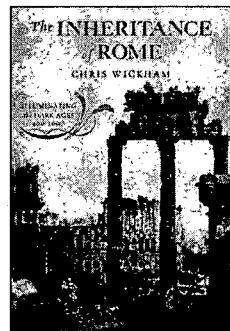
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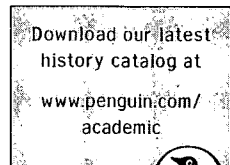
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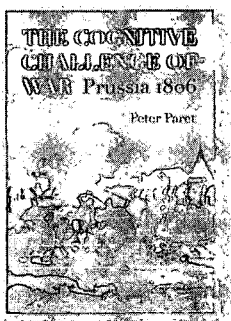
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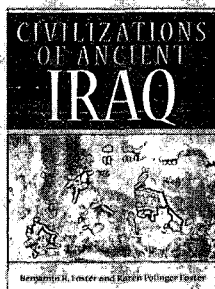
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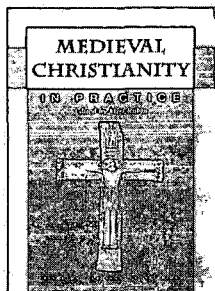
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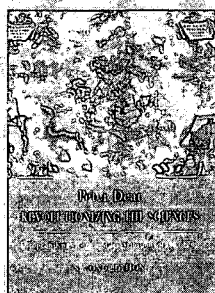
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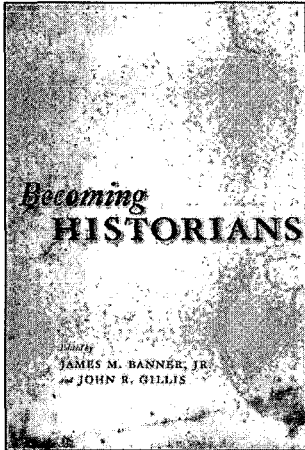
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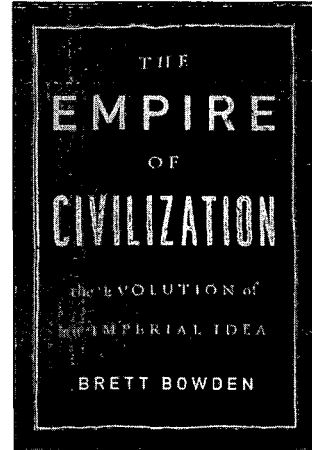
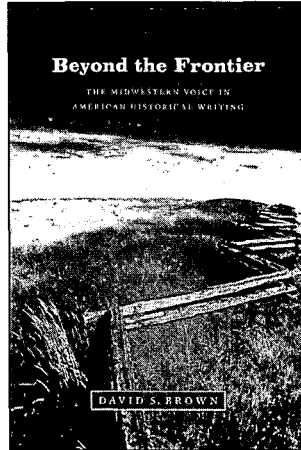
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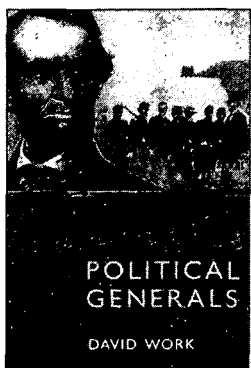
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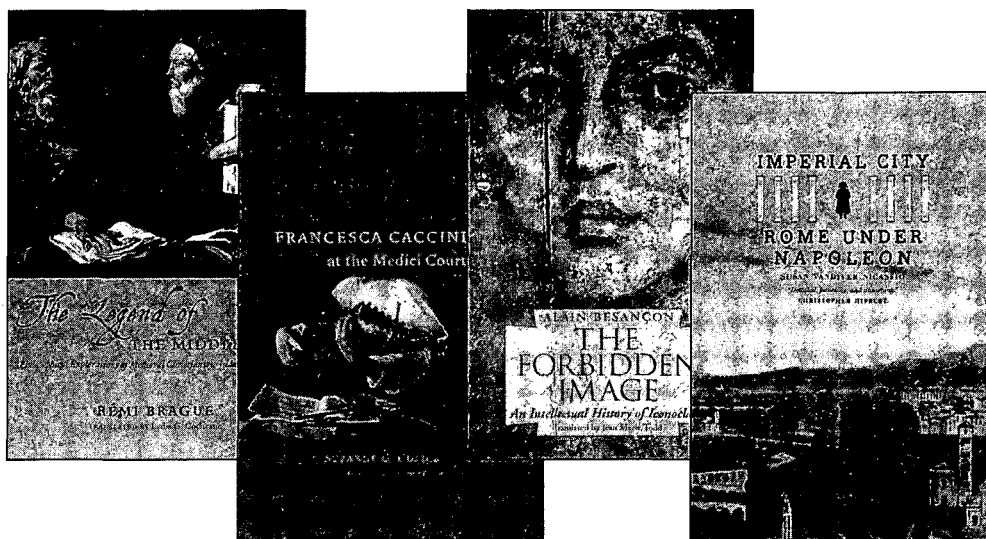
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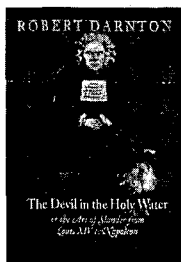
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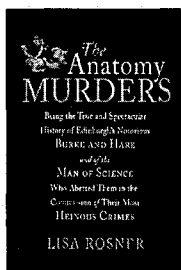
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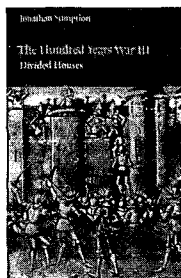
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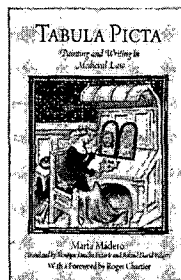
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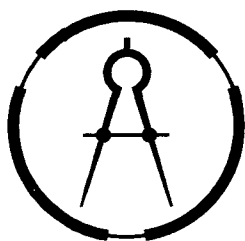
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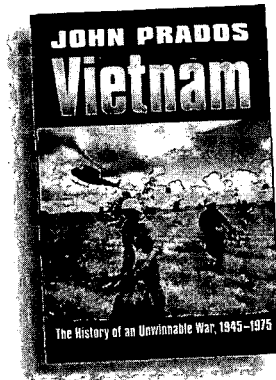
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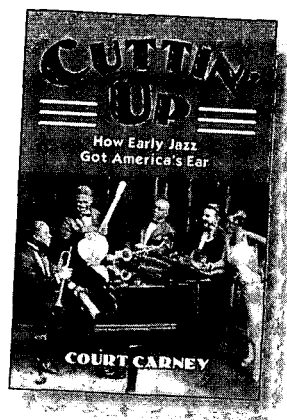
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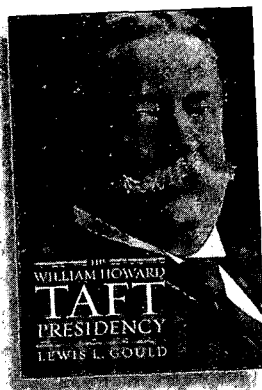
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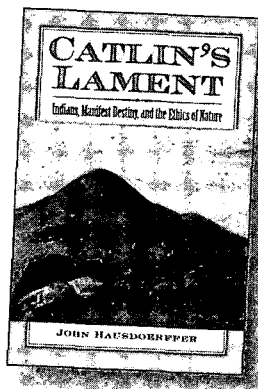
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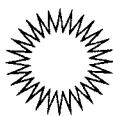
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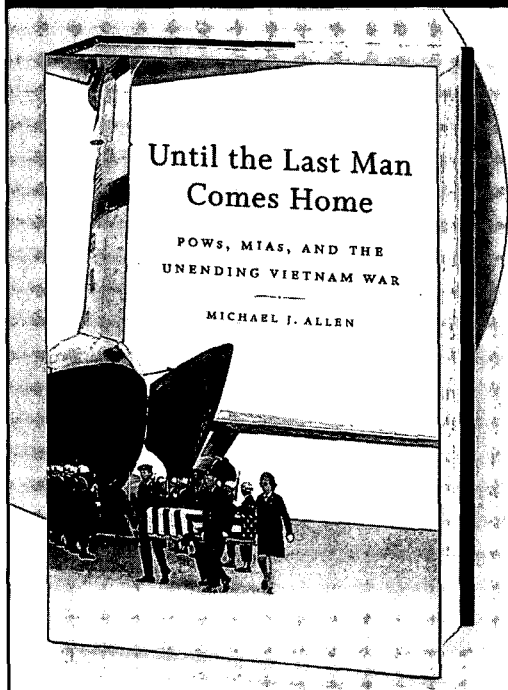
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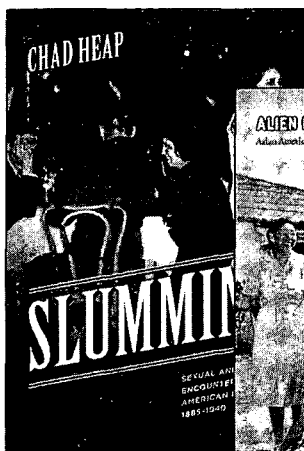
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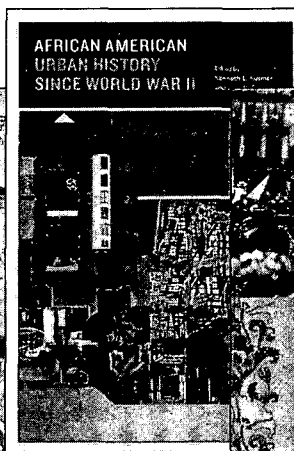
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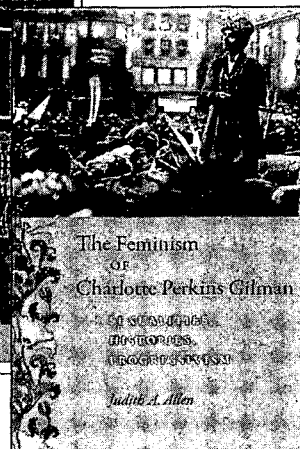


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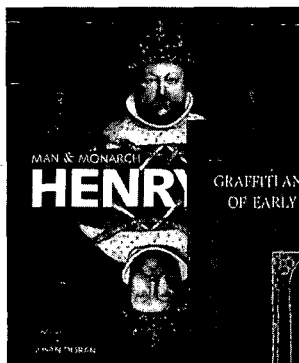
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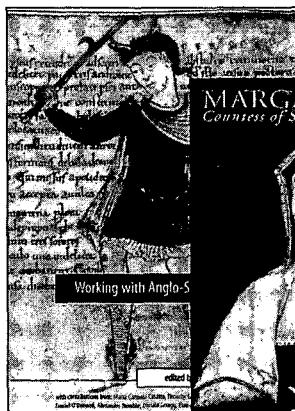
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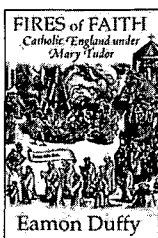
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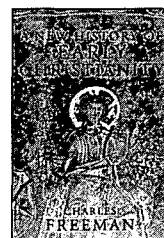


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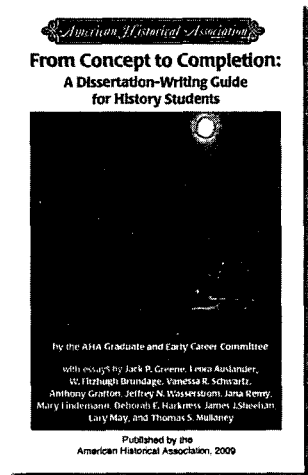
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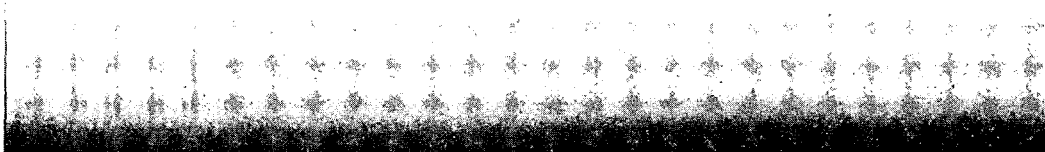
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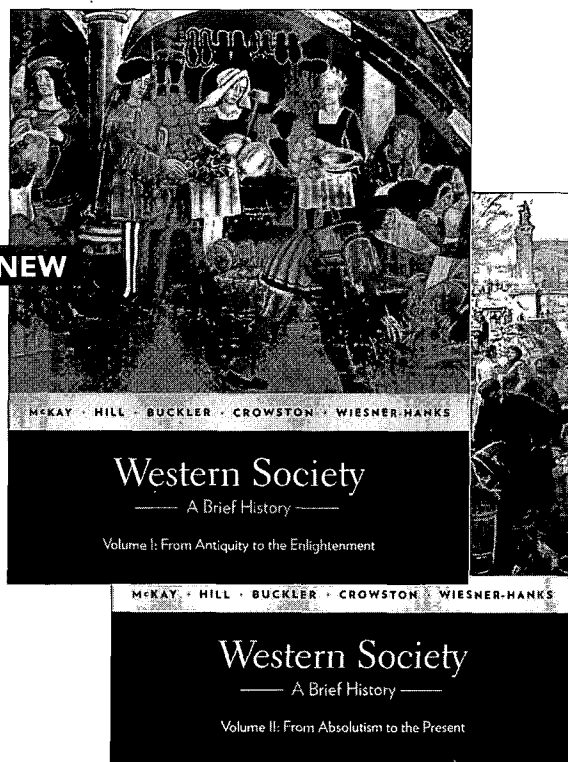
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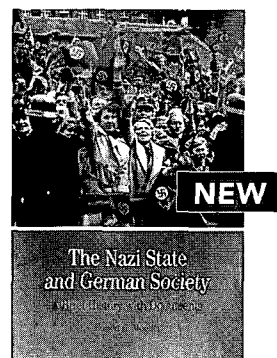
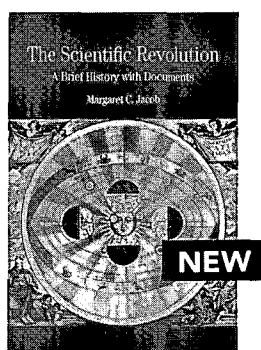
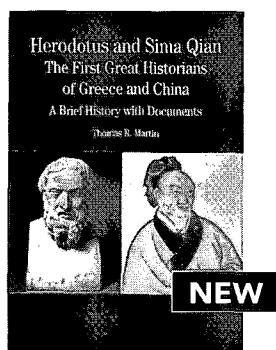
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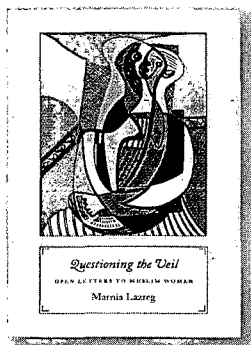
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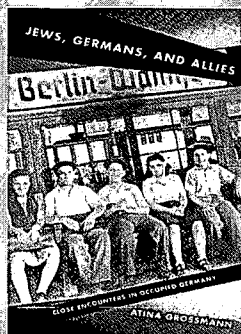
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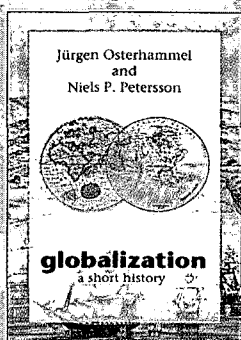
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